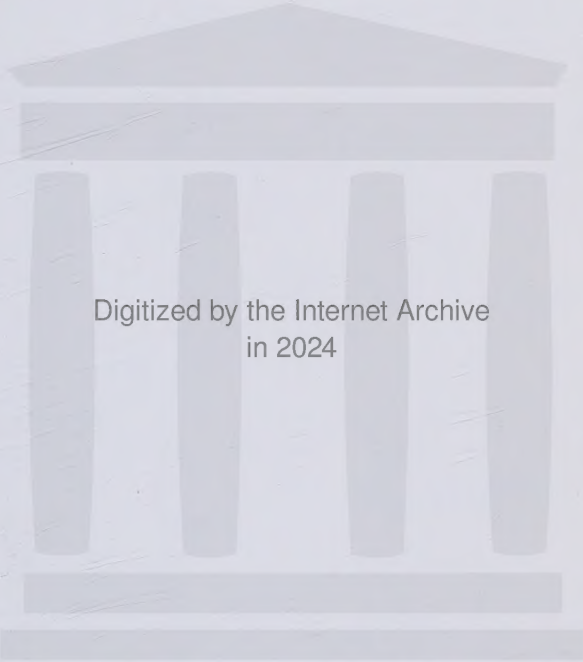




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THE

WITHDRAWN

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

SEPTEMBER, 1842.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

[Delivered as an Address before the Ministerial Conference in Berry Street, Boston,
May 25, 1842. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D.]

THE topic on which I am to address you, at this time, — “The Value of Ecclesiastical History to the Minister,” — is not one of my own selection, nor can I hope to invest it with any attractions. Ecclesiastical History, I believe, is not a favorite study with the profession, nor is there any department of human knowledge more neglected by the public. I am not much surprised that it is so. The subject, as usually treated, is dry, dull, and repulsive in the extreme. I can conceive of nothing more so. It is a study attended with peculiar difficulty on account of the obscurity of many of its records, often clouded by passion and prejudice, darkened by inconsistency, and too frequently bearing marks of credulity, carelessness, and fraud, which justify the remark of Jortin, that “Ecclesiastical History is a sort of enchanted land, where it is hard to distinguish truth from false appearances, and a maze which requires more than Ariadne’s clue.”

Then the topics to which it invites our attention are often of the most forbidding kind, or such as can awaken no interest in refined and cultivated intellects, — controversies about verbal distinctions and trifles, dialectic subtleties, and barren questions of scholastic theology and metaphysics. Besides, it introduces us to many disgusting views of human nature. It presents

this nature under some of its worst and most degrading aspects, actuated by the basest and most detestable passions, and exhibiting proofs of the melancholy perversion of all its finer sensibilities and instincts. It shows us the weakness and littleness of man under such vivid portraiture, and with such convincing evidence, as almost to make us forget, for the time, his greatness and his strength. It makes us acquainted with some of his saddest aberrations of intellect. As we turn over its pages, the eye is arrested by the superstition, which has paralyzed his faculties and narrowed and dwarfed his best virtues; by his exclusiveness, his bigotry, his persecutions; the prostration of his understanding manifested in his mistaken piety, his adoration of objects more worthless than the divinities of Egypt, his veneration for relics, and faith in lying miracles, pilgrimages, indulgences, legends of pretended saints; his suppression of freedom of thought and inquiry; his pious forgeries; with the whole catalogue of usurpations, infallibilities, inquisitions, tyrannies, follies, contradictions, and absurdities, which, in past ages, have been incorporated with the religion of the cross, and have so disfigured and obscured it, that scarcely a trace of its heavenly origin and beauty has remained visible.

It is not surprising that from such a picture men should have turned away in disgust, and believing the whole subject barren alike of rational use and interest, regarding the study of it as fitted neither to gratify a liberal curiosity, to purify the feelings, or add to the stores of intellectual affluence, they should have abandoned it for fields of inquiry and thought, which have opened more pleasing views and promised a richer harvest.

The nature and intrinsic difficulty of the subject has not been all. Another cause of the indifference and disgust alluded to has been the tasteless manner in which *Ecclesiastical History* has usually been written, and the false principles which have governed the narrative. One of these is, that whatever makes for the advantage of believers is to be told, and if with a little rhetorical exaggeration, so much the better, and whatever tells against them is to be passed over in silence; that suppression of truth in such a case, far from being a blemish in a historian, is a virtue. It is needless to say that history, written on this principle, necessarily loses the greater part of its value, by ceasing to be just. The principle came in with Eusebius, the father of *Ecclesiastical History*, and he has had

abundance of imitators, among whom one of the most conspicuous is the old English worthy, Cave, who has been justly censured for writing panegyrics under the name of history.

Another principle, nearly allied to the former, has been, that nothing is too good to say of the orthodox, and nothing too bad to say of heretics. This principle and its applications are well illustrated by Le Clerc, in a lively, but somewhat sarcastic description of the manner in which a person, if he values his reputation for orthodoxy, or looks for promotion, must proceed in writing an Ecclesiastical History. He must, says he, "adhere inviolably to this maxim, that whatever can be favorable to heretics is false, and whatever can be said against them is true; while, on the other hand, all that does honor to the orthodox is unquestionable, and everything that can do them discredit is surely a lie. He must suppress too with care, or at least extenuate as far as possible, the errors and vices of those whom the orthodox are accustomed to respect, whether they know anything about them or no, and must exaggerate, on the contrary, the mistakes and faults of the heterodox to the utmost of his power. He must remember that any orthodox man is a competent witness against a heretic, and is to be trusted implicitly on his word, while a heretic is never to be believed against the orthodox, and has honor enough done him, in allowing him to speak against his own side."*

On these principles the greater part of Ecclesiastical History has been written. The old fathers so wrote perpetually, and the moderns have not been slow to profit by so worthy an example.

But independently of the falsehood which has pervaded nearly all ecclesiastical writings, and to a greater extent, I believe, than any other, the needed helps have been wanting. We have no Christian histories which are good in other respects. The story of Christianity has not been written with the philosophical power, critical research, and discrimination, which mark other productions of the historic muse. Gibbon's chapters, exceptionable as they are,—in addition to his usual faults of style, reflecting everywhere the hues of his own mind, and tending to mislead by the false coloring and drapery, which

* *Parrhasiana*, T. I. p. 168, ed. 2d. I have given the version of Hallam (*Hist. Lit.* II. 83), with only a slight change, which fidelity to the original required.

he has artfully thrown over his pictures, which constitutes the great charge against him, rather than falsification of facts or insufficient research,—are still read with more interest than the work of any professedly Christian historian relating to the same period.

We possess no history of religion which is entitled to rank as a standard work. Nor is there any prospect of a speedy remedy. The task of writing a faithful Christian history, which shall prove ordinarily attractive, is a gigantic one, and requires a rare combination of qualities, and the study of a life for its successful execution. And out of Germany there are now no students of Ecclesiastical History. England is doing nothing in this department, in which she has never distinguished herself; and we, on this side the water, have scarcely yet begun to think of the subject. Little importance is attached to it in a preparation for the ministry; we have no teachers of it properly qualified, and few books, even had we the leisure and disposition to read them. Nor in fact does the state of society and general tone of thinking and feeling among us, at the present time, tend greatly to the encouragement of theological learning of any kind; and our scholars are driven to seek laurels in other fields.

Mere learning, indeed, I am not disposed to rate very high. To encumber one's mind with other men's notions, which are often mere lumber and rubbish,—not to separate, to combine, to originate, to put forth no intellectual power, is little better than solemn trifling.

But to be a well informed theologian, it is not necessary that a person should be nothing beside. He may read to stimulate thought, and furnish it with materials to work upon, to add to his stores of illustration and intellectual wealth, just as he becomes an observer of nature or of man for the same purpose. It is not necessary that his mind should be crushed under the weight of other men's ideas, or that its power of forming new combinations, of creating, diversifying, and adorning, of rising to the highest heaven of invention, of pouring forth thoughts that breathe in words that burn, should be lost. The poet and the orator cull from all regions of nature and art, and make all history and science tributary to their purpose; still their thoughts are fresh and original; they are true makers, and enlarged culture adds compass, force, and beauty to their work, and enables them occasionally to gather flowers from the most unpromising soil.

The Christian minister deals with the highest truths, with the deepest feelings, and most enduring interests of man. It is his province to lay his hand on that many-stringed instrument, the human heart, to control its various moods, and awaken all its sweeter melodies. He is brought into contact with all sorts of minds, and he must have in his armory weapons which will reach all; and it is difficult, therefore, to conceive how any species of knowledge, or any variety of intellectual culture, can be wholly useless to him.

But what is the special use to him of Ecclesiastical History? The reply to this question must depend very much on what he proposes to himself, and what it is desirable that he should be;—what should be his aim, and with what he should be satisfied.

What does he look forward to? What should be his ambition? The mere preaching, from Sunday to Sunday, of discourses which shall prove acceptable to his hearers, which they shall be pleased even to commend, which they shall talk of as brilliant performances, or what is more, which shall really move their hearts for the time, and touch their consciences, which shall send them away thinking of themselves rather than of the preacher? Is this, together with a tolerably careful discharge of pastoral duty, his sole aim? Is he to look only at immediate and visible effects, or to measure his usefulness by the plaudits of an admiring audience?

If so, a knowledge of Ecclesiastical History will be of little *direct* use to him, though to the faithful minister its *indirect* uses will be very considerable. It will not, however, help him much in the writing of sermons. A brilliant, glowing, and varied style, dealing somewhat largely in picturesque imagery, abounding in familiar comparisons, and powerfully appealing to the religious sentiment and to the feelings, and demanding no very profound thought on the part of the hearer, will always ensure a preacher popularity, for the time at least. Historical learning will add nothing to the effect of such a style. In this country, and among ourselves, the appeal to authority and prescription is not allowed, nor are historical subjects often treated in sermons. And as for illustration and ornament of discourse, modern researches and discoveries, and the observation of nature and life, furnish resources to which the preacher will resort with more advantage than to Christian antiquity, the study of which, after all, will afford him less aid in becom-

ing a popular and effective pulpit orator, than an acquaintance with the current literature of the day. This reflects, in some measure, the tastes and feelings of the age, and of these he cannot safely be ignorant. He must know what men are thinking and doing, if he would be heard by them with patience. Without this knowledge he may come loaded with the richest spoils of the past, but he will speak in vain. Persons now care little for the past, except a few classical enthusiasts, who are fast dying out. We are too utilitarian and practical for that. A disquisition on the Tariff, or the latest political pamphlet, is more valued than the poems of Homer; and a spinning jenny would not be given for the recovery of the best ode of Pindar, or of Sappho, with all the lost books of the historians thrown in; and as to the musty tomes of the Fathers, it would be thought charity to give them a place among the dust and rubbish of a garret.

In truth the most celebrated preachers have owed little to treasures of historical lore. It is true, some of them have been learned men, and their sermons have borne ample testimony to their erudition. But they were not indebted for their chief celebrity to this circumstance. Origen and Chrysostom, among the ancients, were both of them popular and admired preachers, and both learned men; but it was their ardor and rapidity of style, their originality, freshness, and vigor, united with great copiousness of thought and illustration, and not their erudition, which gave them the mastery over the spirits of their age.

Of the giants of the English pulpit in the seventeenth century, whose writings are still occasionally read, Barrow, Taylor, and South, the two first were learned; but Barrow, with all his wonderful affluence and comprehensiveness, was regarded as a somewhat tedious preacher, and Taylor's learning, varied and beautiful as it is, must have appeared, I think, to his hearers, as it certainly appears to the reader of the present day, often misplaced, and must have impeded, rather than heightened, the effect of his naturally surpassing eloquence. The witty South, often found on the very verge of buffoonery, had little learning; but as a preacher, afforded, I believe, more delight in his day than either of the others.

The French preachers, who at, or near the same period, in their sermons and funeral orations, carried the eloquence of the pulpit to a height it had never before attained, and which, al-

lowing for national characteristics, it has seldom reached, and perhaps never surpassed, since, were, as a class, not remarkably learned; and an occasional passage from the Fathers, short and introduced without effort, was all which, in general, attested their familiarity with the writings of ecclesiastical antiquity.

Luther was far less learned, certainly in the earlier part of his career, as well in Ecclesiastical History as in the writings of classical antiquity, than Erasmus; yet his earnest, but rude and artless eloquence struck a chord which vibrated through all Christendom. In his attacks on established errors he made at first very little use of history. He employed the strong language of common sense, and his appeals were effectual, and shook to their centre the citadels of canonized superstition.

If we turn to examples of more recent times, and among ourselves, the authors of the most admired productions of the pulpit will tell you, that in the composition of their sermons they have derived little or no help from Ecclesiastical History, that it has been to them a barren field, that they have never loved, nor cultivated it, that they have never brought off from it a solitary flowret that was pleasing to the eye, or the least fruit that was inviting to the taste.

Nor is there anything singular in this. It is so with regard to ethical learning. A person may know little of ethics as a science, and may be wholly unacquainted with its history; he may be ignorant of the systems of the various authors who have written upon it, in ancient and modern times; yet the value of his preaching, viewed merely as preaching, may not be impaired. He may stand up in the pulpit and utter strains of the most thrilling eloquence, and the consciences of his hearers may bear testimony to the fidelity of his appeals. So far as his public addresses are concerned, he may be a very exciting and successful preacher, may have the power of a Whitfield to rouse attention, and stir up the soul to its inmost depths, though he may never have read a line of such writers as Butler, Hutcheson, Wollaston, or Price, or Smith, or Kant, or Jouffroy. He may have searched no further nor deeper for the foundation of morals, and sanction of morality, than the will of God revealed in the Bible, and may have no more theology than is needful to enable him to call Tillotson an atheist; yet he may for the time preach with as much effect, and to a common audience, with a great deal more, than a Bossuet or a Taylor.

But is it well that he should be thus ignorant, or that he should be ignorant of Christian History? The question is one I need not ask. It is surely not desirable that a minister should limit his acquisitions to the knowledge he can turn to immediate account. I am not much of a utilitarian in my views on this subject. Or if I am a utilitarian, I would not confine my regard to mere present and palpable utility. I think we should all look beyond immediate and temporary effects—a mere ephemeral popularity. We should look to a permanent influence and usefulness. There is nothing which will sooner degrade the ministry than the resting content with just such a measure of attainments, as the present exigency demands, or as is necessary to please for the moment the popular ear, though the temptation to this was never greater than now.

There are certain intellectual qualifications which it is important the clergy should possess, which will not benefit them directly and immediately, except so far as they are in themselves sources of gratification, and a pleasing self-consciousness, but which are necessary to secure to them the permanent respect of the community. They add to the high standing of the minister in society. They are not merely an ornament of the profession, but they dignify and elevate it, and in the end augment its power and usefulness. All intellectual accomplishments contribute to this effect; and for this reason, if for no other, a liberal and wide culture of the faculties is, I conceive, to be recommended to the ministers of religion.

If this liberal culture be desirable in the minister, it would be superfluous, as it seems to me, to offer any argument to prove that the study of Ecclesiastical History should not be neglected. Of this a minister cannot with propriety be ignorant. From its very intimate connexion with his profession, he may be expected to know something more about it than other well educated men in the community, just as the physician or lawyer is expected to be better acquainted than others, not simply with the practice of law or medicine, but with the past history of the art or science,—its fountains, growth, and the various revolutions it has passed through. Such knowledge may not perceptibly help their business, may not procure the lawyer more briefs, or the physician more patients; yet they rank higher in our esteem, and must rank higher in their own for possessing it, and we feel that the want of it is a blemish. Just so for the minister to be ignorant of the history

of the religion he professes to teach, its character and fortunes in past ages, the phases it has assumed, the effects it has wrought on society, and the modifications it has itself received from the progress of intellect and the agency of human passions, must be felt to be a defect. It is discreditable to him. It involves, to say the least, a sort of indecorum. It does not, to use the old phraseology, harmonize with our idea of the nature and fitness of things; with our abstract conception of what a minister should be.

But to descend from this position, which may be thought to savor a little too much of idealism for the present day, and to be seeking a footing in the clouds, (though such notions were current when I was young,) there are, if I mistake not, *indirect*, but substantial and positive benefits, which the minister will derive from the study of Christian history.

An acquaintance with a few traditionary dogmas and a little sectarian divinity have been all, which have frequently, heretofore, until within a short period, been thought essential to the education of a preacher; I do not say universally, for there have been honorable exceptions. For some time past more liberal ideas have been gaining ground; but there is still room for advance. The character of the times, and the condition of knowledge and progress of intellect in other departments of human inquiry, and the direction which speculative minds are taking, are certainly such as require attention to the state of theological science, and should keep the mind alive to the importance of historical research. There are demands of the age which must be met, questions of deep import, some notice of which must be taken, which it will not do always to pass over in silent contempt, and a reply to which requires us to go back to the first elements of belief and knowledge in the human soul, to obviate objections and put an end to doubt.

But independently of all considerations of this sort, and of all questions relating to the historical basis of Christianity, and its defence, the minister has no lack of motives to the study of the history of his religion. It is a history intrinsically important; so far as the subject,—the development of man's spiritual nature, during a period which has witnessed the extinction of ancient civilization, and the reorganization of society in modern times,—is concerned, the noblest of all histories. And putting the study of it on the basis of a comprehensive utility merely, it has strong claims on his attention. A knowl-

edge of it may not tell immediately, but it will tell in the course of a life of ordinary length. Occasions will occur on which its uses will be manifest.

The minister must contend for the simplicity that is in Christ. He must preach the pure truths uttered by the founder of his religion. He must endeavor to form a just conception of these truths; he must separate them from human additions; he must labor to disengage them from the mass of error, by which they have been overshadowed and darkened in past ages. In doing this he must become a reformer. He must remould the Christianity of his day, and bring it back to its original pure elements, and thus in some measure take the attitude of a controvertist. He must combat false doctrines grown venerable by age. He must lay his hand, gently but firmly, on time-hallowed associations, and expose abuses sanctioned by prescription, and the authority of some as great names as have ever adorned humanity. This is the least pleasant part of his duty, but it is sometimes necessary.

In performing this task he will be compelled to make use of the lights of Ecclesiastical History, that part of it particularly denominated in modern times the history of dogmatic theology, or history of the doctrines of Christianity. He must trace the origin and progress of the corruptions, under which the simple truths of the gospel have been buried and well nigh extinguished. He must point out their source in human weakness, ambition, and selfishness, in superstition and false philosophy, in the modes of thinking foreign from the principles of the religion of the humble Nazarene, which the converts from paganism, from time to time, took along with them in passing over to Christianity, and unconsciously blended with the new faith; for they could not be expected at once to emancipate themselves from all their former modes of thought, and all the philosophical notions in which they had been educated. Such a result was not possible.

The advocate for the simple truths of the Gospel will find it indispensable sometimes to adopt this method, in order to meet the objections of his adversaries, for error is ever fond of intrenching itself behind the defences of antiquity, and the general belief of the human mind. To illustrate what I mean by an example, the Trinitarian asserts that his faith is old, that it was from the beginning, that it has always been the faith of Christians, and this fact, he argues, affords a strong presump-

tion that it was taught by Jesus and his Apostles ; for how else, he asks, can we account for its early and extensive prevalence ? Now this objection is certainly entitled to a reply, and the answer must be sought in history. From this it is to be shown that, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the doctrine formed no part of the belief of the primitive church ; that it is clearly to be referred to the learned converts from heathenism ; that the first distinct traces of it, found in any Christian writing of acknowledged antiquity and genuineness, appear in the Dialogue and Apologies of Justin Martyr, the earliest of those converts of whom we have any remains ; that it had its origin in that confused mixture of the philosophy and traditions of nearly all nations, which, united with a spirit of allegorizing, and strongly tinctured with oriental mysticism, was taught in the schools of the Alexandrine Platonists in the second and third centuries, and with them passed into the Christian Church, where it received from time to time various modifications and additions, till it assumed the form, very nearly, which it has since retained.

I am stating nothing which is not familiar to you. I take this instance simply as illustrating one of the uses to which a knowledge of Ecclesiastical History may be appropriated. It assists us to explain other errors which have cast a dark shade over the religion of the Son of Mary. Thus we trace the doctrines of modern Calvinism back to the stern old African, the bishop of Hippo, who found the germs of them in Manicheism, of which he was for some years a disciple, before he became an orthodox Christian, and of which he always seems to have retained a certain taint.

The argument against Popery which proves most embarrassing to its supporters, if I may be pardoned an allusion to the subject here, is the historical one, because Popery ensconces itself in what it considers as the strong hold of tradition. The Oxford controversy is but a form of the Popish, and the combatants use weapons drawn from the armory of ancient Christian history. This controversy does not disturb us, in this vicinity, but there are parts of our country in which its influence is sensibly felt. It has rendered arrogant pretensions more arrogant ; it has relighted a spirit of bigotry, and emboldened intolerance and exclusiveness.

A writer in a recent number of one of our Literary Quarterlies, circulated somewhat extensively, I believe, and enjoy-

ing some reputation, I allude to the New York Review,* expressly, and in so many words, condemns the right ("fancied" right he calls it) of private judgment and religious freedom, pronounces the principle of the Congregationalists "arrogant dogma," and contends strongly for the necessity of an authoritative church, and an authoritative interpreter of Scripture. These views connect themselves with the claims of Prelacy and the doctrine of apostolical succession, which have been of late urged with such frequency and obtrusiveness in portions of our country, from the pulpit, and in the leading Episcopal Journals, several of which are pledged to the support of the doctrines of the Oxford divines, that it has been found necessary to take the field, and already a goodly sized octavo, manifesting no little industry and research, has appeared, printed in this city, though written by a Presbyterian of the South, in refutation of these, as we are accustomed to consider, perfectly absurd and obsolete claims.† The whole constitutes a phenomenon of little importance in itself, but yet, as Carlyle would say, noteworthy in this our nineteenth century, and in our republican America.

These are instances in which the uses of an acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History are manifest. True, the chief business of a minister should not be controversy. He may seldom be called to engage in it, perhaps never. He may preach what he conceives to be the unadulterated truths of Christianity, and never touch, if he can help it, on sectarian distinctions and differences. Still it is desirable that he should be able to defend his opinions when attacked. He will have more confidence in himself, and feel more at ease, and more self-possessed, in consequence of his familiarity with the past history of his religion, with the mode of its reception and administration by various minds and by different classes of Christians, with the foreign influences to which it has been subjected, and the traces they have left upon it, and which it still retains.

None of this knowledge will be superfluous, and occasions may occur in which the want of it would be felt as a serious misfortune. Old controversies are from time to time revived,

* For Jan. 1842.

† The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined, and the Protestant Ministry Defended against the Assumptions of Popery and High Churchism, in a series of Lectures. By THOMAS SMYTH, Pastor of the 2nd Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. Boston, 1841.

and new ones are continually springing up, and in neither of them will the lights of the past be wholly useless.

A quarter of a century ago we were in the midst of an earnest controversy on nearly all the great questions which have divided the theological world, — the Trinity, Calvinism, and the power of the churches. And the controversy on some of these points, though the language we sometimes hear would lead us to the contrary supposition, still continues, and will long continue, where Unitarian societies exist in the bosom of orthodox communities, and in parts of our land remote from us, and well informed champions of truth, as well as eloquent preachers, are needed on all our frontier posts. The battle for liberty is not yet ended, — the time of protest is not yet past, nor will soon be past, beyond the boundaries of this little peninsula and its immediate vicinity, if even here.

The advocates of religious inquiry and intellectual freedom are as yet by no means authorized to count on their enemies as finally extirpated, but must still sleep on their arms, ready to seize them, whenever the trumpet shall call, and go forth to do battle valiantly in the name of the God of truth. Surely we may say in regard to truth and freedom, that knowledge is power; it puts the weapons into our hands; and if we resign them, the Philistines will be upon us, and the ark will yet be taken captive, and as a sect, or class of Christians, we shall be swept, not from this land merely, but from the earth; I say not within twenty years, if I may allude to the language of last evening,* but certainly in the end. The spirit of orthodoxy has continued the same from the days of Athanasius and Augustine to the present time, only occasionally modified by the protests and arguments of the friends of freedom and a more rational theology; and it is not now going to surrender without a contest. It is not yet in its death struggle. With comparatively few exceptions, if any, it yet closes its pulpits against you, and denounces you, and despises your sympathy, and laughs at your projects of amalgamation, and will continue to do so for a long time yet to come. Orthodoxy is not yet dead nor dying. Let it alone, cease to protest against it, and it will trample you in the dust, or drag you in triumph at its chariot wheels, before the end of fifty years. Such are the lessons taught us by the last fifteen centuries.

* The Annual Meeting of the American Unitarian Association.

We may think that there is no need of an appeal to history on questions of the kind alluded to, that the instinctive convictions of our own minds are enough to settle them. But we cannot always choose our weapons of attack and defence. There are some who will be embarrassed by the historical argument, and there are those who will insist on urging it, because with them authority is everything; and we must meet them on their own ground. It is often so in religious controversy. We are called on to prove that the sun shines in a clear day at noon, that black is black, and white is white. Melancholy enough, to be sure; but there is no help for it. It is not always sufficient to say that such a doctrine, or such a position, is intrinsically absurd or incredible. It may appear so to us, but not to another, and he will be convinced only when he sees the supports on which he rests sink under the blows of the adversary. Luther, as I said, began the Reformation without a knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, and with an appeal only to common sense; but in its progress he was compelled to call in the aid of historical learning, which he diligently sought, and which he wielded with great effect, beating down by means of it the last strong hold of the Potentate on the Seven Hills.

But it is not in connexion with the controversies which have agitated, or which may hereafter agitate, the church, that the Christian minister will take most pleasure in reading the past history of his religion, or will find the study of it of most value to him. He will read it that he may derive from it new impressions of the worth of Christianity itself,—that he may learn its power from its beautiful effects.

I have said that Ecclesiastical History exhibits human nature under some of its worst and most degrading aspects. It also exhibits it under some of its noblest. It is a history of the religious sentiment, or capacity, and its manifestations for a succession of ages, and in connexion with the highest revelations of truth and the law of love ever made to the world. As such it must not merely afford pleasure, but furnishes a subject by the study of which the teacher of religion especially can hardly fail to profit, and profit greatly.

How much has Christianity done for the world. How has it connected itself with all the deep workings of the human intellect. What joy and hope has it lighted up in the breasts of millions of our sinning and sorrowing race. What power

of endurance, of self-sacrificing benevolence, and sympathy has it awakened. What wonderful transformations has it wrought. What new life has it infused into the cold, dead heart. How has it stirred the conscience, and by its trumpet tones roused the spiritual slumberer. It has bent over the couch of the sick and dying, and stood by the martyr's stake. It has planted truths in the heart, — soul-awakening, hope-inspiring truths, — truths which address the spirit in language suited to all its varying moods of joy and sorrow, of devout aspiration and penitence, — truths which survive amid all changes, and of the value of which the experience of life, and gradual falling away of our earthly hopes, only serve to produce a new and growing conviction. The words of Christ uttered on the hill-sides of Judea, eighteen hundred years ago, in the streets, in the temple, in the dwellings of his friends, in Gethsemane, and on Calvary, — how wonderful their power! The seed, which was sown in darkness and amid tears, has sprung up and grown, and to multitudes of earthly pilgrims has yielded the healing fruits of life. Look for the greenest spots in the past, you find them where Christianity has been. When there has been elsewhere nothing on which the eye could rest with delight, but all has been moral barrenness, and deformity, and death, Christianity, like a beneficent stream, has flowed on, and along its secret, winding channel, on either side, verdure has sprung up to fringe its banks, and flowers have scented the air, and birds have sung in the branches.

This power of Christianity, visible in its effects, it will become the most pleasing part of the employment of the minister of religion to trace, and he will derive benefit from the employment in different ways. There are, I suppose, in the life of every clergyman, moments of weariness and despondency, when the mind needs the lessons of the past to dissipate its gloom, and infuse into it new energy and hope. And it will not go back in vain to visit the mouldering relics and venerable images of the faith of former ages. It will not only come home refreshed and invigorated for the moment, but it will bring away something by which it may be rendered better and happier forever after. The imagination will be kindled, and the affections elevated, and the soul will be enriched with new germs of thought. As the ancient Christians visited the tombs of the martyrs, not only that they might honor the memory of the departed, but that they might derive courage and a quick-

ening influence from meditating on their virtues, their patience, and their crown, so the preacher of religion will sometimes make excursions into the past, that by the monuments of its piety, which will everywhere greet the eye, as he travels on, his heart may be strengthened, and his devotions grow more warm, and the fruits of his ministry yet more abound.

Again, the preacher must possess a knowledge of human nature; and to obtain this knowledge perfectly, I hardly need say, that he must not only observe society as it exists around him, — “catch the living manners as they rise,” — but he must penetrate the domain of by-gone ages. He must call up the dead from their tombs, and again live over their lives with them, trace their passions as they exhibited themselves on the theatre of the world, and have been preserved in the pages of the faithful chronicler. The history of religion is the history of human nature, under relations which lead to some of the most extraordinary developments of character. Nowhere are the inconsistencies of man, the warring elements of his nature, the divine and the devilish in him, more strikingly manifested than in his religious history. What grotesque shapes do his virtues often put on, and to what miserable sophistry do his passions and vices frequently resort. What strange unions and contrasts are witnessed, — the true and the false, the beautiful and the deformed, springing up side by side, — worthless and parasitical plants attaching themselves to the noblest productions of the soil, sapping their vigor, and overlaying and crushing them by their pernicious growth.

Whatever is most singular and fantastic in man, as well as what is most constant and uniform, exhibits itself in connexion with religion. Over his religious history we alternately weep and smile, feel reverence, or pity, or disgust, and without an acquaintance with it, our knowledge of him must be very imperfect, and imperfect in those very points in regard to which it most concerns us, as Christian ministers, to know him, — his susceptibility of religious influences and his conduct under them.

Such are some of the general uses of Ecclesiastical History to the minister. There are others which are more specific, one or two of which I will endeavor to illustrate by examples.

One of the effects of reading the history of Christianity should be to teach us not to dogmatize, — not to attach too much importance to difference of opinion, or make our own

intellects and theological attainments a Procrustes-bed, by which to measure those of all others. This lesson we derive not simply from the evils of bigotry and exclusiveness, of which it furnishes so many revolting pictures, but, what is more pleasing, from examples of liberty, — from the latitude of opinion and of discussion, which was allowed in what are usually considered as among the purest and best ages of Christianity. This liberty (of individual opinion) continued in the church, though not without being subject to occasional attack, for about three centuries. Origen and his school furnish the most striking illustrations and most splendid examples of it. The fame of this Father was great in the East, and the influence of his name and writings secured the existence of freedom of thought and speculation in the church, long after it would otherwise have become extinct. With the decline of his school in the East, and the triumph of the Athanasians and Augustinians in the West, all liberty of opinion died out, and the world was reduced to a state of spiritual bondage, from which it is yet but partially emancipated.

Of the latitude of thought and discussion, allowed in those times, I will produce two or three specimens, which contrast strangely with the narrowness of subsequent ages.

I will take as my first the manner in which the Fathers of the period alluded to were accustomed to express themselves in regard to the Old Testament writings.

I will not insist on the example of the Manicheans, because they were reputed heretics, though on certain difficult points they scarceley expressed themselves with more freedom than the Fathers deemed orthodox, and there were among them some of the best and noblest spirits and finest geniuses of the age; and many of them possessed no ordinary degree of critical sagacity and skill. They were among the Spiritualists of the day, and the Materialism of the Old Testament was one of the circumstances which inspired in their minds a disgust for it. It contains, say they, no revelation of eternal life, and the temporal promises, of which it is full, are suited only to nurture men's worldly and sensual propensities. They complained, too, that the ideas of the Deity taught in the sacred books of the Jews were impure, and in some respects false and injurious to the Divine Being; that the morality of these books was imperfect; that the Mosaic worship and ceremonies were unworthy of God; the history of the Creation and Fall, false and absurd; and fi-

nally, that it is not true that the Hebrew prophets uttered any predictions of the Christian Saviour.*

These were Manichean opinions. But on several of the points involved some of the most eminent of the Fathers, whose orthodoxy passed unquestioned in their day, were almost equally latitudinarian.

How, ask the Manicheans, are we to attribute anger, revenge, jealousy, repentance, and similar passions and affections, to the one infinite and all-perfect Being? How could an evil spirit come from him, the source of all good, to trouble Saul? How could he command the Hebrews, under a false pretence, to borrow and carry off the jewels and vestments of the Egyptians; or to massacre the inhabitants of Canaan without distinction of age or sex? A multitude of other difficulties were suggested by free inquirers and heretics. And how did Christians treat them? There were some, it appears, who, to dispose of all objections at once, contended for the right of purifying the record, on the ground that Moses did not write the law, that he only delivered his precepts orally to the chiefs of the people, and that, both before and after they were reduced to writing, some things were changed, and not a few were added, and falsehood became blended with truth.†

I am not aware that this hypothesis was assumed by any of the more eminent of the Fathers, certainly not without very important modifications. But Origen expresses views which, traced to their consequences, will to some appear little less startling, when he says, speaking of the Jewish laws, that if we take the language in which they are delivered in its literal sense, or as it is commonly understood, and as the Jews interpret it, that is, if we do not explain it by allegory, or some rule of mystical interpretation, he must blush to own that God had given such laws to the Israelites; that the laws of the Romans, the Athenians, and the Lacedemonians were more rational.‡ This same Father, who was the great doctor of the East, and the flail of heretics, as he was called, pronounces the Mosaic account of the Creation and Paradise, taken to the letter, too absurd for belief. "What man of sense," says he, "will ever persuade himself that there was a first, a second, and a third day, each having its morning and evening, when there

* Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, T. I. p. 270.

† Clement. Hom. I and II.

‡ Hom. in Levit. vii. n. 5.

was neither sun, moon, nor stars? And who so foolish as to believe that God, like a husbandman, planted a garden in Eden, and placed in it a tree of life, a visible and palpable tree, so that he who should eat of its fruit, with his bodily teeth, would receive life?" * The account of the Temptation and Fall is with him a sublime apologue.

The severe, the rigid Augustine treads in his steps. Writing against the Manicheans, after he had forsaken their ranks, he does not think it safe to insist on the literal and historical meaning of the first three chapters of Genesis, lest in so doing he should attribute to them a sense unworthy of God and offensive to piety.† To preserve the credit of Moses and his history, he says, we must have recourse to allegory and enigmatical interpretations, there being no other escape from impiety and profaneness. Truly this, as it has been said, is virtually to abandon both Moses and the Old Testament, though such was not the good Father's intention; nor was it Origen's.

Such freedom was then taken with the Mosaic narrative. Yet all this and much more passed without censure, such was the liberty of speculation and inquiry in those days. No one was thought any the worse Christian for so expressing himself.

Take one or two other points; the question of human inspiration, for example. On this subject the language of the Fathers is not very precise, and it is difficult always to ascertain with certainty their meaning; but it is easy to see that they did not confine inspiration within any very narrow limits. They attribute it, in fact, to every pure mind, heathen and Christian.

The universality of divine illumination, in some sense, indeed, is an old doctrine, and was long anterior to Christianity. The Christian Fathers held the same, somewhat modified by Jewish ideas. They spoke of the human reason as an emanation of the Divinity, and a partaker of the divine reason, or *logos*, which lightens every man that comes into the world. So far did the Fathers go on this subject, as almost totally to annihilate the distinction between natural religion and revealed. Justin Martyr says, that Christ was "in part known to Socrates,"‡ because he is that light which is in all men. He speaks of

* *De Princ. L. iv. n. 16.*

† *De Genesi ad Manichæos, L. II. c. 2. et Retract. L. I. c. 18.*

‡ *Apol. II.*

him as the *logos*, or “reason of which the whole human family participates.” * “All who have lived according to reason,” he tells us, “were Christians, though reputed atheists, as Socrates, Heraclitus,” † and others; and he says the same of those then living, “they are Christians,” — a very liberal definition, certainly, liberal enough, I suppose, to satisfy any one of us.

This reason, or *logos*, the same, he says, which inspired the Jewish prophets, and imparted to the Gentile philosophers whatever right notions they possessed of God and of human nature, in the relation in which it stands to him, Justin calls the “seed of reason implanted in the whole race of man,” ‡ — the “implanted,” or inborn, “reason,” — “the divine seminal reason,” — “whence come the germs of truth to all.” §

The Gentiles enjoyed the higher as well as the lower, or common inspiration. There were genuine prophets among them. So taught Justin, and generally the more eminent of the early Fathers. Nor did they hesitate to assert, what indeed was implied in their views of the inspiring reason, that Christianity was as old as the creation.||

Again, in regard to the nature of God, history shows us that the early Christian Fathers were as far from being unanimous as we moderns are. The philosophical converts to Christianity appear to have retained, in a great measure, the views of their heathen masters on the subject. The corporeity of God was openly asserted.

It is confidently affirmed, as you know, that Descartes was the first who distinctly taught the strict immateriality of the thinking principle. Before his time, it has been said, that all, whether philosophers or theologians, regarded the soul as having body and extension. They attributed them to God himself. Parts

* Apol. I. † Apol. I. ‡ Apol. II. § Apol. I.

|| This Clement of Alexandria is at great pains to show, in opposition to the objection, which was frequently urged, that it was new, — the mushroom growth of yesterday, — an institution which had suddenly sprung up, and which now showed its arrogance by boldly attacking the time-honored religions and philosophy of the old world. Not so, says Clement, — Christianity is not new, — it dates far back in the ages, — before the birth of the oldest of the sages, or of the world itself. A portion of its rays had flowed in upon the minds of the Greeks, imparting to them some knowledge of the truth, “for a certain divine effluence distils upon all men, but chiefly those who employ themselves in rational inquiry.” — See *Christian Examiner*, Vol. V. pp. 142--145, 3d series.

of this statement seem a little too broad.* Augustine at least, among the Fathers, would appear to have been an exception. Yet certain it is, that the notion of a purely immaterial substance was not familiar to the ancient Christians.† Tertullian believed God to possess body and form,‡ and so did many others, perhaps most Christians of his time. Melito wrote a treatise, now lost, with the title, “God is Corporeal.” Origen, in some parts of his writings at least, goes with Tertullian. The term incorporeal, he observes, is not found in the Scriptures.§ Those passages in the Bible which teach that God is a spirit, so far from proving that he is absolutely incorporeal, in the opinion of some of that age, proved directly the reverse. The observation of the Saviour, “God is a spirit,” is one of the passages they quote to prove him corporeal,|| for however inconsistent with the modern idea, it was then believed that all spirit had body and shape,—length, breadth, and height,—not body composed of gross, earthly particles, but of a subtile, attenuated substance, somewhat resembling air, ether, or fire. Such was all spirit. Such a substance was God, infinitely extended, according to some, while human souls and angels had only finite extension.¶ The difficulty of forming a conception of a purely spiritual substance, which the Cartesians acknowledged, and which, I suppose, all, who have speculated or thought much on the subject, must have felt, seems to have

* Cudworth (Intell. Syst. p. 767, et seq. ed. 1678) has brought together a variety of passages from the philosophers, having a bearing, more or less intimate, on this subject; but the result is unsatisfactory. So also Stewart's Elements, Vol. I. p. 449, ed. Bost., and Diss. I. Part I. p. 138. Hallam, Hist. Lit. Vol. III. p. 141. Beausobre, Hist. Man. T. I. p. 481, et seq. Petavius has also treated of the subject in his Dogmata Theologica. Priestley will not allow that even Descartes taught the strict immateriality of the soul, but thinks that he finds the first direct assertion of it in Sir Kenelm Digby. Disquisitiones relating to Matter and Spirit, Vol. I. p. 259.

† I am not aware that the Docetæ were an exception. There is no evidence, I believe, that their idea of spirit was more refined than that of others of their age, or who preceded or followed them, whether philosophers or Christians.

‡ “Quis enim negabit Deum corpus esse?” Adv. Prax. c. VII.

§ De Princ. Præf.

|| De Princ. L. I. c. I.

¶ Still God was frequently said to be *incorporeal*. It is difficult to say precisely what idea was meant to be conveyed by this term. “In the language of the philosophers,” and of course, of the philosophical Christians, this word, says Beausobre “excludes neither extension, nor body, taken in a philosophical sense.”

presented itself to the minds of the Fathers, and to have induced them the more readily to clothe the Deity with an ethereal and finely attenuated body.

I state these facts out of many others, which might be presented, as illustrating the free range of opinion and speculation, which was allowed among the Christian Fathers of what are generally termed the best ages of the Church. I have purposely selected those which have a bearing, more or less direct, on the speculations which now engage the attention of theologians, both as possessing more interest for us at the present time, and as showing that the difficulties, which now perplex the inquirer, are such as have been felt in other ages, and which, at certain periods of the world, and in certain intellectual states of society, are reproduced, and probably will always continue to be. They are not new, — difficulties which have recently sprung up. The question of inspiration has always been an embarrassing one; and the nature of the Divine Being has always presented difficulties, one of the chief of which is, to keep the middle point, if we can, between Anthropomorphism, on one side, and a sort of Pantheism, or impersonal Deity, amounting to little more than a metaphysical abstraction, on the other. Towards one or the other of these extremes the human mind has always oscillated.

I know of no new facts, or objections, which have been recently presented on subjects of theological inquiry. New theories there have been; for example, theories of the Life of Jesus, and the origin of our present Gospels. But the objections and difficulties, which these theories are meant to meet and obviate, are all, I believe, old. There is scarcely one of them, indeed, which belongs even to modern times. Most of them belong to a very remote period of Christian antiquity.

As to novel speculations, or such as pass for novel, but which to the student of the past will seldom appear such in reality, I do not think that Ecclesiastical History teaches us that much danger is to be apprehended from them, if the right course be pursued. The lesson it conveys, I think, is that the utmost freedom of thought is to be allowed. Freedom of thought is not to be repressed. For more and worse evils come, and have come from the attempt to suppress it, than from its injudicious exercise. Even the extravagances, which grow out of such exercise of it, may lead on to good, just as true science was promoted by the follies of astrology, and the search for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life.

This is the result in all instances, and it will be, I am confident, in the present ; certainly so, if, as I said, the right course be pursued. And this, if I read history aright, is to admit great latitude of private speculation ; to consider the individual alone as responsible for his conclusions, and not to convert every opinion, we may deem unsound, fanciful, or extravagant, which may be thrown out upon the public, into a question of party ; but either calmly to discuss it, if we think proper, — first, however, taking care that we comprehend it, and seize the author's stand-point, — or else to let it alone, and leave it to die out of itself, which it will probably do before long, if it be what we take it to be, a really unsound opinion, or mere visionary absurdity.

History is full of such examples. Opinions and hypotheses have their day ; they produce a temporary impression ; they slightly agitate men's minds for a time, as a pebble thrown into the lake causes a gentle ripple, and are then engulfed and forgotten, or give place to others equally ephemeral. This has often happened, and will happen again, not in theology merely, but in other things ; and the result is to produce, in philosophical minds, a distrust or even skepticism in regard to whatever contradicts, or seems to contradict, the experience of the past, which is to be overcome only by the most decisive evidence. This evidence may exist, or the suspected or condemned opinion may contain in it some portion, at least, of truth ; and if so, that truth will stand, and we should rejoice that it is so. It is our consolation to believe that no great thought, or sublime principle, once proclaimed to the world, will finally perish. It may be buffeted or rejected for a time, but like the downy seed, it will be at length wafted to a congenial soil, where it will vegetate, and strike root, and yield fruit a hundred fold. Truth may be smothered for a while, but it is not in the power of man to destroy it. Truth never dies. But time soon dissipates the illusions of imagination, brings a remedy to imperfect and half views, and sobers extravagance. If it sometimes canonizes falsehood, in its further progress it unmasks it, and shows us that the divinities we have worshipped are but painted wood. We bow to it not as time the Corrupter, but time the Purifier.

But I must bring my remarks, already too far extended, to a close. You will perceive, that I do not rate very high the immediate and direct benefits the minister will derive from the

study of Ecclesiastical History, in the ordinary discharge of his official duty, though, as I have endeavored to show, these are worth something. He will derive some light from it, which will guide him in questions of a practical nature, which will be continually presenting themselves. But viewed in reference to its indirect and more remote effects, as part of a liberal culture, of which a minister cannot well be destitute, if he would hold a high rank in his profession, and of which he should not be willing to be destitute, if he could, I certainly do attribute no small importance to the study. I think that many species of knowledge, and many intellectual accomplishments, are to be sought by the minister, which he cannot turn to any present and visible account, though he will turn all to account in the end.

There are many evils attending a partial culture and slender attainments in the minister. He will be in danger of sooner exhausting himself, and breaking down, in consequence, or will find himself in some way cramped and impeded in his exertions. On many subjects he will be apt to exhibit a one-sidedness or dogmatism, which are not desirable, and the chance is that he will, at one time or another, see cause to regret his deficiencies, or his friends will for him. The present, surely, is not the period in which high culture can be dispensed with. Many of the questions of the day, questions in which not the theologian merely, but the minister, must take an interest, upon which he can hardly avoid, at some time, and in some way, touching, require in their discussion a wide survey of the past history of the human mind. Some of the problems, which present themselves for solution, carry us back into remote ages. We must call on the past to surrender its facts. We must examine and interrogate those facts, that we may separate reality from illusion, history from fable, divine truth from its earthly envelope and mere time-vesture. The manifestation of the religious element in our nature, and revelations of truth to the human soul, are as old as the existence of man on earth; and there is no fact connected with their history, which may not have its use, and which will not have its use, with the reflecting mind, and often in a manner least anticipated.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF AMERICA.

HERE is a large volume, whose plan seems suggested by such works as "Campbell's," or "Aiken's British Poets." It is designed "to exhibit the progress and condition of poetry in the United States." It is far more formidable in size, and more elegant in its outward getting-up (bating only the portraits in the Frontispiece, which are libels on the distinguished names beneath them) than any of the popular "Selections," as they are called. It is a whole Museum of all the natural and artificial curiosities, peculiar to this region, which fall under the conventional term of poetry. It is a sort of *Camera Obscura*, which brings within a convenient circle of vision the whole country, with its natural features and its improvements. All our original and all our borrowed wealth are here fancifully paraded on long glittering tables, a true Poets' Fair. Faneuil Hall was never more loaded and decked out with specimens of our industrial mechanical powers. This last figure is most to our purpose, and shall suggest the divisions of our discourse. For as we go to a Faneuil Hall Fair, first, to gratify curiosity, secondly, to buy what we want, and thirdly, to indulge a patriotic pride in contemplating the fruits and future promise of our domestic industry and skill; so the book before us, the "Poets and Poetry of America," may be regarded as a chapter in literary history for the curious; as a collection of poetry, where the hungry soul may feed itself on quickening thoughts; and as a practical answer to the much vexed question, whether there be any poetry, or any prospect of any poetry, which may be called American. The book has a historical, a poetic, and a patriotic interest; curiosity, poetic sensibility, and national pride are the appetites to which it appeals.

The historical view of life under any aspect, of literature, of art, &c. almost necessarily engenders the love of completeness, which tyrannizes over the observer, prompting him to note down much which has no interest but its historical prox-

[The Poets and Poetry of America. With an Historical Introduction. By RUFUS W. GRISWOLD. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart. 1842. 8vo. pp. 468.]

imity to other, better, and more genuine things of the same kind. The questions which we asked of the stars, as we ignorantly gazed at the heavens, the astronomer with telescope and figures undertakes to answer; but in getting the answer, he brings us back much more than we care or need to know; he catalogues many a star of quite inferior magnitude, many a one which we should never look for in the heavens, or anywhere but in his chart. Yet this is well. And equally so in literary history, in the cataloguing of those hosts of stars, called poets and philosophers, which shimmer through that other firmament, the dimly-lighted, boundless mystery of Mind. The love of philosophy and poetry suggests the love of literary history; enamored of its work, this searches round and rescues from oblivion a thousand poets, whom no one ever thought of loving. It is a large class of minds who love these tabular views of literature; the collectors of literary shells and coins are respectable, good people; and a streak of the same propensity lurks in almost every one who reads, even the man of genius, who is himself a poet. For such, among other things, is this collection of American poetry intended. If the end be laudable, the manner in which it is reached here is no less so. The execution of the work, as another chapter in the history of poetry, merits the praise of thoroughness, clearness, and good taste. As Mr. Griswold remarks, "the judicious critic will be more likely to censure me for the wide range of my selections, than for any omissions he may discover." And again; "In selecting the specimens in this work, I have regarded humorous and other rhythmical compositions, not without merit in their way, as poetry, though they possess but few of its true elements." Accordingly he has given us, first, a very valuable historical introduction on the poetry of America before the Revolution, which, if it all falls under the head of "humorous and other rhythmical compositions, not without merit in their way," and reveals not much poetic genius in our ancestors, serves at least to show what poetry they read, and what the culture, not the sentiment of the times, prompted them to write. Then follows the body of the work, consisting of quite copious selections from the poems of no less than *eighty-seven* different authors; doing as much justice to each, probably, as could be done in a book of this kind; sometimes assigning more space to one author, not because he has more merit, but because he happens to be less known, or from some accidental consideration.

Of course this is a delicate undertaking ; one in which it would not be possible to gratify the preferences of each poet and his circle of admirers, either as regards the quantity or the selection given from his pieces. Considering the difficulty, we think the task has been admirably performed. No two readers of poetry, in attempts to make a select album of the choicest verses from their favorite authors, would probably make anything like the same, hardly a similar, collection. And this partly from variety of tastes, and partly because of accidental associations ; the worth of a poem to our own private mind consisting so often in the mere fact of the time when we first read it, our own outward and inward state when first it smiled and spake to us. In addition to all this, the book contains an *herbarium* of choice poetic flowers esteemed for their intrinsic beauty, and not as specimens of the works of those who have written enough to be called poets. Of these there are some sixty-six, some of them anonymous. To the name of each author is prefixed a brief biographical notice, sometimes with criticisms, which are generally just, often beautiful and instructive, and which show that the editor had no indiscriminating enthusiasm about American poets, and did not deceive himself into the idea, that it was all pure gold which he was offering us.

Our long known and our newly risen bards of promise seem all to be here represented. Freneau and Trumbull and Dwight, &c. of the old school, who labored through their long heroics, in the safe old normal style of *Iliad* and *Æneid*, and Pope and Dryden, and Butler's *Hudibras*, are followed by the names we love, the school of more American bards, like Allston, Dana, Bryant, Percival ; and the line is faithfully traced down to the present time.

But was it worth the while ? And have we here a book of *poetry* ? So inexpressible and unscrutable is that thing in its essence, which we call Poetry, that we will not attempt to define it. There is much that is beautiful ; much that is melodious and gracefully turned ; much that is choice in thought and diction ; much that is original ;—and yet it is not poetry. We can tell all about it, except that in which its essential nature consists. We can give a composition credit for beauty, melody, delicacy, richness and freshness of ideas, depth of feeling and of thought, all that is desirable in poetry, and yet feel that it is not accepted of the Muse. Like everything which never

parts with the power to charm, it keeps that power a secret and a mystery. It never explains itself; but imparts itself to whom it will. It is in vain therefore, that we try to tell what poetry is, preparatory to what we may have to say upon the poetic merits of Mr. Griswold's collection. We will not complain that he has not been more select; since it was his plan, and not his taste or poetic appreciation, which led him over so wide a field, to gather up such a profusion of flowers.

Of course, among so many, (and no one can think of reviewing a hundred poets at a sweep,) there must be all varieties of excellence. There is some true poetry; some little gems, which give us the feeling which all genuine beauty gives, that the smallest thing, if only beautiful, is infinite; that all regard to length or size vanishes, that quantity ceases to be an element, so soon as quality is perfect. We can say this of all the picture-poems of Allston; of the "Thanatopsis," the "West-wind," the "Water-fowl," &c. of Bryant, (though it is only in a limited department that he is a poet, while uniformly as a describer of outward nature, and as an artist in words, rising sometimes to a diction almost Shakspearian, he is unsurpassed;) of the "Picture-song," the "Health," and the "Serenade" of Pinckney; of the Sonnets of Jones Very; of pieces by Emerson, and of many a gem scattered through the volume;—we speak from casual recollection, and the omitting of a name is not the denying of merit.

Then there is much which has every excellence, except that of genuine poetic inspiration. There is a great amount of clever talent displayed throughout the book; lively fancy, sweetness and variety of melody, and almost universally a pure moral tone, a high ideal of virtue. All the various styles of poetry have been, to say the least, happily imitated. At first, as we have seen, it was all Pope and Dryden and Butler. Since, we have had Byron and Wordsworth, and something of Keats, (see "Hymns to the Gods," by Alfred Pike,) and quite too much of Mrs. Hemans. These, mixed in various proportions with such original force as our own most susceptible minds have found in themselves, have dictated the form, and in great part the material of our later poetry. And now, within these few years, we have Shelley, and Goethe, and Schiller, responded to in echoes of their own influence, but in notes of greatest promise; for their effect has been, not so much to set a standard, which can be tamely followed, or to create a shallow en-

thusiasm, which apes their form, and voice, and manner, as to arouse and call forth by sympathy, as with the encouraging voice of an elder brother, the nobler nature and the deeper life. The spirit of the modern German muse is so manifest in almost all the best of this last and as yet tender growth of our own poetry, as to make it as yet doubtful whether we can claim much more than translation in the widest sense, namely, reproduction, of European poetry. But it is such translation or reproduction as shows deep and appreciating natures, and the soul of Poesy latent even here, which can respond so nobly to the voice from abroad. The Psalms of Professor Longfellow, for example, distinguished alike for simplicity and elegance, loved so widely for their heart-felt tone, have all the flavor of the rarest foreign fruits engrafted on a native stock.

In one department, certainly, we may say that many, very many of our bards have written well. And that is in descriptions of the beauty of nature, and of impressions received therefrom. Our glorious ravines, woods, and prairies, our sunsets, and our autumn foliage have not spoken in vain, however much we are as a people given to narrow utility. Records of genuine impressions from nature, descriptions so true to the fact, that they savor of the woods and pines, and show that they were written from individual experience, actually abound in this book.

We may contemplate this Poet's Fair, then, with some just pride. That there is any such thing as an *American School* of poetry; that we have a poetic literature which is truly *national*, it may be too early to say. But that good poetry has been written in America, and that too in goodly quantities, and of manifold varieties, is here made visible to all who will read. We yet look for our own great poet. We yet see no bold, earnest enterprise of this sort on a grand scale. No long poem has been written; * but only brief, off-hand, casual effusions. With most of our writers it has been a mere stooping to pluck a wild-flower or two, on the way to and fro between business and home; or the bestowing of a few odd moments on the cultivation of a few choice exotic plants. No

* Our correspondent forgets *The Conquest of Canaan*, *The Columbiad*, and *The Fredoniad*. The first two of these are well known. Of the other it may be enough to name the titles of the three first Cantos, which stand thus; "Heaven," "Hell," "The Surrender of Detroit!" — Ed.

one has committed himself in full to the vocation of a bard. Thousands are guilty of the fantastic folly of a few rhymes in the course of their life; they get the taste of it; show that they know what it is; and then throw it by, like a plaything.

One thing strikes us, (we may almost say, startles us,) as the eye runs along over these well-spread tables of poetic home-produce. Almost every article is the product of young hands. All the rhyming now-a-days is by young men, (or young women, who sometimes hold out rather longer,) and the lyrics and smaller poems, which have been our admiration since we began to talk of American poetry, appear here as reminiscences of the youth of men, who have long since forsaken the Muse and dropped the idle reed, and are now grown gray and shrewd in practical affairs. From Percival and Bryant and Sprague we hear but seldom; from Dana never. Allston, who might have been the bard among them all, has spoken rather (and who does not feel compensated by the result?) to the eye in divine works of art, throwing out now and then some slight, but exquisite poetic interpretation, as he rested from his labors and mused upon the creations of his hand. With but few exceptions, all our poets renounced, if not the "*vision*," yet the "*faculty* divine," ere they had long reached the manly age. Surviving, as it were, this fever of their youth, they have become prudent, sober men, and utter themselves in solid prose, or still more solid deeds. Why is it? Is the poetic impulse only a disease which all must pass through once, an extravagance of youth? Or, granting it to be a wholesome and divine thing, is poetry in its very nature a flower that blossoms early, a wind-flower of the spring, whose bloom it would be unreasonable to seek to continue into the summer and autumn of life? And is this the natural economy and law of growth, that the soul, like the shrub *Rhodora* in the woods, shall first put out its short-lived flowers in dreams and poetry, and then the leaves which last all summer, then prosaic thought and drudgery, the earnest work of life? Not so with the genuine, the chosen, and inspired priest of song. He is always young. He carries spring-time and hope and fresh enthusiasm through life with him; and wherever he treads, fresh flowers spring up about his feet. Nay, poetry is a perpetual fountain of rejuvenescence; we drink of its waters and are young again; the sober formalist, the intellect slinks away like a self-convicted pedant, and the heart has its day, and fond ideals revive, and the first

faith of childhood triumphs for an hour over the skeptical lessons of experience. Poetry is not, in itself, unmanly, or unfit to dwell with the maturest age and wisdom. Woe to the man who allows the conventionalisms of the world to shame him out of the boyish simplicity with which he wooed the Muse, who has ceased to "reverence the dreams of his youth." Poetry forsakes not man, as he passes from youth to manhood, until he forsakes himself, and learns to temporize with fortune and with fashion.

We must seek further. Is the poetic impulse genuine, it may be asked, which so soon folds its wearied wings, and attempting no more flights in upper air, prefers to creep upon the earth with other "tame villatic fowls?" Was it not a false ambition, exciting to feeble imitation natures never born to fly? Was it not all forced work with them, which they could not force themselves to perform much longer? Doubtless in many cases this has been so. The culture, not the spirit of the man, may often lead him into efforts, not without success for a time, which, not being prompted from the inmost heart and marrow of himself, where all heavenly influence enters, must necessarily lose their strength at last for want of a perpetual spring to feed it. But the genuine in poetry, as in all arts, always approves itself at once; and we have seen that there has much been written here which gives us that true feeling, while we read it. Moreover, is not our general literature, are not our conventions where the word is spoken and not written, all glowing with unconscious poetry? The most poetic minds of the age write in prose; and there is room for beauty, fervor, and richest melody, even in that apparently unmeasured form. Has any verse more melody than Milton's prose, or much of Channing's and of Emerson's? And are not all the higher flights of eloquence poetry? And of this no people will boast more.

Where the impulse has been genuine, nay, where there has been genius of no mean quality, some condition has been wanting, it would seem, to a full development of it. The truth is, that our social life discourages all poetry. It allows none of that simple, spontaneous, self-forgetting habit of mind, which is so essential to any pure worship or fervent praise of the Ideal. Every one becomes awfully self-conscious in the glare of such a self-surrounding, criticising public opinion. He knows that every eye is upon him, questioning the utility, the motives, and the tendency of all he does and says; that his

simplest and most beautiful acts will offend most against the law of custom. Everybody keeps reminding him that he is strange, until he adopts their way and becomes a stranger to himself. Thus the poet, like a bashful child in the midst of a formidable company, is struck dumb, and is happy, if he can only escape from his awkward confusion enough to play a conventional part like the rest. The root of this tyrannizing, narrow public opinion is partly the utilitarian, money-getting spirit of the age, of which we need not speak ; and partly the selfish love of comparative excellence, of individual importance in the eyes of the world, which never accepts a man for what he is, but asks how much greater or smaller is he than A or B ? How far does he rise above or sink below the common run ? Of course the standard by which these questions are answered, the scale of merit for all, will be whatever the majority most prize ; and that is wealth. And so the poet, if he would pass for anything, must snatch for his portion, and first get to be fashionable. No one, but the artist himself, can conceive of the immense moral courage which it costs to be an artist, a true one, in such a state of society.

We cannot say how far this social characteristic is connected with our republican institutions. Doubtless it is in some measure a result from them ; but it were idle to charge our lack of great poets upon them. We do not believe that there is, or can be in any circumstances, such a thing as a peculiarly *American* poetry. An American poetry would be a poetry which should breathe the spirit of our institutions ; and that, if realized, should be purely human, wide, universal, and not merely patriotic and national. It is not the love of country, but the love of man, and recognition of the spiritual equality of all men, which is the idea of our Constitution. But our Constitution is an ideal floating far above our heads, while our life is sordid in its motives, and narrow in its practical maxims ; and love of power and invidious distinction, and slavery to custom, so prevail, as to make us all sadly conscious of the glaring inconsistency between profession and practice. This weighs like a spell upon everything like poetic impulse. Poetry must be the spontaneous expression of an earnest, deep, and unmisgiving life. We must *live* the principles of our Constitution, before we shall have that faith in them, which can overflow in song. We must live up to our Constitution, would we as a people realize the promised influence of liberty upon poetry

and art. We have gone too far to return and live contentedly in the belief, that the old ways are right and well enough. And yet the old habit clings to us in spite of our new profession. This every thinking mind feels; and it is plain that the truest poetry for us at present is, to carry out in practice the ideal principles of human brotherhood and justice, which we have hung out as our national banner. Any such practical contradiction, any such consciousness "of a false position," is utterly at war with and paralyzes the creative power of genius. We believe, then, that the most ideal and poetic impulse of our people is engaged in the movements of reform; and that when our social life comes near to the beauty of our national principles, then there will be poetry gushing forth from a full heart, that trusts its own words. A state of full, entire belief is the first condition of poetry. And that occurs twice; *first*, in the simplicity of the olden time, when men do not dream that there may be a better state of society than that they live in, and therefore *do* make a shift to *live* in it. And *secondly*, when, once inspired with the idea of progress, they go the length of their idea, and do not talk about it, but *live* in it.

The intermediate state of perpetual doubt and misgiving and self-accusation, when, having proclaimed their doctrine, they still cling timidly to the ways of the majority, robs genius of its faith in itself, haunts it with the nightmare of a morbid consciousness of self, and takes away all creative energy.

J. S. D.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DR. FOLLEN.

A JOURNAL, usually recognised as a dictator in the literary world, has declared, that no one can be expected to write a good biography of a near relative. This canon may safely be disputed, whether it is intended to apply to the relation of consanguinity or of friendship. And a sounder maxim would be, that no one can write a good biography of any person, to

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whom he is not bound by the closest ties of affection. Love alone has insight. Indifference, curiosity, hate are blind. The advantage is wholly on the side of the biographer, when he is writing of one united to him by blood. Hereditary tendencies enable him to appreciate by his own experience the radical character, which is essentially the same though superficially modified in all the members of a family. Friendship is, however, a better qualification for a biographer than consanguinity; for friends are relatives not in the blood but in the spirit. They are bound together from seeing in each other's characters the germ or full-grown beauty of what they know to be best in themselves, or yet oftener, from finding there the very qualities, of which they are consciously deficient, and which they most need to complete their ideal. Friends are born together of God, and learn through love to know the greatness of the nature, which casual acquaintance overlooks, and which the rudeness of worldly collisions drives into the hiding-places of reserve. A man's real spirit is a walled city to his fellow-man, till confidence has unbarred the gates. Relationship, whether by birth or friendship, is the best preparation for a biographer.

We should have taken up this memoir of Charles Follen by his wife, then, with the prepossession, that we should find there portrayed his most characteristic features, even if we had not known how very pure, tender, and perfect was the love that bound and still binds these friends together. But we frankly confess, we were not prepared, from what we knew of the enthusiasm of the author, for the tone of subdued affection which makes the charm and constitutes the atmosphere of this book. We have felt, in reading it, how very near must have seemed to her the presence of him, who has passed into the world of transparent truth. The duty has been faithfully rendered which she thus simply and touchingly describes.

"It was only for the sake of my child, that I first thought of writing the history of his father's life, feeling the conviction, that it would be the best blessing I could confer upon him; but my friends convinced me, that I ought to have a wider aim and a higher purpose than this, and that many hearts might be elevated, many souls quickened and blessed, by the contemplation of the life and character of such a being.

"I may say with truth, and in his own words, 'I have wished to perform this duty in his spirit, not attempting to present what my own mind might invent, or my personal feelings

dictate, but, from such records as I have, to give the simple story of his life, which is his best eulogy.'

"I feel an unutterable shrinking from thus removing the veil of privacy from all that is most dear and holy in my own existence; but by no other means could the beautiful image of his life and character be given. No one knew him as I did. Therefore, with an unhesitating faith and a cheerful courage, I commit this inadequate record of my husband's life to the public, remembering, that the weak feeling, which makes this act a sort of self-crucifixion, will pass away, and that, while the hand that drew it will be forgotten, this faithful picture of human excellence will live forever in the minds of many.

"The effort to suppress the anguish of soul, which would unfit me for my sacred task, has contributed much towards the fulfilment of his parting charge to me, to 'be of good courage' till we meet again." — pp. 581, 582.

Charles Follen was the second son of Christopher Follen, counsellor of law and judge, first at Giessen, and then at Friedberg in Hesse-Darmstadt. He was born on the 4th of September, 1796. It was ominous of an eventful life, that while the ceremony of his christening was going on, the hitherto quiet house was suddenly filled with a troop of French soldiers, with General Jourdan at their head. The son united in beautiful harmony the characters of the parents. The father is thus described in a letter from Charles, written after his death.

"How clear and living does the image of my father's soul stand before me. His penetrating and comprehensive understanding; his uprightness and firmness; his glowing justice, aiding the oppressed, unmoved by the prayers or power of the oppressor; his contempt of all false appearances; his self-sacrificing, untiring sense of duty, which acknowledged no superior, regarded no relationship, which knew neither friend nor foe, which kept him always ready to stand before the highest judgment. Who of us does not remember with a painful pleasure his cheerful disposition, his wit, his power of entertaining, his noble and truly youthful interest in the generous though imprudent exertions of young people; his childlike pleasure in children, whom he attached to himself by his humorous inventive imagination, and gift at story-telling." — pp. 317, 318.

The mother was a gentle lady, full of loveliness, who died when Charles was but three years old; — and probably we see the traces of her softness in the feeling, which made him through life remember the "sad day, when he sat all alone

upon the great old-fashioned stairs, feeling as if he were forgotten, and no one of those who passed up and down spoke a word to him, and he heard a bell toll, and felt that something very sorrowful, he knew not what, had happened, and he cried, he knew not why." p. 4. After his mother's death, the two other sons and the daughter were sent away, and Charles remained alone at home, where his father devoted himself to his improvement with a patient affection, which may be tested by the amusing and pleasing anecdote, that he allowed Charles to stretch wires across every part of his study, and hang them with bells to make a tune, without complaining of their jangle or of the trouble in stooping under them. Surely an indulgent man for a studious judge! Indeed it is plain, that the father's heart was peculiarly poured out on this beloved son. And a friendship then began which each remaining year served only to ripen. The tone of hearty love, in which the father addressed his son through the period when he was following a course that his own sobered judgment did not wholly approve, and the frankness with which he proposes to come and live with him in America, speak volumes as to the truth of the relation that bound them together. They were what parent and child should ever be, intimate, confiding friends. The simple words of the father to Augustus and Charles, when they told him they had enlisted, "If you had not done so, I should not have acknowledged you as my sons," shows the manly freedom in which he desired them to stand. Christopher Follen was a good father.

But Charles was greatly indebted also to his step-mother, a woman for whose spirit and character all that is said in the volume, and all that we can gather from her letters, awakens a warm respect; and to whom he was plainly attached as to a mother. And so the boy grew up in a loving home, where the sunshine which a child's heart needs was warm. He was delicate in health, and rather backward, sensitive, and gentle, yet resolute and persevering, inclined to be grave, though open-hearted to the romance of youth. All the little anecdotes he gives of his early years are full of beauty. You see the magnanimity of later years in the grand way, with which he held out his hand to his father, who had angrily punished him, and said, "Father, I forgive you." p. 6. A steady industry, so characteristic of his manhood, enabled him to mount rapidly from class to class, and he remained below only because his

age would not allow him to go higher. A delicate honor and self-respect shows itself in the violent fits of grief, which any attempt to banter him upon peculiarities awakened. Perhaps a somewhat stern and even morbid conscientiousness appears in his premature seriousness; and a mind too early thoughtful in the curiosity, which led him, after lying awake to solve some puzzling question, to rise and wake his father to answer it for him. He says, that he was naturally timid; but this we doubt, and should rather refer to the powerful action of imagination whatever may have seemed like fear. It is an error often made; and many a boy and man seems brave, who is merely hard and sluggish in his ideal nature. Certainly one anecdote, which Dr. Follen related of himself in after years, shows a most determined purpose, if not instinctive fearlessness. When he was at Coire, he found a bridge, deep beneath which the Rhine rushed foaming along. Being easily affected to dizziness when looking from a height, he thought a good opportunity here offered itself to subdue the weakness, and daily walked upon the parapet with his eyes upon the whirling stream, falling in upon the bridge when vertigo seized him, until by perseverance he was able to run backwards and forwards upon this narrow footing with perfect ease. He could scarcely have been fearful as a boy, who in manhood showed such steadiness of nerve. Another anecdote to the same effect we feel inclined to mention, as it is a remarkable indication of his courage and decision, and, like the foregoing one, does not appear in the narrative. He was once, with a party of fellow-travellers, threading his dangerous way along a mountain side in the pass well called "Via Mala;" where now, indeed, thanks to the policy of Austria, is a broad and smooth macadamized road; but where then was only the narrowest footpath, winding along on the face of the precipice. The companion before him, an Italian exile, had been eloquently discussing the wrongs of his country, quite unconscious of danger, till suddenly looking down into the yawning abyss, where hundreds of feet below the river lay like a skein of foam, he trembled, turned pale, and leaning against the side of the precipice declared, he could go no further. There was no time for parley, no room to turn, the fate of the whole party was at stake, for had he fallen he would have dragged with him the others. Dr. Follen instantly seized him by the neck, and calling him by name said, if you do not at once go forward, I will

dash you headlong down. Of course this appeal drove the blood from the Italian's heart again, courage returned, and they were safe. This shows him cool and brave. But that he was all alive to strong impressions of the imagination we can well believe. His nature was poetical and tender. He liked to pass whole days by the brook, that ran behind his grandfather's garden in Romrod, and mingle his young thoughts with the gurgling waters. In a word, his boyish character was formed amidst all the loving charms, and simple tastes, and humble romances of a German home; and we doubt, if England or America can often show a soil so prodigal of hearty manliness and sweet courtesy. The Germans have a sensitive kindness pervading daily life, somewhat foreign to the hard Anglo-Saxons. Any one, who in after years saw Dr. Follen with children, a boy among boys, all awake to their little fancies, and winding the garlands of his sympathy and the crowns of his cheerfulness round them, needs not to be assured, that affection had filled his young mind with all gentle associations.

Having obtained many prizes for literary labors, and passed the regular examinations, Charles entered the University of Giessen in 1813, being under seventeen years of age, and devoted himself to jurisprudence. Immediately after the battle of Leipzig he joined a volunteer corps of riflemen, consisting mostly of students. And to understand his after character, his sternness against wrong, his heroic daring against all manner of oppression, his readiness to combat for justice, we must bear in mind the mighty influence which this German crusade against the tyrant of France excited. The spirit, that was nurtured into vigorous life in him through these stormy years, found its expression in the Funeral Hymn of Körner, which may be read on p. 610, Vol. I. Thus early he had consecrated himself to the cause of freedom, and was inspired with that hope, which then bound the youth of Germany into a living whole, and which, but for the cowardice and treachery of their governments, might ere this have redeemed their own land and Europe. Alas! when will such an opportunity return again, as was opened to Christendom by the outbreak of democracy, and the downfall of that apostate to freedom, who was called to be and might have been its favored son.

From this period we may date the history of Charles Follen's public life. Though devoting himself perseveringly

to literary labors, with the scrupulous thoroughness of a German student, he gave his best thoughts and energies to awakening among his fellows a hope for the political, moral, and religious reform of the German people. "When but a boy of twelve years of age, he had dwelt upon the idea of a state of society, in which every man, through his own free effort, should make himself a true image of Jesus. He thought that nothing short of Christ-like perfection should satisfy us." Thus was freedom to be secured for one's own soul; and then would he be ready to struggle against all tyranny. These views diffused through the hearts of his people he believed would destroy all oppressions. An occasion was immediately presented to test his principles. On returning to their respective universities, after the holy struggle for their native land, the students generally felt a disgust at the selfishness and pettiness of the customs prevailing among them, at the folly of the distinctions and divisions which banded them into hostile Landsmanschaften; and a general desire for reform of these abuses prevailed. This seems to have been especially the case at Giessen, where Follen was a leader if not *the* leader of the movement; and we wish we had room for a lengthened sketch of the stand which he and others took. We refer our readers to the deeply interesting account in the *Memoir*, pp. 23-50. "He commenced the life of reform with himself; was exemplary in his devotion to study; pure and upright in all his actions; so careful of the rights of others, and so free from blemish himself, that even the malicious and envious could not find aught against him. He had perfected himself in all manly exercises; was a skilful gymnast; a master of the broadsword; a powerful swimmer;" and from the combined effect of such character and accomplishments "exercised an influence that was felt by all. p. 24. This drew upon him, from his exertions to introduce discipline, good morals, and industry among the students, the hatred of the bad and ill-disposed." More than that, he befriended the weak against all the petty tyrants, who attempted to domineer over them; and of course was often called upon to use his sword against these bullies. It is characteristic of the man, that he never fought a duel on purely personal grounds. p. 26. So early had he become the disinterested friend of the oppressed. It is much to be lamented for the good of Germany, and through German Universities, of the world, for plainly enough she must be the focus

of illumination for a long time yet to come, that this manly attempt to substitute a true code of honor and virtue among the students, in place of capricious and barbarous usages, did not succeed. But it failed, doubtless through the underhanded manœuvres of the governments and their spies, who dreaded the effects of the flood of new life gathering on these mountain sides to sweep with fertilizing power over the country. Politicians saw, that their slight barriers would be overwhelmed by a strong tide of generous-hearted youth. And so by an artful working upon national prejudices they raised the cry of "Jacobins — Black Robbers," and silenced the Reformers under threats of severest penalties. It was part of the same cunning and cruel scheme of debasement, that led them to close the gymnasia of the heroic Jahn, who, with his grand maxim of "Strong, free, joyful, and pious," was breathing into all he taught a spirit of manly self-reliance, which in two generations would have re-created a whole people, and made them free. If the politicians of Europe would have had but faith, instead of yielding to childish doubt, all would have been well. It is not too late even now.

But the misfortune of the time was, that owing to the long established usurpations of the church, basing herself as she had done upon man's ineradicable religious instincts, a necessity arose at the time of the French revolution for a revolt against all that was held sacred. Hence democracy, as it first appeared, was atheistic. But just the religious reform, which such young men as Charles Follen longed and prayed for, would have fulfilled the best hope of that generation. Let us rejoice, that in our day the signs have brightened of a wider, purer, more radical reform; though we need even now souls pure, earnest, devout, heroic, as Follen's, to go forth and announce in high-ways and by-ways the coming of the kingdom. Doubtless this young German was an enthusiast; doubtless he did not allow for the slow processes, by which in the moral, as in the material world, the craggy cliff becomes a rounded hill, and the quaking bog a verdant meadow. But what would society do but for such young prophets? Their errors and failures are the sunken stones, on which as a foundation shall be reared, by successive contributions, broad bridges for way-faring humanity. Let the aged and experienced oppose ultraism, but let the young be earnest in hope. From the time of this first public effort for justice and right, Charles

Follen was a marked man ; one of those persons, dreadful for their purity, whom the prudent of the earth call dangerous. And unquestionably he was dangerous to all abusers of their fellow-men. It is plain enough, at least, he was sternly resolved to advance human liberty at any cost. He was never a non-resistant ; and in this day of full-blooded youth, with the notions of honor imbibed in a German university, cradled in those earthquake shocks of conquest amidst which his boyhood was past, it is no wonder surely, that he put faith in the strong hand as well as in the small voice, and dared to look boldly forward at the civil convulsions, through which society might be called to pass, ere it reached the promised land of peace. To those, who remember the beautiful sweetness, the air of deliberate calmness in which he moved among us here, it may seem strange that he should ever have penned the really fierce invectives of " The Great Song." But if we call to mind his age, the influences working on his character, and especially the atrocious deceits of the German governments, and the sullen despair into which these generous youths were driven, we shall do more than pardon, we shall honor the single-hearted determination, that flinched at no peril. The many may be prudent, and be willing to lose a great good, and leave unperformed great duties, rather than wade through the horrors of civil contention to reach them ; but they are the few, the very few who have faith enough in God and man to see, that Peace and Self-sacrifice advance humanity more surely and rapidly, than even successful contest, where the prophets of reform are faithful unto death. Surely we ought not to blame Charles Follen, that in his youth he did not see, that Good alone can overcome Evil, that Love is the only conqueror, or rather that Good and Love may use no other weapons than conviction, persuasion, and a consistent life. He was at this time twenty-one years of age, and had just completed a thorough examination of every argument urged by the most powerful minds against religion, the result of which was a most firm and joyful faith, from that time forward forever brightening ; and the importance of which conscientious grasping with doubts he bore witness to in after years, when he said, " For myself I can truly declare, that next to the Gospel itself, the books that have been written against it have been the most efficient promoters of my belief in its divine truth." p. 56. This fervent Christian faith pours itself eloquently out amid the fiery indignation

of the "Great Song," which we ask our readers to peruse with sympathy. For ourselves we confess that the occasion, on which this stirring lyric, full of fire and beauty although so fierce, was sung, when we consider the time, place, circumstances, and actors, rises up like one of the grand historical events of the century. It has a poetical and picturesque heroism about it, which is almost unique. A graphic account of the meeting may be found in Howitt's *Student-Life of Germany*. We can only refer our readers to it, as also to the brief sketch given in the present volume, p. 56 – 60. It will be seen from this, that the burning hatred of tyranny and love of freedom, which Dr. Follen expresses in his songs, was shared with all the truly noble and generous spirits of his country; and this must be remembered in judging of the reasonableness of his hope for the regeneration of his people.

"He was not at the feast of the Wartburg. He and his friends, with other students who remained at Giessen, commemorated the day by partaking together of the Lord's supper. The spirit of self-sacrifice, which had led the German nation to victory on that day, four years before, this band of religious and patriotic young men thought worthy of Him who laid down his life for mankind; and it was in order to cherish this spirit, and that they might anew pledge themselves, in this solemn way, to a life of self-sacrificing devotion to their country's welfare, that they chose this mode of keeping the day holy." — pp. 59, 60.

Such was his baptism into Liberty.

And next came his temptation. Six months only after he had finished his University studies, while yet but twenty-one, he was invited by several hundred communities of the province of Hesse to petition the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt to repeal an unjust and oppressive institution. What a reputation must he have acquired, to have been thus honored; and what invincible virtue did it show, to be ready to take up, single-handed, the forsaken cause of the people, under the declaration of the government, that this union was seditious, and their threat to deprive every counsellor-at-law of his office, who should serve in the cause. What a triumph too in the very entrance on active life, so to influence public opinion, as to prevail upon the Duke to take back the ill advised and unjust step. This triumph for his countrymen, however, was his own ruin, as he well knew it would be when he undertook the cause. From this time forward he was an object of hatred

to the government, and finding his hopes blighted at Giessen, he accepted an invitation to lecture at Jena. But what a trifle to this generous man seemed his worldly disappointment.

“There was no period of his life, that he looked back upon with such unmingled pleasure as upon this. He loved to speak of it. He knew, that it laid the foundation of the final ruin of all his hopes in his native land; but he seldom alluded to that. He loved to describe the appearance of the simple-hearted, reverend delegates from the communities, and their gratitude to him for his exertions in their behalf. He loved to remember the general burst of generous indignation, which was called forth from the people by the petition he drew up, stating the injustice of the new law; and his own joy at the triumph of simple right against arbitrary power and selfish cunning. He forgot, he was indeed all-unconscious at these times, by what sacrifices the good had been obtained.” — p. 66.

We follow the young hero for liberty now to Jena; and cannot here omit a portrait sketched by the hand of an intimate friend and fellow-martyr in the cause of freedom, who is now a resident in our community, and whom we gladly welcome to such security and peace, as our country, in its present imperfect state of liberty, can afford.

“Dr. Follen received us as an old acquaintance; and we called each other at once *Du* (thou). He was candid and kind, open and confiding, without appearing to demand the same manner from those he conversed with. But there was, in his bearing, his appearance, the tones of his voice, in his movements, his glances, in fact, in the whole man, something so noble, such calmness, strength, determination, and an almost proud earnestness, a something peculiar to himself, which imperceptibly inspired all who came in contact with him with a deep feeling of respect. Picture to yourself, in addition to this, a very smooth, somewhat broad, but delicately formed forehead; a well-shaped nose; deep blue eyes, full of soul; a red and not too large mouth; thick, light-colored whiskers; smooth, light hair, which, parted on the middle of his forehead, hung around his neck in wavy locks; a skin so fair and rosy, so fresh and clear, that none, among my fair readers, would for a moment have resented a comparison being made between it and their own. Again, picture to yourself this head on a sound, powerful, and well-grown body of middle stature, and clothe the figure ordinarily in a blue, German student's coat, trimmed with buttons of mother of pearl, and you will have before you

the image of Dr. Follen, 'the incarnate devil,' (the term applied to him by Wit, when he vilified his name and his character.) This man was as serene, pure, and chaste in his manners as in his words; and we, who have visited three different universities, can assure you, that we have nowhere met his equal, nor any that could be compared to him, for purity and chasteness of manners and morals." — pp. 80, 81.

Such was the youth who at the age of twenty-two dared to lecture before the cultivated community of Jena on the Pandects of Justinian. It is a proof of great accomplishments and uncommon intellectual vigor, that he met with eminent success, was received into the circle of such noble minds, as Oken and Wieland, &c; and yet more, that the whole class of law students, which was very respectable, remained with him to the last, giving thus their testimonial to the great interest and real excellence of the lectures. The same friend from whom we have quoted says; "Charles Follen was incontestably the most respected and best cultivated young man then living in Jena." And most remarkable was the position which he here assumed. We have already seen, how at Giessen he had consecrated himself to a Christ-like perfection of spirit and of life; we have read above the testimonial of his friend to the peculiar purity and loftiness of his character. And now he was to astonish all by his unflinching self-confidence. He began boldly to maintain that he lived wholly according to reason, and was all that reason could require of him; "he was so proud and exacting that he spoke in terms of indescribable contempt of the meanness and weakness of him, who believed that the consciousness of truth and beauty, and the conception of lofty ideas, could ever be separated from their realization in life, their practice and their development in their whole extent."

His faith expressed itself thus in a Communion Hymn.

"Hast thou escaped thyself?
A Christ shalt thou become;
A child of earth, like thee
Was he, the Son of Man.
In thy being the Nought is turned to nought;
God judges thee, as thou hast judged thyself;
God through himself, through love, became man,
That be our aim and model might remain." — p. 599.

"He did not think himself a Christ; but maintained that

every one should, like Christ, strive after moral perfectibility, and be willing to die for his faith." This was enthusiasm, if men please to call it so. We can only say in relation to it, first, that we should have only the highest hopes for any one awakened to such unlimited aspiration ; and secondly, that we need nothing so much, as men who dare thus to throw open their whole souls as a temple for holiness. Indeed we see not how any one on the ground of common sense, as well as of religion, can content himself with a lower aim than perfection. But it must be perfection in God's own time. It is the last and hardest temptation to learn, and become patient under the conviction, that the growth of character must be slow ; that this gradual development is the necessary condition for a matured freedom ; and it is the highest virtue while eager and fervent after the highest good willingly to allow the veil, which God has wrapped around us, as he bears us in his arms, to be unlifted. But we envy not the moderation of those, whose hearts do not leap with joy, when they see a man single-hearted enough, to believe that he can at once be "filled with the fulness of God." How infinitely truer and worthier this state of mind, than the timid, creeping, half-dozing state, in which the thousands burrow, like moles. But enthusiasm, however noble, bears naturally and necessarily fanaticism as its fruit. And it is plain enough, that at this period of his life Follen was a fanatic ; truly a most lofty and generous one, but still intolerant, and overbearing. It needed the softening influences of many disappointments to make him the calm though zealous, just though inflexible, courteous and gentle though frank and uncompromising friend of truth, he showed himself consistently to be among us here. The unconditional submission, which he demanded to his moral and political opinions, made him at once the leader of a party, whose aim was the highest and widest reform of the whole people, and at the same time the object of most undisguised and violent attack. A writer of the time indeed hesitated not to call this young saint, for he was one, "a devil." In a word, at the age of twenty-two the boldness of Charles Follen's ethical and social system was producing a strong sensation at Jena, as it had done two years before at Giessen, when the murder of the miserable Kotzebue by Sand gave an opportunity to the government to get rid of a man, whom they feared, and could neither convert nor silence. Any clear judgment would of

course say, that poor Sand was insane; and while disapproving his uncalled for and criminal act, still sympathize with the stern uprightness which was struggling with his morbid fancies. But what gross injustice is it to pour out the vials of indignation, as the world has done, upon this half-crazed young student, and spare none for the hoary-headed traitor, who was secretly undermining the best interests of the nation, which gave him a home. Very possibly the government actually thought Dr. Follen an instigator of this deed, for fear in its twilight converts even guiding sign-posts into threatening fiends, and he had been known to say, "if matters come to the worst, all who are wavering in their faith must be sacrificed," alluding to the necessity that he feared there might be for some violent contest, in securing the triumph of liberty; but more probably the political leaders used this event only as a plausible ground of accusation against one, who was suspected of being the author of those popular songs, which were stirring deeply the hearts of the multitude. The world knows the result of this attempt to implicate Dr. Follen. In March Kotzebue was murdered. In May Dr. Follen was examined at Weimar, where nothing was of course discovered against him, and whence he returned to finish his lectures at Jena. In the following October he was again arrested and carried to Mannheim, for the purpose of confronting him with Sand, where he was subjected to the most tedious and vexatious questioning. Every effort was made to prove him guilty, but in vain. There was no ground whatever to suspect him of connivance, and he was acquitted. But how characteristic and beautiful was his parting with Sand.

"After a long and very trying interview, which both of them endured with the utmost patience and calmness, when there was no longer anything to ask him, and they were about to lead him away, the sight of his poor, deluded friend, so quietly and so cheerfully waiting the cruel death that was to finish his sufferings, and conclude the strange tragedy of his life, the beautiful expression of his noble countenance, and his conviction of the purity of his misjudging mind, so overcame him, that, in spite of the presence of his stern judges and all the dictates of prudence, he suddenly pushed those aside who would have held him back, and, rushing to the bedside of his still dear friend, took him in his arms, and pressed him to his heart, as he bade him farewell for ever." — pp. 74, 75.

Dr Follen was acquitted, but he could no longer remain at

Jena, nor even at his father's house in Giessen. He now stood as an object of suspicion to many, and of the unrelenting persecution of men in power. A man who had bitterly opposed him at Geissen said, when he heard of his return, "Ah! the axe has its handle again; this will not do." Some then spoke of his unblemished character. "So much the worse," was the answer, "I should like him better, if he had a few vices." The government determined to imprison him; and, in 1819, the young martyr of twenty-three already famous became an exile. He at last found a retreat, as professor, in the cantonal school of the Grisons at Coire or Chur, where the liberality of his theological opinions obliged him, after a residence of less than a year, to resign his place; receiving at his departure from his fellow-professors and his pupils the highest testimonials of personal respect. He was then appointed public lecturer at the university of Basle. This was a most happy period of his life. He was surrounded by dear friends. The young men received his instructions into liberal hearts, and responded to his stirring doctrines of Liberty. He was engaged to be married. Life was full of promise. His days were beautiful, peaceful, and free. But this period of repose was not to last. Tyrants trembled when they heard that in Switzerland this new temple of freedom was erected; — and on the 27th of August, 1824, the government of Basle received three notes from the government of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, demanding that Dr. Follen and another professor should be given up to the tribunal of inquisition, which the King of Prussia had established at Kaepnick, near Berlin. The governments of Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau added their demands for the surrender of their born subjects; and finally Berne sent an entreaty, that the general peace should not be hazarded for the sake of two individuals. The accusation was, that they were the prime movers in a grand conspiracy to overthrow the monarchical state of Germany. The government of Basle summoned the two professors to give an explanation of these accusations, which Dr. Follen declared were "as unfounded as vague." He demanded that he should be tried, if tried at all, by the courts of the canton. The government of Basle, feeling the injustice of these general charges, and seeing too that their own honor and freedom were at stake, refused to surrender him. But three more notes from the great powers arrived, and at last the spirit of Basle broke, and Dr. Follen was ad-

vised to depart. But with that firmness, dignity, and perfect fearlessness, which marked his whole course, he refused to go, and claimed a trial. The government issued an order for his arrest; and seeing then the impossibility of longer resistance, he left the city, sending as his farewell, the following protest to the government.

“Whereas the *Republic* of Switzerland, which has protected so many fugitive princes, noblemen, and priests, would not protect him, who, like them, is a *republican*, he is compelled to take refuge in the great asylum of liberty, the United States of America. His false accusers he summons before the tribunal of God and public opinion. Laws he has never violated. But the heinous crime of having loved his country has rendered him guilty to such a degree, that he feels quite unworthy to be pardoned by the Holy Alliance.” — p. 119.

From the University he received the following testimonial of respect.

“The highly honored and learned Doctor of the Civil and Ecclesiastical law, Charles Follen, has discharged, during a term of three years, his duty as a public teacher of metaphysics and jurisprudence in our university of Basle with great diligence. He has, accordingly, not only conciliated to himself great esteem from his colleagues, but has also deserved well of the students. He always, like a good man and citizen, has manifested a friendly disposition towards his fellow-teachers, and shown becoming respect to the magistrates of the republic and the government of this university, and has rendered his disciples obliged and attached to him in the highest degree. This, at his request, is hereby testified by the professor of every faculty of the university of Basle, and confirmed, at their order, with the university seal, by

The Rector,
JOHN RUDOLPH BURCKHARDT.”

So terminated in a protest against injustice the European life of Charles Follen. And in his exile, his native land drove from her one of her noblest-hearted sons, and one whom she could ill afford to lose. Under the boot of a chaise he left the city, with the passport of a young man who resembled him, and who, though a stranger, thus subjected himself to the heaviest penalties of the law out of regard to Dr. Follen's character and conduct. After various adventures and escapes,

he at last succeeded in leaving Havre, on the 5th November, 1824, and arrived at New York, on the 12th January, 1825.

We have dwelt at some length upon Charles Follen's early years; for it is always interesting to trace the formation of any character, and especially so of a remarkable one. The intrinsic interest of the history of these twenty-eight years, indeed, is a sufficient reason for attempting to do justice to the rare greatness of a man, who while so young produced a deep impression on his countrymen. Yet more we have thought, that many who might read these papers, and who remember with grateful and respectful affection our friend too early lost, would like to review the discipline through which he was trained up to a commanding virtue. But our chief motive in describing in detail the events of his European life has been, to call attention to the extent of the disappointment, which Dr. Follen bore with such cheerfulness. But for the opposition of tyrants at home he might have led a career of usefulness and honor, as large as the most aspiring could seek; and he was rudely expelled from this sphere, where Providence had assigned him the noblest mission, because goodness made him dangerous to the bad. Did we appreciate the sublime equanimity, with which, unmurmuring and wasting no time in regrets, he gave his best energies to the good of his adopted land? How touchingly does he say in his preface to "*Religion and the Church*," "Twelve years ago, when crossing the Atlantic, to commence life anew in a new world, the long cherished scheme of religious philanthropy was ever before my mind, as the only star of promise amidst the gloom of disappointed hopes, baffled exertions, and broken bonds of affection. Many passages, now first published, were composed on that voyage." How affecting too the account of his arrival.

"Dr. Follen has said to me, in speaking of his arrival in this country, that, when he was told by the captain that they were within sight of New York, while it was yet so foggy that he could see nothing beyond the ship, he stood straining his eyes with almost a feeling of apprehension, lest the New World, like his other hopes, should vanish before he should actually touch the soil; when suddenly the mist lifted up, and the sun burst forth, and kindled up the glittering spires of the city; and he heard the Sabbath bells calling the inhabitants to church. In another moment, as it were, he found himself standing upon the soil of free America. 'I wanted,' he said,

‘to kneel upon the ground, and kiss it, and cling to it with my hands, lest it should even then escape my grasp.’” — pp. 138, 139.

The tempest-tost voyager had found a home at last, and to be ready for his work while it was yet day, he devoted himself intensely to the study of the English language, with such success that in six months’ time he began to prepare a course of lectures upon civil law, which, from the ease and beauty of style, show him a master of his new tongue. It was characteristic in him frequently to practise one word for hours together, till he had perfectly satisfied his own delicate ear, that he spoke it like a native. We all remember that his singularly felicitous use of the English was seldom surpassed, even by our best writers; and his clear, distinct utterance only gained impressiveness from the very slight admixture of German accent and depth of tone. In the autumn of 1825, through the kind exertions of Professor Ticknor, Dr. Follen was appointed teacher of German in Harvard University. And here he found a friend always warm and kind in that benignant old man, whose smile fell like sunshine on the paths of old and young, and whom all sons of Harvard loved like a Father. Dr. Follen was full of gratitude to Dr. Kirkland. A class was soon formed in Boston to hear his course of lectures on civil law, which were well received, and were the means of introducing him to an extensive circle of interesting acquaintances.

Over the long career of disappointments, great in the aggregate though petty in the detail, through which our excellent and honored friend was called to pass, we have no heart to follow, profoundly instructive as the account in the Memoir is. It seemed as if the furnace could not be heated too much, in order to refine away the last speck of dross from the pure gold of his disinterestedness. We would review those years of apparently outward failure with not one feeling of reproach, for those who may have seemed too little just or kind, with not one sorrow for the crowd of perplexities and annoyances, which mingled bitterness in a cup brimming over with waters of life; we would recognise in the past only triumph. We would look over this landscape flushed in the sunset, and see only the sparkling river widening as it flows, the highlands and lowlands more picturesque in their varied surface than a level plain, and the mountain summits whose snow peaks mingle with the clouds, which brighten while they veil their tops. To the good

the past is always a triumph, and God's blessing floats over it in an atmosphere of beauty. In all that is best worth living for, growth, peace, love, usefulness, honor, an abiding presence in grateful memories, Charles Follen was crowned with a perfect success.

As an instructor few men have been more honored or beloved. There was an utter absence in Dr. Follen's manner of that primness, stateliness, and assumed authority, which so often chills and dispirits young men. A respectful courtesy softened his every look and tone, and bonhomie and sprightliness awakened feelings of cordial confidence. Here was a friend ready to aid, not an overseer to task. And the very conscientiousness, which made him thorough to teach, kindled a generous emulation in the scholar to be equally faithful to learn. It may be safely said, that no young man ever passed through his classes, without imbibing, as by "moral contagion," self-respect, honorable ambition, and courtesy. To many he gave the key to the richest tongue of modern times, and awakened a desire to explore and work the virgin mines of thought and feeling, which this language opened to them. His introductory discourse, delivered at his inauguration as Professor of German Literature, is a beautiful model of criticism, and well deserved the expression of praise and sympathy, which it called forth from J. Q. Adams, whose words in these days of his glorious fidelity always seem like apples of gold. We refer to the letter on p. 305, vol. I. Of his lectures on the Dramas of Schiller, filled throughout with translations of the finest passages, as poetical as they are accurate, which were first written for the use of the students, but afterwards delivered to the best audiences in Boston and New York, it would be superfluous to speak. They have been too universally admired to need commendation. As a Professor Dr. Follen was entirely successful. He would have found a far more appropriate sphere, however, and one better befitting his genius in the ethical or historical departments, if suitable arrangements could have been made. In 1835, he resigned his office in the college.

Meanwhile these nine years had been eventful ones. He had gathered round a home-altar friends of a spirit so attuned to his, that daily life went up like a hymn of thanksgiving. He had gained the confidence and earnest love of all our noblest-minded men and women. He had assumed his true posi-

tion before the community as a minister of religion ; and last and best, when all the circumstances are considered, he had put the keystone in his dome of a life devoted to liberty, by appearing as the earnest advocate of the rights of the slave. With a few words descriptive of his virtues in these three relations of social, religious, and political life we will conclude this imperfect notice, wishing greatly that we had space to make extracts from his interesting journals and letters.

As a friend, it seems to us, that Dr. Follen was in the only sense in which the word is applicable to human beings, perfect. All who knew him at all saw how perennial was his goodness of heart.

“ But,” as the memoir beautifully says, “ none, but those who lived in the strictest intimacy with him, could know how true he was to his own principles ; how he hallowed the meanest occupations, and gave a sanctity and grace to what might be called the drudgery of life, by the love and patience with which he performed every such labor. None, but those who were the objects of his unfailing love, could appreciate the sweetness and fidelity, with which he ministered to the most insignificant, as well as the highest, wants of all who were dependent upon him.” — pp. 259, 260.

His treatment of Wit, for example, who was a snake in his bosom, was in the highest style of virtue, first seeking to elevate him ; and when finding his faithful efforts fruitless, saying with a smile to those who were anxious to open his eyes to the real character of the traitor, “ I know all that you would say ; but what will become of him, if we all cast him off and leave him to his folly ? ” And even when Wit grossly abused him in a pamphlet, he only calmly said, “ He is a fool,” and never thought of it again. The Memoir is full of illustrations of the tenderness and beauty of his affections, and the genuineness of his disinterested love for good and bad, rich and poor, old and young ; but we have no room to quote them. In the beautiful words of his biographer “ all the minor and comparatively insignificant cares of life took their right place in his presence ; the spirit of complaint stood rebuked before him ; joy, a pure joy, full of faith and immortality, pervaded his whole being, and communicated itself to all who had the privilege of living with him.” He acted fully out the principle laid down by himself, “ He alone is a great man who can say before God, as to personal affairs, I am always inclined to

sacrifice my own pretensions and feelings, to gratify those of others." There was no resisting the charm of his gentle manners, at once so modest and manly ; and the simplicity of his kindness had for his acquaintance a sweetness like the fresh innocence of a child. It seemed as if suspicion or prejudice could never for an instant blind him ; and with the eye of confidence and sympathy he looked beneath disguises to the goodness vital in the soul. Men felt better in his presence than they had thought themselves to be, and left him animated with new hope.

It was this genuine respect and love for man, which made Dr. Follen so influential as a minister of religion. In his look and tone yet more than in his words, was the expression of a soul which had inspired the airs of the world of peace, and longed to breathe refreshment upon others. The statement of his thoughts was sometimes dry from the scrupulous clearness with which he sought to unfold them ; but his manner was always eloquent with an aspiration after goodness that never faltered, a hope that nothing could dim, and a most affecting earnestness and simplicity. He was most successful in his extempore addresses. Then thought seemed pouring out from deep inward stores in language made fluent by his fervor. Occasionally great beauty of fancy played over the surface of his argument. But the essential quality of his style of preaching was clearness and depth of moral conviction. The great themes on which he loved to dwell were "Immortality and Freedom." He felt, to use his own words, as if "there is such a thing as experience of immortality, even in this life," and seemed to regard all men as spirits who had already entered on a career, which would brighten 'from glory to glory' forever ; death was to him the mere laying aside of a vesture too small for the expanding soul to wear ; and in his earnestness of hope, while he spoke upon this animating topic, "he wist not that his face shone." His genuine faith in human freedom showed itself in his manner of addressing and treating men, yet more than in the high principles he professed and inculcated. He never dogmatized, never demanded assent in his mature years, as he may have done in youth ; but appealed to every hearer as the final judge in matters of opinion and of duty. To one who knew the circumstances of his life, it was indeed most apparent, that the wrongs he had personally suffered in his defence of human rights had

awakened in him an habitual reverence for the sacredness of every soul. This gave him his power. He made reason and conscience within each hearer's breast stand at the bar in witness of the truth he taught. He aroused men to do themselves justice, and to learn the wealth of their own experience. But his interest in great convictions and principles did not blind him to the lowly beauties of life. There are sweet touches through his discourses, which show how delicate was his own spiritual sensibility, and how tenderly he could nurture the feeblest flowers of feeling in other hearts. Had he been settled as a pastor, and had an opportunity to attach a people to himself by the invisible threads, fast growing to indissoluble bands of mutual confidences and humble charities, we are sure that he would have been a preacher of the very highest excellence, with a great range of subjects, abundant illustrations drawn from common life, broad good sense, a style of pungent directness, and the unaffected pathos of true affection. Taking even his printed sermons as they are, we think it would not be easy to name many equals and very few superiors to him, as a pulpit orator. In his relation of a religious friend and pastor, it is impossible that he should have been surpassed.

Justice has probably been done to Dr. Follen, as a minister of religion. But our community is hardly yet enough advanced to give him the due meed of respect for his prompt, devoted, and uncompromising advocacy of anti-slavery. The time is nigh, however, when this will be done. The stand he took before the Massachusetts Legislature, in the winter of 1836, at a time when the Attorney-General of the State had declared the opinion, that abolitionists were guilty of an offence against the laws of their country, and were liable to prosecution; when the Governor had allowed himself to seem at least the supporter of this charge; when the wealthy and powerful of the city had arrayed themselves against this small band of persecuted men and women; and when only one or two ministers of his own denomination had come forward in support of justice; was perhaps the noblest act of his life. History has woven this picture with bright colors into the tapestry that hangs the walls of our national temple; and the figure of Follen, firm and meek, stands forever among our heroes and sages. Was it not enough to reward him for all his sufferings in the cause of freedom, thus to have the privilege of leading, like a scarred and trusted veteran, this army of martyrs? Few of

us probably entered into his feelings, or measured the extent of the trial which he saw himself called to bear. An exile, he had found a home; severed from parents and brothers, he had gained friends dear to him as life and dependent upon his exertions; expelled from stations of honorable usefulness in his native land, he had won, though a foreigner, a commanding position here; he was in a situation that promised support for his family, after hard struggles with narrow circumstances in which he had contracted debts; and was gratifying the fondest wish of his heart in becoming a preacher of heavenly truth, in a denomination with whose principles he could sympathize, when he saw it to be his duty to join the anti-slavery society. He took this step not hastily but deliberately, with the distinct knowledge that he was thus destroying all hopes of a permanent connexion with the college, shutting himself out from the friendship of many whom he honored, preventing probably his settlement as a pastor, and raising up a whirlwind of calumny and insult. But for one whose life had been a contest for freedom there was no alternative. Once more he offered all he held dear as a sacrifice to conscience; and a gentle tolerance that nothing could ruffle was the garland with which he decked it.

We have purposely omitted a consideration of Dr. Follen's intellectual and literary character, partly because an adequate criticism and discriminating judgment would require more space than we can rightly occupy; still more, because it might impair the unity of the effect, which his singularly beautiful career, as a teacher by deeds and example, is fitted to produce. His efforts in a literary way were but digressions from the grand moral work, which, under providence and spiritual guidance, he had the honor to accomplish. Neither time nor leisure permitted him to do justice to his intellectual powers among us. And perfect in form, lucid in arrangement, clear in method, graceful and beautiful often in style, instructive from their learning and suggestions as his lectures are, they must be considered but fragmentary, mere indications of the rich veins which he had no opportunity to work. To all his other disappointments was added this sore one for the scholar, that he was forced to fritter away, in constant changes and a routine of multifarious occupations, hours which he longed to consecrate to some grand and worthy composition. But why regret this? He taught a "Moral Philosophy" in the sweet dignity of a gentle, cheerful, loving life, in steady exercise of

a great hope and courage to which all sacrifices were easy. He wrote a "Science of the Soul" on the hearts of constant friends, and chance acquaintance, and the communities he passed through, in lines of sympathy which shall brighten forever.

It is frankly admitted, that this notice of Charles Follen is written in a tone of panegyric which his modest spirit may disapprove; but though there is a form of virtue, yet larger and more beautiful than that he wore, we yet calmly think he was a man entitled to the heartiest praise for earnestness of moral purpose and purity of life; and it is with feelings of grateful reverence that we lay this funeral wreath upon his monument.

W. H. C.

LATIN HYMN.

"Lux ecce surgit aurea."

SEE the golden morning rises,
Pallid shadows haste away;
Headlong night no more surprises,—
Leads no more the steps astray.

Light like this break in and scatter
Every cloud that shades the soul;
Nought deceptive may we utter,
No dark thoughts within us roll.

All day long may truth, presiding
Over hand and eye and tongue,
Word and look and action guiding,
Keep us pure, and make us strong.

When bright Morn with rosy touches
Lifts the windows of the sky,
Lo, a witness stands and watches
All we do with piercing eye.

And when Eve with dewy fingers
Spreads her veil and clouds the light,
Still that awful Presence lingers,
And that eye looks through the night.

L.

PREACHING.

WE have of late often seen and heard it said, that *Ichabod* is written upon the pulpit, that the days of its power have gone by, that the preacher is fast losing the influence of a living voice, and becoming a mere item of church furniture. It will be admitted on all hands, that the pulpit has ceased by prescriptive right to awe down opposition and to compel assent, — that stupidity can no longer be made infallible, or arrogance supreme, by gown and bands, — that the clergy have lost the power, which they once possessed, of changing by their dictum bitter into sweet, or wrong into right. In the downfall of clerical domination every honest minister, every good Christian must rejoice. It is a happy thing for the Church, that her priestly office can no longer command respect and confidence for those who abuse it, or are unworthy of it. But, in the opinion of many, the pulpit has lost with its factitious importance much of its legitimate efficacy. Many of our most faithful ministers complain that they have not the ear of the people, that negligence and skepticism abound and grow, that a worldly and sensual spirit is fast supplanting Christian faith in the general heart, that the ordinances and institutions of religion are losing their hold upon the strong-minded, the busy, and the active, and retain within their grasp those only, who are too weak to doubt, or too timid to disobey. There seems to exist in many quarters a feeling, that existing forms and modes of administration have done their work, and have become effete, that the age has outgrown preaching and praying, the font, and the holy table. There are those who would substitute the debating club for the church, lay teaching for sermons, tumultuous assemblages, where every man should have his own psalm, and interpretation, and prophecy, for the method and holy beauty of the sanctuary service. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact, that there is in the community a vague restlessness and agitation, a dissatisfaction with the present, a yearning after novelty, a distaste for the old paths in which the fathers walked. Never was there such a Babel-like confusion of tongues proclaiming, *Lo, here is Christ, and, Lo, there.* Everywhere are men taking their stand by newly dug cisterns, and crying out, *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the*

waters. It concerns those who love the institutions of religion to search and see, whether there be indeed anything to authorize or justify this uneasiness ; whether there be any serious and tangible deficiencies in our religious institutions, or their administration.

But, first, lest we waste our efforts in seeking to apply a remedy where none is needed, it may be well for us to ascertain to our satisfaction where the fault does not lie.

The fault does not lie, as we think, with the clerical office in itself considered. So long as men recognise each other as social beings, and meet to strengthen and encourage each other in every good cause and enterprise, they will meet for public worship and religious instruction. So long as the services of religion demand mind as well as heart, they will need more diligent preparation, than one immersed in secular care and business can bestow. He, who on one day in the seven would take of the deep things of God, and show them to his brethren, must, for the remaining six days, be much alone in earnest communion with the divine word and its Author. Moreover, while we admit that *Holiness to the Lord* ought to be inscribed on the counting-room and the workshop, on men's tools and their merchandise, yea, as saith the prophet, on *the very bells of the horses*, this state of things does not yet exist in any part of Christendom. In the present mixed and imperfect condition of society, there are some associations cleaving to almost every department of secular business, there are collisions of interest and feeling, jostlings in the market-place and the forum, to which the best of men are liable, which would interfere with general edification, and detract from the calm and solemn dignity of religious services, were they conducted by citizens from the common walks of life.

Then, again, an order of men, set apart for religious purposes, enjoy a point of view eminently favorable for the observation of society, and for the moral criticism of life and manners ; a position a little remote from the arena of active life is essential to a clear perspective. The clergy indeed have their own weaknesses and faults ; but they are not those of the merchant, the mechanic, or the politician. Where these err and are blind, the clergyman, from his peculiar position, will be likely to see clearly, and may thus be able to hold up before them the mirror of gospel truth, and to show them their own moral features. But men from the busy walks of life, by their com-

mon liabilities and temptations, are rendered blind to each other's faults, and cannot hold up to each other the true mirror. A distinct clerical profession is peculiarly necessary in a country, swept, as ours perpetually is, by whirlwinds of excitement and infatuation, amidst which the clergy alone retain a charmed indemnity. When, a few years ago, the mania of overtrading and mad speculation passed like wild fire from city to town, from town to village, filling the land with broken obligations and shattered hopes, the mechanic deserted his workshop and the laborer his spade, the merchant left the paths of legitimate enterprise, the farmer bartered his paternal acres for estates as unsubstantial as his own shadow, — the clergy alone remained unscathed, at once to rebuke the reckless hurry to be rich, and to show the finger of a retributive providence in the loss and misery that ensued. So too, when, at a later date, political jealousy and hatred poisoned the fountains of social feeling, when vast masses of men overran the country as the torchbearers of mutual alienation and strife, by whom but by the clergy was there lifted a pacific voice, saying, *sirs, ye are brethren, — why wrong ye one another?* These are specimens of the many subjects and occasions, on which the clergy are the only disinterested and impartial lookers on, and thus alone have the power to rebuke excess, to reclaim from error, to infuse the great principles of forbearance and rectitude.

We next remark that there is nothing worthy a reasonable man's complaint, in the religious forms of our New England churches generally. It is sometimes said that our forms have become dead. We have yet to learn that they were ever alive, and therefore capable of death. Forms are simply the relation, which religion bears to time and space. They are merely the *πρὸς σπῶ* of the living spirit. Their only office is to separate, by accessory circumstances of deep solemnity, a sufficient portion of time and space from common to sacred uses. What they do beyond this (except among the grossly uncultivated and sensual) cramps and cripples, instead of aiding the spirit of devotion, which demands freedom to seek out its own channels, and to breathe its own spontaneous utterances from man to God and from God to man. Those, who are over curious with regard to form, who deem a new genuflexion to mark a new era, who look upon some untried mode of singing or praying as a new gate to heaven, however they may make parade of spirituality, betray a bond-

age to beggarly elements, which befits the babe in Christ rather than the master in Israel. Our congregational forms, when appropriately observed, separate and sanctify as much of time and space as is needed for public and social worship ; and we prize them, because they do no more than this, because they are dead, and because, being dead, they are flexible, and not stiff enough to seem alive and to stand of themselves, like the armor of the Knights of old.

We are not then to ascribe aught that we may regret in the posture of the times to the ministry, as an institution, or to our accustomed forms of worship. Let us now inquire wherein the preaching of the word has been and is deficient and faulty.

1. Preaching has been too technical. A great deal of harm has been done by technical phraseology in religion. The Bible has been interpreted in very much the same way, in which lawyers interpret a statute book. The attempt has been, not so much to reach the actual purpose of the prophet, apostle, or evangelist, and to enter into his feelings and spirit, as to determine what construction the mere words taken one by one, will literally bear, — what meaning can be tortured out of every separate clause, or sentence. Now the language of any particular writing ought to be interpreted in the spirit, in which it was used by the writer. He, who draws up a legal document, uses technical phrases, assigns a precise and strictly circumscribed signification to every word, says nothing poetically, uses neither metaphor, hyperbole, nor the language of excited feeling. But no one can imagine that John, Paul, and Peter wrote thus, that they attached peculiar and technical significations to the words that they used, and weighed every phrase in the scale of scholastic logic. No. They wrote on subjects, on which they felt most deeply, and their words fell warm from their hearts. Their writings were the simple outflow of full souls, — the story of him whom they most fervently loved, their fatherly exhortations and warnings to their spiritual children, their expressions of glad amazement at the new light which had broken in upon their minds through the teaching of Jesus. They wrote in a style wholly unartificial, often highly figurative ; and their writings should be interpreted with these facts in view. But theologians and preachers have taken everything literally. Where St. Paul has indulged in a metaphor, they have found in it a new doctrine. Where John pours

out in burning words a love too deep for utterance, they have cooled down the glowing page into an icy mass of school divinity. Where Peter with vivid eloquence points to the crucified Redeemer as the world's exemplar, they have moulded the vivid features of the picture into a cold dogmatic statement of this or that theology of the atonement. It is thus that have grown up those orthodox and heterodox bodies of divinity, (aptly termed *bodies*, as being utterly destitute of *soul*,) of whose gaunt skeleton forms we may well say, *the letter killeth*. This anatomizing style of writing and of preaching has not been refrained from, even on subjects appertaining to the most recondite portions and elements of man's inward experience. The process of regeneration has been described with a minute precision, as if it were a process in mechanics. That spirit of the Infinite God, whose visitings are like the viewless wind, has been weighed, and measured, and stretched upon the Procrustes-bed of polemic divinity. That life of God within the soul, which through a wide diversity of gifts and operations may breathe the same spirit, has been narrowed down and rounded off to one unvarying shape and mould. That fervent piety, whose depths of love and devotion God alone can fathom, has had the line and the compass stretched over it, and the lead of shallow speculation dropped into it, till men have learned to look upon it as something petty, mechanical, and grovelling, the work of a moment, and the occupant of some little corner of the soul.

This technical style of preaching has done much to deprive the pulpit of its interest, and of its hold upon strong and fervent, nay, in some instances, upon truly religious minds. Nor have we, who have abjured the complex creeds of past times, altogether escaped these tendencies. In denying those very creeds, we are prone to throw our negations in a dogmatic and technical form, while we too often discuss the great principles of truth and righteousness, as if they were doctrines that admitted of strict logical statement and definition. Now, in the sense in which the word *doctrine* is commonly used, we do not believe that the gospel teaches any *doctrines*, that is, we do not believe that there are any religious truths or principles, which our Master or his apostles intended that the Church should propound in set propositions, such as could be numbered or placed in array in a written creed. On the other hand, the great principles of the gospel, though simple and easy to be understood,

by their vastness and depth defy the subtle distinction and limitations of our grovelling logic, — they cannot be comprehended in single sentences ; but, for the full illustration of the least of them, we might say in St. John's artless hyperbole, " The world could not contain the books which should be written."

The object of Christ's mission was not to create a system, but to reveal the actual state and the eternal laws of the spiritual universe, — to open glimpses of a larger and higher sphere of being, than man had known before, — to introduce man to his unseen Father and his forgotten brethren. Not dogmatic statement, but manifestation, exhibition, was the work of his ministry. This we have in himself even more than in his words. He shows us in his own person more than he tells us of the Father. He, who should barely read his words as disconnected sayings, would know God but imperfectly. He, who sees Jesus, and feels the power and beauty of his life and character, has seen the Father. One might read the Sermon on the Mount, and rise to question and to cavil ; — one cannot faithfully trace the mortal pilgrimage of Jesus, without knowing the mind of God and the spirit of heaven. The life of Jesus and the character of the revelation through him are well described by himself, when he says to Nathaniel, " Thou shalt see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending." In him was revealed and displayed to men that spiritual world, which indeed had always compassed their path and their lying down, but their eyes had been holden so that they could not see it. This world Jesus sometimes describes verbally, as he unfolds its laws, portrays its life, or invites to the contemplation of its joys. Sometimes by a single miracle, or an act of Godlike love, he parts the cloud as by a flash of lightning, and opens to us a deep, searching glance into the inmost recesses of the spirit-land. Then again by a word of power, by a commanding gesture, he brings that unseen world unspeakably near ; and those, who live with God, talk with him on the mountain, leave the grave at his call, watch by him in his agony. While thus with every word and act he varies our prospect of the unseen and eternal world, in his own person there still beam on in tranquil glory the traits of the divine image, unchangeable indeed, but to our vision ever new, because exhaustless. These revelations, and the outward facts which stamp them with the Deity's own signet, — facts, which themselves are glimpses of everlasting truth, — these are the

subject-matter of pulpit exhibition and discussion. Rich and glorious as they are, let them not be shrunken and discolored by cold and rigid technicality. Let them be set forth, not with the formal precision of scientific statement, but with the glow and fervor, with which eye and ear witnesses must have talked of them, — with an earnestness of spirit, which the love of Jesus alone can inspire, — with a fond enthusiasm, which hinges upon the faintest traces of his footsteps, and can always find something new in every varied aspect of his character. Let Christ and him crucified be preached with the freedom of a full heart, not by the slaves of system, but by those “who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.”

2. Another deficiency in preaching, and one that has produced much restlessness and dissatisfaction in the religious world, is the spirit of compromise and accommodation, which has to a great degree characterized the modern pulpit. The preached word has not held up the one unvarying standard, which the pages of the gospel present; but has adapted itself with far too great facility to the prejudices, passions, and prevailing iniquities of the times. The charge has been made from hostile sources, that the clergy are exceedingly bold in attacking such sins as do not exist in their respective congregations, but full of complaisance for the transgressions of those on whom they depend for support. This charge we repel as malicious, cruel, and in the main false. As we trace the history of the pulpit from Chrysostom downwards, as we pass in review the names of preachers of every denomination whom we have heard and known, we cannot but admire the moral courage, the fidelity, the self-sacrifice, with which the word has been and is dispensed, the readiness with which very many of the dead and of the living have preferred persecution and obloquy to concealment of the truth as it is in Jesus, and the promptness with which the clergy have led the van in most of the great moral revolutions and movements of these latter days. But we may be warned and instructed by an enemy; and it cannot be denied that there is a basis, slight though it be, for the slander just quoted. We do not believe that the clergy as a body are chargeable with suppressing what they should utter from motives of selfishness; but their social relations and feelings too often indispose them for the language of rebuke, and make them backward to inflict that salutary pain, that healing sorrow, which the faithful preaching of the word may

cause. Sympathy with the many and splendid virtues of truly worthy men, and gratitude for their devotedness to the Church and their fidelity in most things, make it hard for the preacher to say to such men, "yet one thing thou lackest." Thus, while the secular arm, when it wielded the most deadly power of persecution, could never silence the pulpit with regard to sins out of the Church; such sins as could get a foothold within the Church have been too easily dealt with. Preaching has always been addressed too exclusively to the impenitent, rather than to those professing godliness. The effort has been rather to raise the world to the standard of the Church, than to bring the Church to the stature of the perfect in Christ Jesus. Conversion has not indeed been labored for too much, but sanctification has been insisted on too little. Jesus has, ever since the Reformation, been set forth as the justifier of the penitent; but it has been recently announced from some of the high places in the Church as a new discovery, that Jesus is the Sanctifier.

There is no sin with regard to which the clergy are so blind or unfaithful, as avarice. This has been the evil demon of the Church; and, though it cannot find seven other spirits more wicked than itself, it has taken with it such evil company as it could into the sacred enclosure, and has for the most part found undisturbed abode there. This is the all-pervading sin of Christendom, — the root of all other evil. This is the great source of slavery and oppression. From this come wars and fightings. This feeds the flames of the distillery. This condemns its thousands all over our land to a routine of labor that knows no sabbath. This daily crucifies the Saviour among his false-professing followers, by violating every feature of the spirit in which he lived and died. Other vices the clergy boldly and manfully attack; this they are wont to leave unrebuked in the holy place, "the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not." But in attacking other sins, they lop off only the leaves and twigs of the tree, whose root still lives. The axe must be fearlessly laid to the root of the tree. It was not without leaving us an example that Jesus drove the money-changers from the temple. They must be driven from the Church, or else the Church cannot arise and shine, and show herself the spotless bride of the Redeemer. The clergy cannot wholly free themselves from the charge of compromising between the gospel and their hearers, till they have made the phrase, "a

covetous Christian," or "an avaricious Christian," as palpably a contradiction in terms, as "a blasphemous Christian," or "a licentious Christian," nay, till they have made it as impossible for a grasping, overreaching, miserly man to maintain an outward Christian standing, as it is for the drunkard or the debauchee.

There is one way in which mistaken benevolence on the part of the clergy has led to much of the spirit of accommodation and compromise, of which we are now speaking. There is no more just moral distinction, than that suggested by the familiar line,

"Not what we *wish*, but what we *want*."

Preachers have too often mistaken men's wishes for their wants, — their unsanctified tastes for their spiritual yearnings; and, in honestly striving to meet the latter, have catered for the former. They have given, too generally, the impression, that men may have what preaching they desire. And hence there is no desire so wild, no taste so diseased, no whim so absurd, as not to seek and expect, nay, to find its gratification in the pulpit. At one time, people grow weary of close and pungent appeals to the moral nature, and demand that the judgment alone be addressed; and forthwith the cry goes forth among their spiritual teachers, that it is vain and useless to preach to the affections, and that the heart can be reached only through the intellect. Then perhaps a fit of sickly sentimentality passes over society, and summons the clergy, ever ready to obey, to cease addressing the reason, and to preach only in strains of melting pathos, or of passionate excitement. Then again a cry (a Macedonian cry, as it has been fashionable to say) comes from some quarter for a less strict dispensation of the word than has been enjoyed, for preaching that will bear but lightly upon avocations or amusements, which others have, perhaps too intemperately, denounced. The call is at once responded by good men, who too easily persuade themselves, that, by leaving the wounded conscience to become scarred over, by letting doubtful callings and indulgences go unmeddled with, by becoming all things to all men, they may save some; whereas the true avenue to the hearts of any community is through the thorough and faithful handling of the points upon which the public conscience is already roused.

Thus also the grounds, on which religion bases its claims and its appeals, are made to shift from time to time with the

current of popular feeling, as a sandbar changes with the tide, instead of remaining the same forever, as a rock against which the storm beats and the ocean dashes in vain. Thus, when the tendencies of the times are mechanical and utilitarian, Christianity is defended mainly on utilitarian grounds; and we have heard it advocated in terms, which seemed to imply that its highest office was to bake men's bread, and clothe them, and to build them houses. This mode of defence is adapted only to deepen and to make more intense the groveling utilitarianism which demands it; and if it draws any nominal disciples, it can draw only such as those, to whom Jesus said, "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled." Then again, there prevails, as there has of late in some quarters, an unwillingness to receive truth on trust, even on the strongest testimony that God can give. The defenders of the faith are too ready to meet this phasis also of the public mind. They go to those whose consciences are too tender to resign themselves to the guidance of Jesus, and say, "We ask you not to believe in Jesus, because he came from heaven and wrought miracles. But try what he says by your own good sense. See how many things he has uttered, which need not be strained very much to make them correspond entirely with your philosophy. If you will consider his teachings in connexion with the times in which he lived, you can hardly resist the conviction that, had he enjoyed the light of these latter days, his views on all subjects would have been very much what yours are." We have burned with indignation at hearing and reading such apologies for the gospel. Charles Elwood, a work well known to many of our readers, might be cited as a specimen of this tone of writing and of preaching. In this we see Christianity bowing and cringing, making apologies and concessions to Infidelity, who at first turns upon her coldly and cavalierly, but at length, soothed by flattery, consents to forgive her, and shake hands with her. Now this mode of defending Christianity is the very way to make infidels; for it cherishes that unfilial, arrogant spirit, that evil heart of unbelief, without which all the arguments and objections of skepticism are powerless.

These illustrations must suffice for this head. In our view, the times, so far from demanding of the preacher a spirit of compromise, demand more than ever a close, uncompromising adherence to the true grounds and the true spirit of the gospel.

Now that novelty treads on the heels of novelty, and the recent is already old on account of the multitude of things yet newer, we peculiarly need the gospel as an unchanging landmark and point of support, as a standard that shall be neither stretched nor warped. Society, in its mottled surface and tumultuous heaving, resembles the storm-lifted ocean. Shall the gospel dance about upon the waves, like lights upon a phantom-ship, to beguile the mariner to shipwreck and ruin? Or shall it beam, as from a rock-founded Pharos, far and wide over the troubled sea, a star of good omen and of hope? God himself has answered this question, in that he has made *his* "Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." But there remains for the professed ministers of Jesus a solemn question. Shall they launch out on the deep and hoist their phantom-lights; or shall they abide by the eternal beacon-fire, and feed its flame?

In what we have said, we by no means deny that the faithful minister must study and meet men's real wants. Next to the gospel, the necessities of the human heart should be his chosen and constant study. But what or how he shall preach, let him see that he ask of God, and not of man. He is the servant of his brethren in the gospel, and not out of it. It behooves those who would acquit themselves as true men in the work of the ministry, to hear the word of God to his ancient prophet, "Let them return unto thee; but return not thou unto them. And I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall, and thou shalt stand before me, and thou shalt be as my mouth."

3. Once more, the preaching of the gospel has failed to effect all that it ought, because it has been preached with too little faith. We read in the Old Testament, that when the ark was on its way to the city of David, a timid attendant lifted his hand to save it from falling. The hand dropped in the palsy of death; the ark moved on unharmed. Doubt always paralyzes. He who trembles for the ark, might as well cry among the tombs, as preach to living men; nay, he had far better hold his peace; for the spirit of trembling is contagious, and the fearful preacher makes a skeptical congregation. Skepticism betrays itself in the pulpit in various ways. Sometimes it is alarmed for the gospel itself. Seeing iniquity abound and the love of many wax cold, it fears lest the gates of hell may prevail against the Church, forgetting that from a Church, that

could be gathered in "a large upper room," went forth the power, before which old things passed away, and all things became new. Others doubt particular precepts or principles of the gospel, such as those of peace and forbearance, of love unfeigned and of an unworldly temper; and seeing that these principles have no hold upon the popular heart, they are ever ready to account the expression of them by Jesus mere Eastern metaphor or hyperbole. But was his life a metaphor? Was his loving, forgiving, self-sacrificing spirit a hyperbole? Or was it in the language of Oriental exaggeration that he said, "I gave you an example that ye might do as I have done?" Others who preach the word believe the external facts of the gospel, and the leading features of the gospel economy, but are deficient in spiritual faith. They believe in a state of retribution beyond the grave; but not in that retribution of good and evil, which is going on at all times in the human soul, and which death only consummates and makes manifest. They believe in the obligation of outward duty; but hardly know whether there be any holy spirit. They believe in forms; but as to regeneration, they are ready to ask with Nicodemus, "How can a man be born when he is old?" They believe in a kingdom of heaven, in which there shall be golden streets and jasper walls; but not in that kingdom of God which is within.

The preacher of the word must, above all things, have faith. He needs a firm historical faith; a faith which not only sees the intrinsic worth of the gospel, and discerns its coincidence with the law and the spirit of heaven; but which beholds its foundations upon earth so deeply laid by the divine hand, that it must abide and grow, while the world endures. He needs a deep, awe-stricken sense of the various modes, in which the arm of the Lord has been revealed. He needs an immovable conviction of the constraining authority of Jesus, of his authentication as a teacher, of his right to be implicitly believed and obeyed, in fine, of those facts with reference to his mission, to which the works that the Father gave him to do can alone bear adequate testimony. This well grounded historical faith will make him of good courage, as he preaches the word of the kingdom, and will raise him above the bondage of fear, when foes abound and friends wax cold or fickle. This faith will also prepare him to receive all that Jesus taught, all that he was, as divine and infallible. He, who thus regards the teachings

and the life of Jesus, will own allegiance to the law and spirit of the gospel on subjects, on which its testimony has been suppressed for ages ; and thus will belong to the ranks of reform and progress. But he, who does not thus repose on the authority of Christ, will be too prone to rest satisfied with the religion of the Church as it is, instead of striving to raise it more nearly to the standard of the gospel.

But most of all the preacher needs a spiritual faith, — a faith of experience, of insight, of personal knowledge, — that faith which gives substance to things hoped for, and felt reality to things not seen. Jesus, when on earth, spake of himself as in the bosom of the Father. He dwelt not in the world of sight ; but in that which is unseen and eternal. There, with him, must his faithful preacher dwell. He must be even now a citizen of heaven, — must “ have passed from death unto life.” He must hear the voice of God in nature and in Providence. He must trace the spiritual in the outward, the unseen in the seen. The truths appertaining to the inward life must be to him subjects of consciousness, portions of his own personal history. God’s law of retribution he must know from his own self-chastening and humiliation for sin, and from the peace of “ God that justifieth ” shed abroad in his heart through the faithful discharge of duty. The efficacy of prayer he must know from having felt it. The regenerating spirit of God he must recognise from its power over his own heart. Jesus he must know not simply as the greatest personage in human history ; but a “ Christ formed within ” must reflect the features of the evangelic record. The kingdom of heaven he must see as established in his own heart, as built up in the beauty of holiness in his own life. He must be able to say, as to all things that admit of being so verified, “ I speak that I do know, and testify that I have seen.” Through him who has this faith the word will be quick and powerful. His doctrine will drop as the rain, his speech will distil as the dew, making the waste places of the human heart to blossom and bear fruit, bringing up, “ instead of the thorn, the fir tree, and instead of the briar, the myrtle.”

In what we have now said, we have been actuated by no censorious spirit. We have spoken of tendencies, against which we ourselves have struggled, of wants which we ourselves have felt. We have unburdened ourselves of various doubts and questionings, as to the signs of the times, which

have rested heavily upon us. Indeed there are many things in the present aspect of the Church, which would utterly dishearten us, did we not believe that God loves his own cause better than we can love it. But knowing this, we rest assured, that the gospel cannot fail, or the Church die. His promise stands recorded for all generations, "I will be a wall of fire round about her, and will be a glory in the midst of her."

A. P. P.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

ARCHBISHOP Whately has said very wisely, that "there appears to be a remarkable analogy between the treatment to which Paul was himself exposed during his personal ministry on earth, and that which his works have met with since. Paul may be said to stand, in his works, as he did in person while on earth, in the front of the battle; to bear the chief brunt of assailants from the enemies' side, and to be treacherously stabbed by false friends on his own; degraded and vilified by one class of heretics, perverted and misinterpreted by another, and too often most unduly neglected by those, who are regarded as orthodox. And still do his works stand, and will ever stand, as a mighty bulwark of the true Christian faith."

Our community of Liberal Christians are not liable to the charge of perverting the meaning of the Pauline Epistles by any Pharisaic superstitions or Antinomian heresies. Our danger is, that we may neglect their study or undervalue their importance. Several causes have led us into this danger.

In the first place, the high value which we attach to morality, or good works, has sometimes given us a distaste for writings which seem to attach such paramount importance to faith; an objection which rests upon the assumption, that the faith advocated by the apostle is anything opposed to those firm principles and earnest affections, that are the only motives to truly good works.

A similar objection to Paul's Epistles has sprung from the general use of his phraseology in the Calvinistic creeds. Paul's language has been so constantly associated with Calvin-

istic notions of Atonement, Original Sin, and Regeneration, that for fear of calling up wrong ideas in the minds of their hearers, our preachers have too generally neglected to use Paul's language in illustrating their discourses, and to lead their people through those states of mind and those views of truth, which Paul has stated with such power over the great mass of the Christian world.

From these reasons, as well as from the intrinsic difficulties of the case, both preachers and people have been fond of calling attention away from the Epistles to the Gospels, and of sheltering their ignorance or indifference under the remark of the Apostle Peter, that in the epistles of our beloved brother Paul are "some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable do wrest unto their own destruction." But, without saying anything of Peter's little sympathy with Paul, before we shelter ourselves under this text we must remember, that the wrong use of the epistles is attributed to the unlearned and unstable, — a class of persons which we ought not to be in; and moreover, that Peter does not confine such danger of abuse merely to the epistles, but extends it to the whole of the Scriptures; — "which they that are unlearned and unstable do wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction."

Perhaps the most cogent objection to a constant and careful study of the Epistles lies in their supposed opposition, or, at least, great inferiority, to the Gospels. This objection leads us directly to the first point of our discussion, the relation of the Epistles of Paul to the other parts of the New Testament.

I. Their connexion with the Book of the Acts is sufficiently obvious. They give us a view of the inward thought and feelings of the personage, whose outward history constitutes the chief portion of that book; and they make us acquainted with the inward life of the churches whose origin is there described. Without dwelling upon the relation of Paul's Epistles to the subsequent parts of the New Testament, let us consider their bearing upon the Gospels.

I apprehend that an invidious inferiority is attached to the Epistles in reference to the Gospels from the fact, that the word "Gospels" carries with it the idea that the books so designated must contain the whole of gospel-truth. Yet strictly a part of gospel-truth is stated by the Evangelists merely in embryo, and looked to future events for its develop-

ment and explanation. Instead of invidiously contrasting the Gospels with the Acts and Epistles, we ought to contemplate them as parts of a connected whole ; and as the promise of the Comforter, made by our Lord and given in such touching language in the Gospel of John, was fulfilled in the foundation of the Apostolic Church, as recorded in the Acts and frequently implied in the Epistles, so the whole import of Christianity was shown in actual development after the time to which the gospel narratives refer. Christ himself expressly declares that the revelation made before his death was not complete, and left his disciples to be enlightened in due time as to the nature of his kingdom by the gift which he promised them. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he shall guide you into all truth." Obviously the bearing of our Lord's death and resurrection were not understood, until these events actually took place, and after their Master's departure gave the apostles full opportunity to reflect calmly upon all the circumstances of his mission, and to receive those aids which he had promised them.

The Epistles of Paul contain a view of Christian doctrine from an apostle who, apart from any claims to infallibility, brought the highest spirituality of character and the rarest intellectual gifts to the work ; and from his position so near to Christ and so conversant with the other apostles, he was able to survey fully all the facts of the Christian revelation, without being misled by those prejudices, which the gradual dawning of gospel light was so slow in removing from the minds of the other apostles. Were we to view Paul merely as an intelligent man suddenly converted to Christianity from Judaism, ardent to form clear ideas of the faith he had adopted, and to convert the Gentiles with the Jews, and to purify the Church, great interest must be attached to his writings. And when we add to his natural qualifications for his work the evidence of his miraculous conversion, and of his personal communion with the glorified Saviour, we must certainly accord to him, not indeed infallibility, but all needful light upon the leading truths of that religion, of which he was chosen by Heaven to be the most illustrious and successful preacher.

The Gospels indeed contain the great facts of Christianity, yet they do not give a full statement of the bearing of these facts upon human feeling and conduct, nor do they set forth

Christian doctrine as a compact whole, as for the guidance of those who are beginning to lead a religious life. It has been well said that "Christ did not come to *make* a revelation so much as to be the *subject* of a revelation. He *accomplished* what he left his Apostles to testify and explain." This view will be allowed just, even by those who disagree with us in our estimate of the value of the Epistles, since they claim liberty for themselves to judge fully and freely of the bearing of the facts of the Gospels; whereas we would accord great authority to the judgment of Paul.

If it is said that Paul must be ranked below the twelve Apostles, who had been witnesses of the great events in our Lord's life, we reply that, as having been with Christ after the resurrection, he must be considered as a witness of that great event, and that not only did he do and suffer more than the twelve, but that the claim which he makes of having received the truth in an interview with Christ must save him from being unfavorably contrasted with any of his associates.

Paul's view of Christianity is certainly more broad and liberal than that taken by the other Apostles, excepting John. He was the first to set forth fully the equality of Christian privilege between Gentile and Jew, and to develop in a decided doctrinal system the spirituality which all our Lord's teachings exhibit, but which even the most spiritual of the Evangelists does not endeavor to set forth in its doctrinal applications.

Perhaps a parallel between Paul, and John the Evangelist, would be the simplest mode of illustrating the peculiarities of the Epistles. "In John," says Olshausen, "the intuitive faculty, or in the best sense of the word *gnosis*, may be regarded as the peculiar element; his whole turn of mind was reflective, contemplative, his soul receptive, all eyes, as it were, to behold the eternal ideas of truth; outward action was not his sphere; the flower of his life was prophecy. Paul presents an entirely different picture. Although not naturally deficient in the intuitive perception of divine things, he yet exhibits a mode of treating religion different from that of John, the dialectic or logical, in which acuteness of understanding, aiming at definite conceptions of ideas, predominates. By this dialectical faculty Paul became the founder of a sharply defined doctrinal phraseology, and the father of theology in the Christian church."

Olshausen further remarks that Paul's letters may be con-

sidered as the crown of the New Testament canon. "Whilst each Gospel has its necessary supplement in the others, but all as a whole form the root of the New Testament, and the Apostolic history forms, as it were, the trunk, which unites the root with the crown of the tree, without laying claim to any independent dogmatic significance, the broad development of Christianity in Paul spreads forth like branches on all sides the rays of his inner life. He was the first, in whom not indeed the personality of our Lord, but yet his spirit, confided to the Church, displayed itself at least as much as is possible in one man, in a universality, which enabled him by the power of this Holy Spirit so to develop in doctrine and life the essence of Christianity, that he stands almost alone the Apostle of the Gospels. What appears in the Evangelists folded in the bud, and indeed in the first three Gospels, shows a leaning towards Judaism, is broadly and freely expanded in Paul, and partly in a form so strictly didactic, as in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, that his views commend themselves to thinking minds by the power of analysis, as well as to susceptible natures by the glow of inspiration which they evince."

II. In speaking of Paul as the Apostle to the Gentiles, as well as the systematic expositor of Christian doctrine, we have not only treated of the relation sustained by his Epistles to the Gospels, but have anticipated the second branch of the subject, their temporary and local bearings. At first view, indeed, it would seem as if their chief importance were of a local and temporary character. Addressed to particular churches in reference to their peculiar circumstances, wants, and dangers, and some of them addressed merely to individuals, and referring to the Apostle's personal friendships, the Epistles are so strongly marked by temporary and local allusions, that not a few readers have turned from them in despair of drawing from them any universal truths. Yet rightly viewed, even the minuter references to times and places will be found to have a lasting value, to give some interesting traits in the Apostle's character, to furnish some clue to early Christian history, and more generally to illustrate some doctrine or principle of the gospel. Passing by the lesser references, we will consider the leading reference which the Epistles bear to the age in which they were written, and the people to whom they were addressed.

It was the divine mission of Paul to apprehend the gospel

in its universality, and free from Jewish narrowness, to preach it to the nations as the religion of the human race. All the circumstances of his position and experience fitted him for his high calling. Called to preach a religion, originating in Judea, to the people of Greece and Rome, his birth in Tarsus gave him a Roman birthright, which enabled him to understand the genius of the Roman people; and the high Greek culture prevalent at Tarsus doubtless aided him in addressing to the Grecian mind the faith, which his Jewish parentage and education had qualified him to understand in its Jewish connexions, and which his conversion by a risen, immortal, and therefore spiritual Saviour, had unfolded to his mind in its fulness and universality. He preached the gospel in its breadth and depth against Jewish narrowness, Pagan idolatry, and Oriental mysticism. The allusions, however, to Pagan and Oriental errors do not mark his Epistles so strongly, as the reference to Jewish exclusiveness. His constant fear is, that his Gentile converts will not receive the gospel in its simplicity and power, but will be held in bondage by the law, as he constantly accuses the Jewish converts of being. Alike in its bearing upon Jews and Gentiles, he aims in his principal Epistles, especially the Romans and Galatians, to urge the great essential principle of the gospel, justification not by works of the law, but by faith. Upon this principle Paul's principal thought seems to have been bestowed, and upon the proper interpretation of his meaning the most important part of controversial theology in ages since has turned.

Paul's own experience must furnish a key to his ardor upon this point. Himself delivered from bondage to a minute ritual law by converse with an immortal being, who had been raised in glory after a death upon the cross; and exalted to a new spiritual life by this event, and his own antecedent preparation and subsequent reflection and experience, what more natural than that the Apostle should constantly urge the doctrine of faith in that divine being, whose death had dissolved all dreams of an earthly Messianic Kingdom, and whose resurrection had established the spiritual nature of his reign, and the spiritual character of his religion? He himself found peace of mind, not by complying with any minute precepts of the law, not even by following the letter of the moral code, but by communion with one in whom perfect righteousness had been revealed in the life, and living faith in whom must ever impart a spirit, that

would be the strongest motive to duty, and highest consolation in sorrow and in view of death. "Wherefore being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have access by faith into this grace, wherein we stand and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God." This passage from the Romans gives the burden of Paul's Epistles, and the central principle of his theology.

It is common to connect with the doctrine of justification by faith the dogma of vicarious atonement by the death of Christ. Yet Paul evidently attaches more importance to the resurrection than to the death of Christ. There are indeed strong expressions in his Epistles in reference to the efficacy of the blood of Christ; such as "being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." Yet the very next passage ascribes greater importance to the resurrection; "much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life."

It is very obvious that the death of Christ being the most startling fact in his history, and one which would be particularly urged upon the attention of the first Christians by the scoffs of their adversaries, as well as by its connexion with the resurrection, would form the central point of their system; and all the influences, that had flowed from the gospel, would thus be associated with the death and resurrection of its divine founder. The idea of propitiating divine favor by immolation of victims is indeed found to prevail among all early nations, and to have a place in the Jewish faith. Yet there is nothing in the Old Testament which sanctions the idea, that the blood of victims would propitiate divine favor, apart from a devout spirit. Nor does Paul make any assertions to warrant us in believing, that the death of Christ will have any effect upon our salvation, apart from the moral influence which it exerts upon our souls, — the new life given by the Divine Comforter after our Lord's ascension.

When we consider the state of mind to which Paul addressed his views of justification by faith, and reconciliation by the blood of Christ, the reason of his urgency is very obvious. The Roman and Galatian churches were cramped by Jewish prejudices, and it was especially important to urge upon them that faith in a crucified Saviour, which must dispel Jewish exclusiveness, and call both Gentile and Jew to put their trust in one, who by his death had been exalted to a spiritual glory above all earthly distinctions. In an important local, temporal

sense the death of Christ was the means of breaking down all partition walls, and calling Gentile as well as Jew to the privileges of a heavenly adoption.

Even if we take the strongest passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews, whose authorship is so questionable, and form our opinions upon that, the common doctrine of vicarious atonement cannot be substantiated. This Epistle is a special argument to the Jews ; and whilst it illustrates the gospel by Jewish rites and symbols, and urges especially the doctrine of Christ's death as the consummation of sacrifice, and his resurrection as entering into the Holy of Holies, it contains no views inconsistent with our doctrine of Christ's death, as an exhibition of sacrificing love, and leading to a revelation of immortal life. In fact the writer of the Hebrews urges its moral significance as we do, when he calls upon all with "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by this new and living way which he hath consecrated for us ;" "provoking each other to love and to good works."

We might go on and speak of some other points in Paul's Epistles kindred to those already mentioned, and also consider his views of Christ and the future state, by reference to their temporary and local bearings. But we must now turn to the third point in our discussion, — the bearing of the Epistles upon the faith and practice of the Church in all ages.

III. As a historical fact, it is undeniable that the Epistles of Paul have had more influence upon controversial theology than any other parts of Scripture. Three considerations will account for this. In the first place, Paul alone of the sacred writers attempts to give us a system of theological doctrine, and to state the facts and principles of the gospel in their logical connexions. In the second place, he treats the whole subject of religion in a way especially adapted to meet the wants of those who are beginning, and leading others to begin a religious life, herein differing from the other Epistles, whose aim is not so much conversion as sanctification. In the third place, Paul's labors, as well as his turn of mind, have made him eminently the Apostle and theologian of the whole western world.

He has been the guiding spirit of western, as John has been of oriental theology. Menzel says beautifully, that "the soul is the inward paradise out of which the four sacred streams flow into the world. The first fountain is opened in the senses,

the second in the will, the third in the feeling, and the fourth in thought." He maintains that in the development of our race each of these streams flows to a peculiar geographical region. The senses to the south, feeling to the east, will to the north, and thought to the west. If such be the case, then, European civilization, so blended of western and northern influences, must be strongly characterized by the predominance of thought and will. Certainly we and our European kinsmen do abound in thought and will, and so far are ready to sympathize more heartily with the Apostle, who unites such strength of will with acuteness of thought, than with the more mystical and contemplative character of a spirit like John. But apart from such considerations, Paul has a right from historical fact to be called the great theologian of the western world. He gave Christianity to Europe in his missionary journeys. Revived in Augustine, the forms of his theology lorded it over the church of the West for a thousand years. And when in the Roman Church a new and corrupt Pharisaism sprung up, which transformed Christianity into Judaism, and united the abominations of priestcraft with the nominal faith of Christ, the spirit of Paul revived in Luther; the Epistle to the Galatians, the sturdy old reformer's darling book, brought to light with new force the neglected doctrine of justification by a living faith, rather than by rites and penances; and once more the spirit of the Apostle of the Gentiles broke the might of Jewish exclusiveness, and the Church built upon the Jewish prejudices of Peter was shaken to its centre by the free Gospel of Paul. Again in the midst of New England, ages after his westward voyage, — in New England, the nursery of our western theology, the system of Paul certainly in its form, phraseology, and much of its spirit, if not in its full freedom, was revived in the mighty Edwards; and the great religious convulsion, that formed the chief event in the American Church during the last century, was prompted by the earnest preaching of that doctrine of divine sovereignty which was ostensibly borrowed from Paul. And probably more sermons are preached at this day in New England from texts taken from Paul, than from all the New Testament beside.

But, without dwelling further upon the historical influences of Paul's Epistles, let us consider what importance we should attach to them as bearing upon the essential truths of Christianity.

As acquainting us with the mental experiences of the most illustrious convert of the apostolic church, the Epistles have a lasting value that must make them indispensable guides to all persons, who are passing through the conflicts that generally attend the entrance upon a Christian life. As helps to experimental religion, they have exerted a power over the Church in all ages, and Christians of all communions have been able by their own experiences to bear witness to the truth, and bless the comforting influence of Paul's exhibition of the soul turning from sin and finding peace in Jesus. Although the logical faculty is Paul's marked intellectual trait, and practical will his great moral trait, we must by no means undervalue him as a man of deep feeling. His love for Christ was almost a passion of his soul, and the fervor, with which he gives utterance to this feeling, appears all the more touching and beautiful, from its union with a will so strong and an intellect so keen. His contemplations of the glorified Saviour, of the grace of charity, of the immortal life, move him to a lyric burst of feeling, that blends the deep sentiment and mystic beauty of John with his own earnest eloquence, and we forget the acute logician in the inspired prophet. It would be well if more regard were paid to the form in which the religious sentiment manifests itself in Paul, and if, without neglecting his doctrinal views, we contemplated them less as logical forms, and more in connexion with the Apostle's own glowing soul. The metaphysical character of New England theology would lose none of its depth, and gain much in power and interest, had it thus regarded the whole compass of the Apostle's mind.

As containing a system of Christian doctrine, the Epistles must have importance in all ages of the Church. Even those disposed to deny his authority in matters of faith, and to assert a right equal to his in judging of the facts and principles of the gospel, must allow that the mere opinions of a man, circumstanced and gifted as he was, must be entitled to great respect. While those of us who believe in the Apostle's peculiar communion with Christ, and special illumination upon sacred things, must look to his words with reverence high as is accorded to any of the sacred writers.

A remark of Neander may here be aptly adduced, as showing the permanent worth of Paul's views. He says that Paul was "a man distinguished, not only for the wide extent of his apostolic labors, but for his development of the fundamental

truths of the gospel in their living organic connexion, and their formation into a compact system. The essence of the gospel in relation to human nature, on one side especially, the relation namely to its need of redemption, was set by him in the clearest light ; so that when the sense of that need has been long repressed or perverted, and a revival of Christian consciousness has followed a state of spiritual death, the newly awakened Christian life, whether in the Church at large or in individuals, has always drawn its nourishment from *his* writings. As he has presented Christianity under this aspect especially, and has so impressively shown the immediate relation of religious knowledge and experience to the Lord Jesus, in opposition to all dependence on any human mediation whatever, thus drawing the line of demarcation most clearly between the Christian and Jewish standing point ; — he may be considered the representative among the Apostles of the Protestant principle."

There would be great difficulties in our way, indeed, if we considered the Epistles to teach views of Christ's mission and death, not contained or implied in the Gospels, or even the opposite of the most obvious sense of the Gospels. If the Calvinistic views of Paul's doctrine of the atonement be correct, we must confess that we should be in no small degree perplexed in feeling ourselves called upon to adopt sentiments, so strongly conflicting with reason, and so different from the purport of the Gospels, merely upon Paul's authority. But no such perplexity meets us, who interpret his Epistles so perfectly in accordance with the teachings of Christ and the dictates of reason. His great doctrine of reconciliation by trusting to the offices of our Saviour's death and resurrection, or justification by faith, contains the essence of Christian truth, and urges a principle which should be dearer to none than to liberal Christians.

Whether viewed as a manifestation of heavenly love and truth, or as the great fact consuminating the Christian revelation, and sealing the immortality of the soul, the death of Christ has an eternal significance, which must always render a living faith in its power the great foundation of faith and motive to duty.

It is a question in some, whether in preaching Christianity it is well to be studious of retaining the phraseology of the Apostle, or indeed to urge principles of faith and duty by personal

references to Christ, as the Apostle does, instead of using a language more general, and treating of moral fidelity and the eternal life in the abstract. But all experience shows, that preaching loses its power, when it loses its personal and historical character. The doctrine of Christ crucified and risen has always exerted vastly more power upon the soul, than any moral essays, however cogent and beautiful, or any speculations upon eternity, however ingenious or sublime. Moreover, we may retain all our liberality of spirit and our philosophical depth, without giving up those personal references and that concrete form, in which Paul presents the gospel to the churches of his charge. Still, as in the Apostle's day, the great question is asked, How shall we obtain reconciliation with God? And still, as in his day, no better answer can be given than the assurance of Paul to the Romans, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." If we may pride ourselves on our philosophy, and for faith in Christ think best to substitute faith in our own spiritual nature, we may remember that Paul was something of a philosopher, and knew something of the spiritual elements of the soul; and yet he allowed nothing to separate him from the love of Christ, nor from the doctrine of the Cross.

As an earnest champion of freedom of thought and true catholicity of feeling, Paul, in his Epistles, speaks lessons which the Church in all ages may well remember, and which in all ages have been far too much neglected. The most enthusiastic friends of modern philanthropy have by no means compassed the breadth of his gospel of brotherhood, nor the most liberal of churches reached the comprehensiveness of his charity. In all ages the fettered soul of man, in bondage to sin or in bondage to spiritual despotism, will have cause to turn for example and aid to him who declared, "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and who rejoiced, "that the law of the spirit of life had made him free from the law of sin and death."

From this new world, unknown to the Apostle, but so blessed by the influence of his labors, we have abundant cause to pay tribute of earnest gratitude to his memory. Under God and His Son, Paul has been the guiding spirit of American theology. The Pilgrims of the Mayflower breathed his indomitable freedom, and gloried in that justifying faith of which Jesus had elected him to be the great Apostle. The active energy of this

great missionary turned his face westward, and the whole western world has been ready to do him honor in word and deed. His visits to Europe, whether to Greece or Rome, made the great era of European civilization, and have done more than any one event to give America her present character. Not in the discoveries of navigators nor the victories of warriors, but in the life and labors of Paul, we may read the best commentary upon the maxim at once of poetry and history,

“Westward the star of empire takes its flight.”

Those of us, who are sometimes weary of Paul's logical manner and practical earnestness, and disposed to complain of the formal character of the prevalent theology, and the bustling nature of ordinary religion, should check our repining, and, grateful for what the Apostle has done for us, remember that the Apostle himself united life with logic, spirituality with active zeal. Although we may pray for more of the serene and profound spirit of John in our churches, we shall never have our prayer granted by disparaging that apostle, whose doctrines exhibit the essentials of faith and life, and whose writings in their most significant passages leave us almost to doubt, whether they came from Paul, the zealous Missionary, or John, the calm Divine.

S. O.

LYCIA.

IN a former number we gave some account of a journey through Asia Minor by Mr. C. Fellows, and referred then to a subsequent tour, for purposes of a more thorough investigation, performed a year or two afterwards. The volume, containing the record of the second tour in 1840, is now before us, and we propose to follow on his route, as before, this most instructive and agreeable traveller. We do not wonder that, on his return to London, he felt as if he had but most imperfectly surveyed the interesting country he had visited, and was in haste to traverse it again. In every province he visited, his time allowed him to give only days or hours to investigations

that demanded, and would have richly repaid, weeks or months. Lycia, especially, it appeared to him, he had treated with particular neglect, and he determined to pay it a second visit.

“On my second visit,” he says in his preface, “I determined to turn my steps at once to Lycia; and I have, as will be seen from the line of my route on the map, traversed it in several directions. The new discoveries, which I have made on this excursion, have richly rewarded me; and I am led to believe that the materials for the historian, the philologist, and lover of art, which I have rescued from the ruins I visited, will be found of no inconsiderable value. The geographer will see that I have mapped the interior of the country, which hitherto has been unknown, and left blank in the maps.” “In this small province I have discovered the remains of eleven cities not denoted in any map, and of which I believe it was not known that any traces existed. These eleven, with Xanthus and those described in my former journal, and the eleven other cities along the coast visited by former travellers, make together twenty-four of the thirty-six cities mentioned by Pliny, as having left remains still seen in his age. I also observed and have noticed in my Journal many other piles of ruins, not included in the above numbers.”

But, much as Mr. Fellows has found in Lycia to reward a second journey, he has not even yet explored the whole province. His route has left untouched large districts of it. And for Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia he obtained on the former journey but the most partial and casual glimpses of the wonders they contain. We hope therefore that his second tour is not to be his last; but that where he has begun so good a work, with so much reputation to himself and advantage to science, he may be induced to carry it on to a full completion, and give to the world a thorough survey of the antiquities of Asia Minor. How cursory and incomplete even the present examination of Lycia has been, will be felt, when it is recollected that the author passed less than two months in making his researches in a district, which, as mentioned above, contained no fewer than thirty-six cities, of one third of which no traces have as yet been discovered. A portion of these may have wholly perished; others may only await in their fastnesses among the hills the approach of the traveller.

On his first journey it will be recollected that Mr. Fellows, on his arrival at Smyrna, went first to Constantinople, and then

passing into Bythinia in an eastern direction, crossed the peninsula, through Pamphylia, Pisidia, and a part of Phrygia, to Lycia on the Mediterranean, whence he returned along the borders of the sea to Smyrna. On the present occasion he left Smyrna on a direct route for Lycia, passing, of course, in the early part of his journey, over much of the ground he had seen on his former return, with, however, occasional deviations. Antiquities being the main object and constituting the chief interest of these travels, we shall at first confine ourselves to extracts relating the principal discoveries in this wide and enchanting field.

We pass by Caria, through which our traveller's route lay on leaving Smyrna, and take him up where he discovers the ancient Calynda, just within the confines of Lycia. The Turkish name of the small village in its neighborhood is Bennajah-cooe.

“At this place we found ample occupation, until it was too late to ramble among the overhanging rocks. We had seen around us, for two miles, tombs excavated in the cliffs, and one which we passed near the wood was highly ornamented as a temple, cut out of the rock, similar to the many I had seen in Lycia, and described at Telmessus. This specimen had tryglyphs, and in its pediment were two shields. I regret that we did not make careful drawings of it; but our guide assured us that thousands of better ones were around the village a mile or two in advance. *Thousands* is in the East used as an indefinite number; but in this instance it was probably no exaggeration, for tombs appeared on every cliff as we travelled eastward up this beautiful valley.” “Our guide in these mountain excursions is generally any peasant whom we meet by chance in the woods. The man now attending us has his gun, and seems to live by it; or rather it appears his only occupation; he professes to know every hole in the mountains, having long pursued his sportsman's life in the neighborhood, and offers to conduct us as far as Macry; his pay is at present but sixpence a day. I have observed a striking feature in the character of these men; on being hired, they always say, by way of showing their independence, ‘I have no mother; I can go any where with you; no one depends upon me.’ These anecdotes serve to mark the devotional respect to parents, which I noticed so often on my former visit. Our present guide, who wears sandals exactly like those seen in the antique figures, led us high into the crags which we had seen above us, where we found the greatest collected number of cave-tombs. Here between two ridges of rocks was the commanding site of an ancient city.”

"I at once determined this to be a city within the confines of Lycia, and as such could be none else but the ancient Calynda, which, according to Herodotus, was beyond the boundaries of Caria, the early inhabitants of which district are represented as pursuing and expelling the foreign gods from their country, and stopping not, until they came to the mountains of Calynda." "This range must have been the one down whose beautiful valleys we had been for some time travelling. Calynda, if this was the site of the city, was high up in the mountains, but not far from the sea, where it probably had its port, as we know that it supplied ships to the fleet of Xerxes. From the situation and remains of the city, I conclude that it cannot have been very large; but, from its remaining tombs, it may have existed for many generations, and probably at an early period."

The author makes here an observation in natural history, which will be new to readers in this part of the world.

"Some weeks ago at Naslee, I mentioned having seen a small green frog, sitting on a sunny bank of sand, and apparently deserting the water. I here saw another of the same kind, some feet above the ground, sitting against the stem of a dead shrub, as thick as my little finger. I called to my companions to come and see a frog in a tree, as a fish out of water. On being noticed, the little fellow, to our surprise, leaped upon a thinner and higher branch, and again upon the point of a twig not thicker than a crow-quill, and sat there swinging, with all his legs together, like the goats on the pointed rocks above us, or as the bears sit upon their pole in the zoölogical gardens in London. On inquiry, I find that this description of frog always frequents the trees; it is seldom in the water, and enjoys basking in the hottest places."

Passing through the ancient Telmessus, he arrived, on the 7th of April, at the Turkish Hoozumlee.

"Our attraction to this place was the report of ruins that existed in its neighborhood. We therefore started at eight o'clock in the morning to ascend the mountain to the south. Scarcely beyond the south-east end of the village, and in less than ten minutes, we found among the bushes a tomb of the most usual kind, cut in the rocks, resembling our Elizabethan domestic architecture. The tomb has been much shaken to pieces, apparently by an earthquake; but the detail of its execution we found to be of the highest interest. I do not hesitate in placing this fragment in the finest age of Greek work;

it shows by the simplest effects the full expression of the history and ideas of the sculptured figures. Had they been all perfect, its value in a museum, either for the philologist, antiquarian, or artist, would be inestimable."

"Great additional interest is given to these groups, by the circumstance of several of the figures having over them their names, after the manner of the Etruscan; these inscriptions are in the Lycian language, and some bilingual with the Greek. This, I trust, will materially assist in throwing light upon our ignorance as to the Lycian language, and these sculptures also may be important illustrations."

"Continuing for about a mile a steep ascent, we saw around us immense masses of rock, rolled from their original position, and some containing excavated tombs, now thrown on their sides or leaning at angles, which must have caused the disentombment of their dead." "Ascending for half an hour a steep scarcely accessible on horses, we arrived at an elevation of about three thousand five hundred feet above the sea which lay before us. The view was overwhelmingly beautiful. To the south-west lay the bay of Macry, with its islands and the coast of the south of Caria, while beyond lay the long and mountainous island of Rhodes. Cragus, with its snowy tops, broke the view towards the south, and the coast and sea off Patara measured its elevation by carrying the eye down to the valley of the Xanthus, whose glittering waters were visible for probably seventy miles, until lost in the range of high mountains, upon a part of which we were standing; in this chain it has its rise in the north. The crags of limestone around us were almost concealed by a forest of fir-trees and green underwood. Before us was the city surrounded by beautiful Cyclopean walls.

"The scattered stones of a fallen temple next interrupted our path on the way to the stadium; neither of its ends remained, and I feel sure that they have never been built up with seats, as seen in some of probably a later date. To the right of this stadium was the agora; eight squared pillars or piers stand on either side. For nearly a quarter of a mile the ground was covered like a mason's yard with stones well squared, parts of columns, cornices, tryglyphs, and pedestals; and here and there stood still erect the jambs of the doors of buildings, whose foundations alone are to be traced. Near the stadium some large walls with windows are still standing, and enclose some places which have probably been for public amusements. The city is in many parts undermined by chambers cut in rocks, and arched over with fine masonry; these, no

doubt, were the basements or vaults of the large buildings of the town, or may have served for its stores of provisions ; at present they are the wonder and terror of the peasants, who relate, that in one great vault, into which they had entered, there were seven doors all leading in different directions. This report has given the name of Yeddy Cappolee, meaning 'seven doors,' to the ruins, as well as to the mountain on which they stand. We descended towards the west, and came to the upper seats of a beautiful little theatre, in high preservation, a few large fir-trees interrupting the effect of the semicircle of seats. The proscenium was a heap of ruins, only one or two of its door-ways being left standing. The form of the theatre was like those in the east of Caria ; in front were the Cyclopean walls of the city blended with the more regular Greek, and evidently constructed at the same period. From this spot for a quarter of a mile were tombs, neither cut in the rocks, nor sarcophagi, nor of the usual architecture of Lycia, but of a heavy, peculiar, and massive style of building, not generally associated with our ideas of the Greek ; there was no trace of bas-reliefs or ornaments, and not a letter of the Lycian character among the numerous inscriptions, which were Greek, and much injured by time."

On returning to the village after his visit to these ruins, the principal citizens, who had assembled to see him, assured him that he was the only Frank who had ever visited them. Two days after, continuing his route toward the valley of the Xanthus, he found ruins which he was able to identify as the remains of the ancient Massicytus. These detained him not long, and he pressed on to Tlos, a place visited and described on his former tour. Here he found tombs beautifully sculptured. On the walls of one was discovered a bas-relief representing the fable of Bellerophon, of whose wonderful feats Lycia was the scene ; and the author well says, "To find this in a city in the valley of the Xanthus, cut in the rock, at once gives reality and place to the poetic description and services of this classic hero." From Tlos he moved on south to Minara, which he conjectures to be the ancient Pinara. The general ruins of the city, except the very perfect remains of a theatre, are not remarkable, but it is surrounded by "innumerable" tombs in the rocky cliffs. Upon the inner and outer walls of these were found interesting bas-reliefs ; one especially so, being a representation of the ancient city, "cut in relief on four different panels."

"I know no instances," says the author, "of a similar insight into the appearance of the ancient cities. These views exhibit the forms of the tops of the walls, which are embattled, the gateways, and even the sentinels before them. The upper portions of the walls are rarely found remaining at the present day, and I have too often perhaps attributed those I have seen to the Venetian age. The form of the battlements is very singular; none now are left upon the ruined walls of this city, but the tombs and towers might be still selected, probably from the same point of view, as represented in these bas-reliefs."

Mr. Fellows is justly surprised at the number and costliness of the tombs in the neighborhood of the ruins of the Greek cities, and especially at some found here at Pinara. The most wealthy of our citizens, in modern times, would not think of so expensive erections. Our wealth, it may be said, is lavished upon different objects; but if it took the same direction, it could by no means accomplish so much.*

"I have just measured one," says Mr. Fellows; "the form is of the most frequent style, and has its inner front; but the whole appeared so much in relief from the rock, that I climbed up, and found that I could walk by the side, which was ornamented and as highly finished as the front; this passage continued again along the back, making a perfectly independent building, or sculptured mausoleum, eighteen feet six inches deep; the cutting from the face of the rock was twenty-six feet deep, directly into its hard mass."

Mr. Fellows finds among the ruins of Pinara many buildings of which he cannot discover the design.

"How little is known," he says, "of even the names of the ancient Greek buildings! I find the usual vocabulary sadly deficient in supplying appellations for many edifices crowded together in this very ancient city; several have long parallel walls built of massive and good masonry, with numerous doorways, and simple but bold cornices. Others are more square in form, with a fine sweeping circular recess at one end; they have often four door-ways, and columns lying about within the

* This matter is partly explained by an observation made in the Appendix, founded on information obtained from inscriptions on the tombs at T'los, namely, that most of the tombs of that city were constructed for the use of the dead of several families. This, Mr. Fellows thinks, will account for their more than usual magnificence.

buildings. Near, and within, one of the entrances to the upper part of the city are the remains of a very small theatre, or probably an Odeum. I have not before seen one so small; it would serve as a lecture-room of the present day, where all the powers of the orator might have full effect. Beneath the surface of the highest part of the city are large square chambers, cut in the rock and arched over with masonry; the whole of the inside is beautifully plastered with a white stucco, having a polished surface like marble. These have, no doubt, been stores for corn and other provisions for the city."

At Pinara he writes:

"The people had never before seen a Frank; an old man told me that none had ever been up to his village; their manners were naturally the more simple, and of this I must give an instance. Three or four men, one of them very old, were the most attentive and curious in watching and assisting us to move stones, and leading the way through bushes; of course we returned the civility by signs of obligation. We soon became intimate, and they ventured to make remarks, noticing the spectacles worn by one of my companions, and placing them before their own eyes; these and a magnifying-glass astonished them exceedingly. Our pencils and books were equally novel to them. Soon afterwards a pretty girl joined our group, with a red skull-cap much faded by the sun, and from which were suspended chains of glittering coins, confining her hair, that hung in many long plaits down her back, in the manner of the ancient Egyptians; rows of colored beads hung around her brown open breast. This child was pushed forward to present to me an egg, which I exchanged for half a piastre, and all fear of the Frank at once ceased. Other eggs were brought me, my plant-box and hands were soon filled, and I was reminded of my former servant's instruction, that presents are very dear things in this country, — the price of eggs being twenty or thirty for a piastre."

Another city high up among the mountains was discovered soon after leaving Pinara, and its name, from inscriptions on the tombs, found to have been Sydima. It was small, but of pure Greek architecture, and abounding in "splendidly built tombs." A few hours' travel from the place gave to our traveller a view of the Delta of the Xanthus. He soon found himself in the famous city of that name, to revisit which, and explore more thoroughly its remains, was the principal object of his present journey. His time was spent here in copying in-

scriptions, in both the ancient Lycian and Greek, and in making drawings of the ruins and the more interesting bas-reliefs. From these, many beautiful and valuable engravings are given in the splendid volume before us, without the aid of which it is not easy to convey to the reader an adequate idea of these remarkable relics of a remote and polished age. But notwithstanding their number and excellence, they are too few and too little various in their subjects to satisfy the reasonable wants of the student of antiquity, or lover of art. It would have been a great additional advantage, if some had been given representing the general aspect of a city like Xanthus in its present state, with views of its more remarkable structures, drawings showing the details of architectural embellishment, and sketches of the surrounding scenery. Of those very remarkable places, Sagalassus and Selge, visited by Mr. Fellows on his former journey, a few outline engravings of each, from different points of view, would have conveyed a clearer idea than any number of pages of elaborate description. In truth, in journals of this kind, the reader would hardly ask for more of letter-press than should be necessary to state the few facts, that could not be made known by the draughtsman and the engraver. In the case of some of these ruins, general views of them, indeed, must be impracticable, from the thick growth of shrub and tree by which they are overrun. This was a difficulty here at Xanthus.

“To lay down a plan of the town is impossible,” he says, “the whole being concealed by trees; but walls of the finest kind of Cyclopean, blended with Greek, as well as the beautifully squared stones of a lighter kind, are seen in every direction; several gateways also, with their paved roads, still exist. I observed on my first visit that the temples have been numerous, and, from their position along the brow of the cliff, must have combined with nature to form one of the most beautiful of cities. The extent I now find is much greater than I had imagined, and its tombs extend over miles of country I had not before seen.”

A few miles brought our traveller to Patara on the sea-coast, which he had seen also on his former journey.

“I again sought the points of greatest interest, its very perfect theatre, the arched entrance to the city, and clusters of palm-trees; and owing to the drier state of the swamp, I was enabled to visit a beautiful small temple about the centre of the

ruined city; its door-way within a portico *in antis* is in high preservation, as well as its walls; the door-way is of beautiful Greek workmanship, ornamented in the Corinthian style, and in fine proportion and scale; the height is about twenty-four feet. I have sought in vain among the numerous funeral inscriptions for any trace of Lycian characters."

Coins among these ruins abounded, and were to be picked up like berries.

"The number of coins and common gems of rude cutting that are found here is quite unaccountable. I obtained above thirty coins from a man, who said he often brought home a hundred in a day when he was ploughing, and that, if I liked, he would go and find some. One of our men picked up two in crossing a field as he drove the horses; they appear to be of all dates, but I hope some may be curious, having the Lycian characters upon them. I am delighted to recognise again on one the figure of Bellerophon, similar to the bas-relief in the tomb at Tlos; this is highly interesting, as being found in the valley of the Xanthus."

Leaving Patara, Mr. Fellows, next passing through Phellus and Antiphellus, places of no great interest, reached Myra, bearing the modern Turkish name of Dembre. Here were seen beautiful and perfect remains of the ancient city; among others more interesting, a multitude of tombs of course. The theatre he found to be "among the largest and best built in Asia Minor; much of its fine corridor and proscenium remains; the upper seats have disappeared, but the present crop of wheat occupies little more than the area; probably about six feet of earth may have accumulated upon its surface." Among the sculptures on the tombs he met with examples of colored bas-reliefs, a practice well known to have been adopted by the Greeks in some of their works. In relation to this curious fact, so contrary to all our common notions of what is classical, he records in a note the opinion of Professor Müller, given on seeing the colored drawing from this tomb in Myra.

"The ancients *painted* their bas-reliefs; they only *tinged* their statues; tinging the drapery, leaving the flesh part uncolored; the wounds and blood were stained, and the ear-rings and ornaments gilded. Their temples were left white, but parts of the frieze and architectural ornaments were colored, but very minutely. Their temples of coarser materials were

plastered and entirely colored. The Parthenon frieze was colored ; all the backgrounds of their bas-reliefs were painted."

At this point of his travels the interest of the journal, so far as Greek antiquities are concerned, ceases. The author met with little more of a very attractive nature, although he passed through districts absolutely covered with crumbling remains of former ages ; more leisure only was needed, however, we believe, to have invested every square mile of such a country with the deepest interest. At Isium, near Myra, he exclaims, "What a wonderful people the ancient Greeks were ! This mountain country was literally strewed with cities and stately towers, which stand uninjured and unoccupied two thousand years after their builders are removed." From the last mentioned place Mr. Fellows turned his face toward the interior in a northerly course, and then bending to the west over the highlands, returned to Macry on the seacoast, whence, after an excursion to Rhodes, he made his way circuitously to Smyrna. With more pages at our command, we should have traced his whole journey as minutely as we have parts of it ; especially should we have indulged in many extracts, descriptive of the present manners of the modern inhabitants of these beautiful regions — beautiful indeed, if we may fully trust the pictures — word-pictures — the author gives us of its scenery. We give a single passage to show the effect of the beauty of this country upon the author's mind.

"My tent is pitched about twenty miles up the valley of the ancient Arycandus to the north of Limyra. A journal after all is only a register of the state of the mind as impressed by the objects of the day ; I shall therefore not hesitate to describe my own feelings, and confess I never felt less inclined or less able to put to paper any remarks, than the impressions produced by my ride during the last five hours. I have heard others speak of a melancholy being caused by the overwhelming effect of the sublime ; but it is not melancholy when better analyzed ; it is a thoughtfulness and feeling of gratified pleasure, which affects me ; and I long to express what perhaps is better indicated by the prostration of the Oriental worshipper, than by any verbal description ; I feel as if I had come into the world, and seen the perfection of its loveliness and was satisfied. I know no scenery equal in sublimity and beauty to this part of Lycia.

"The mere mention of mountain scenery cannot give any

idea of the mountains here, which are broken into sections, forming cliffs, whose upheaved strata stand erect in peaks many thousand feet high, uniting to form a wild chaos, but each part harmonized by the other; for all is grand, yet lovely. Deep in the ravines dark torrents of the purest water, and over these grow the most luxuriant trees; above are the graver forests of pines upon the gray cliffs; and higher than these are ranges capped with snow, contrasting with the deep blue of the cloudless sky."

We close our brief and imperfect notice of this valuable work with one more extract, descriptive of the primitive pastoral habits of the present inhabitants.

"The interest of our halt (at Yeeilassies among the mountains) was greatly increased by our observing an almost uninterrupted train of cattle and people, moving from the valleys to the cool places for the summer season—the *Yeeilassies*. I was much struck by the simplicity and patriarchal appearance of the several families, which brought forcibly to mind the descriptions of pastoral life in Bible history. What a picture would Landseer make of such a pilgrimage! The snowy tops of the mountains were seen through the lofty and dark green fir-trees, terminating in abrupt cliffs many thousand feet of perpendicular height. From clefts in these gushed out cascades, falling in torrents, the sound of which, from their great distance, was heard only in the stillness of the evening, and the waters were carried away by the wind in spray over the green woods, before they could reach their deep bed in the rocky ravines below. In a zigzag course up the wood lay the track leading to the cool places.

"In advance of the pastoral groups were the straggling goats, browsing on the fresh blossoms of the wild almond as they passed. In more steady courses followed the small black cattle, with their calves; and among them several asses, carrying in saddle-bags those that were too young to follow their watchful mothers. Then came the flocks of sheep and the camels, each with their young; two or three fine-grown camels bearing piled loads of ploughs, tent-poles, kettles, pans, presses, and all the utensils for the dairy; and amidst this rustic load was always seen the rich turkey carpet and damask cushions, the pride even of the tented Turk. Behind these portions of the train I must place, with more finish, the family—the foreground of the picture.

"An old man, and generally his wife, head the clan which consists of several generations; many of them must have seen

near five score summers on the mountains; the old man, grasping a long stick, leads his children with a firm step. His son, the master of the flocks, follows with his wife; she is often seated on a horse, with a child in her arms, and other horses are led, all clothed with the gay trappings of a Turkish stud. Asses are allotted to the younger children, who are placed amidst the domestic stores, and never without a pet cat in their arms; long tresses of hair hang down their necks, and are kept closely to the head by a circlet of coins. By their side walks the eldest son, with all the air and alacrity of a young sportsman; over his shoulder hangs a long-barrelled gun, in his hand is the cage of a decoy partridge, and a classic looking hound follows at his heels; a number of shepherd boys mingle with the flocks and bring up the rear. The gay costume, the varied noises of the cattle, and the high glee attending the party on this annual expedition, must be supplied by the imagination.

“I should think that twenty families passed in succession during our halt, few of them having less than one hundred head of stock, and many had more. In some families, attendants, servants, or farm-laborers were among the cattle, generally with their aprons tied around, in which they carried two or three young kids; they had often over their shoulders a small calf, with all its legs tied together on the breast, exactly as seen in the offerings on the bas-reliefs at Xanthus and elsewhere.

“The longevity of these people in this pastoral country is very remarkable. I am sure that we have seen at least twenty peasants, within the last two days, above a hundred years of age, and apparently still enjoying health and activity of body; in some instances the mind appeared wandering. An old-looking hag, screaming violently, seized my servant Mania, and asked if he was come to take away her other child for a soldier, for if he were gone, she should have none left to take care of her. The temperate habits of the Turks, as well as some of their customs, may in part account for the prolongation of life in this country. One custom I may mention, as tending to diminish the cares of age, and to show the excellence of these simple people. When sons grow up and marry, the father gives over to them his flocks and property, and trusts to the known natural affection of his children to take care of him in his declining years; to a son his parents are always his first charge.”

A HYMN OF THE SEA.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

THE sea is mighty, but a mightier sways
His restless billows. Thou, whose hands have scooped
His boundless gulfs and built his shore, thy breath,
That moved in the beginning o'er his face,
Moves o'er it evermore. The obedient waves,
To its strong motion, roll and rise and fall.
Still from that realm of rain thy cloud goes up,
As at the first, to water the great earth,
And keep her valleys green. A hundred realms
Watch its broad shadow warping on the wind,
And in the dropping shower, with gladness, hear
Thy promise of the harvest. I look forth,
Over the boundless blue, where, joyously,
The bright crests of innumerable waves
Glance to the sun at once, as when the hands
Of a great multitude are upward flung
In acclamation. I behold the ships
Gliding from cape to cape, from isle to isle,
Or stemming toward far lands, or hastening home
From the old world. It is thy friendly breeze
That bears them, with the riches of the land,
And treasure of dear lives, till, in the port,
The shouting seaman climbs and furls the sail.

But who shall bide thy tempest, who shall face
The blast that wakes the fury of the sea?
Oh God! thy justice makes the world turn pale,
When on the armed fleet, that, royally,
Bears down the surges, carrying war, to smite
Some city, or invade some thoughtless realm,
Descends the fierce tornado. The vast hulks
Are whirled like chaff upon the waves; the sails
Fly, rent like webs of gossamer; the masts

Are snapped asunder ; downward from the decks,
Downward are slung, into the fathomless gulf,
Their cruel engines, and their hosts, arrayed
In trappings of the battle field, are whelmed
By whirlpools, or dashed dead upon the rocks.
Then stand the nations still with awe, and pause,
A moment, from the bloody work of war.

These restless surges eat away the shores
Of earth's old continents, the fertile plain
Welters in shallows, headlands crumble down,
And the tide drifts the sea-sand in the streets
Of the drowned city. Thou meanwhile, afar,
In the green chambers of the middle sea,
Where broadest spread the waters and the line
Sinks deepest, while no eye beholds thy work,
Creator ! thou dost teach the coral worm
To lay his mighty reefs. From age to age,
He builds beneath the waters, till, at last,
His bulwarks overtop the brine, and check
The long wave rolling from the Arctic pole
To break upon Japan. Thou bidst the fires,
That smoulder under ocean, heave on high
The new-made mountains, and uplift their peaks,
A place of refuge for the storm-driven bird.
The birds and wafting billows plant the rifts
With herb and tree ; sweet fountains gush ; sweet airs
Ripple the living lakes, that, fringed with flowers,
Are gathering in the hollows. Thou dost look
On thy creation and pronounce it good.
Its valleys, glorious with their summer green,
Praise thee in silent beauty, and its woods,
Swept by the murmuring winds of ocean, join
The murmuring shores in a perpetual hymn.

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, TOGETHER WITH THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD.

IN the floods of periodical literature, which have issued from the press since the publication of this Report, we have scarcely been able to catch a glimpse of a notice of it, or the doings of the Board or Secretary, or of the progress of Education in the Commonwealth. How are we to account for the silence of Literature at the progress or even the movements of Education?

While the Board should have long since found able coadjutors in the conductors of periodical literature, — we acknowledge our own fault in the matter, — and numerous supporters in its patrons, it has been left to convince the public of its utility, and to carry on its plans single-handed and alone; and the only discussions, which have excited any considerable degree of agitation, have related to the question of existence. The question, whether the Board shall be abolished or *suffered to live*, — not supported, — is yet entertaining men's minds; while we might rather have expected them to be engaged in discussing measures of policy and progress with an eager zeal.

How can a body of men act with any degree of vigor, while the humiliating questions of the propriety of continuing its existence as a body is gravely controverted? Why is it, that the voice of Literature has not long since drowned these preliminary clamors? Is it because the subject is exhausted, unpopular, or barren, — because education has nothing to do with the progress of society, or because the Board and the Secretary have by their own individual exertions, — efficient as indeed they are, — forestalled the suggestions of all Experience, the inferences of all Analysis, and the conclusions of all Philosophy? Is it because the office of the common-school system is too insignificant to merit notice, because its chaotic materials have not yet assumed a character, — because it wants individuality, or because it has already arrived at the perfection of a full maturity? Should the Literature of this State fail to discover in its Board of Education the movements and bearing of a young Hercules, while its operations have attracted the admiration of distant nations, and the first words of encourage-

ment, which greet its ear, fall in no insignificant accents from the lips of a people separated from us by the broad Atlantic? Not thus does Literature in sister States. Virginia is bestirring herself in the work of common-school education, and her *Literary Messenger*, if not foremost in the enterprise, espouses its prosecution with a most commendable zeal.

The apathy here is not because people are indifferent. The community is shaking off its slumbers in this matter. To its ear the sleepy hum, by which the indistinctly uttered claims of common-school education once lulled it to a deeper repose, is becoming the imperative summons which quickens it to a vitality of multiplied vigor. The infinite individual and social difference between men educated and uneducated, by the striking contrasts presented in condition, fixes observation. To the common-school system the ignorant, lamenting over their inestimable misfortune in having been insensible to its value in early life, do homage. On it the philanthropist rests his anxious gaze, in the ardent expectation, that, though it now be a little cloud just visible in the horizon, and no bigger than a man's hand, it will soon pervade the whole hemisphere of mind, and, fraught with fertility, penetrate into all the secret sources of mental vegetation, causing abundant harvests to grow upon and beautify barren desolations. To it the wise look joyfully, as the instrument which shall eradicate imposition, empiricism, prejudice, and superstition, and prostrate the barriers of factitious distinction.

That its movements are onward is visible, notwithstanding its many discouraging obstructions. Five years ago the plan of a Board of Education, suggested by the example of sister States, was adopted into practice. Such was the doubt as to its utility, that it was with difficulty that a vote could be obtained from the Legislature to continue its existence. The fostering hand of private munificence gave at once strength to its character, and health and nerve to its feeble frame. Still its claims to support have been granted reluctantly, if not grudgingly. Partisanship and sectarianism have made it the target, on which to expend the ammunition of desperate assaults. These now, beginning to perceive the real grandeur of the objects which the system embraces, are hiding their forms in shame at the dastardly spirit that would lay sacrilegious hands on institutions, whose foundations are laid in a disinterested humanity. Each successive year gives new occasion for the

State to be more and more proud of its offspring, and to reward the labors of its devoted agents by a more ample pecuniary remuneration, or by an increased confidence in their recommendations.

The Report of the Board of Education presents first the Normal Schools and their condition, and recommends them to the continued fostering care of the State. Their influence has been felt, though they have as yet scarcely struggled through the obstacles, ever awaiting novel enterprises and infant institutions. It next alludes to the report of its Secretary, and then to the subject of a school library. Appended to it are the reports of the Visiting Committees, appointed by the Board to conduct the affairs of the several Normal Schools, namely, that at Lexington under the care of C. Pierce, that at Barre under the care of Professor Newman, since deceased, and that at Bridgewater, under the care of Mr. Tillinghast. Then comes the report of the Committee, appointed by the board to consider the state of the Normal Schools, and the expediency of their continuance, which is strenuously urged. Then follows the account current of the Treasurer of the Board. Lastly and chiefly is the highly interesting and elaborate report of the Secretary of the Board. It occupies some 110 pages.

After presenting a general view of the state of the schools in the Commonwealth, which looks favorable, the Secretary takes up several topics connected with common schools naturally coming under his notice.

He proposes a substitute for county conventions. It has been his duty to meet every year, in each county in the State, the friends of education, to discuss with them its interests. These county conventions he regards unequal, as affording but a small portion of the inhabitants the easily accessible means of attending them. He therefore recommends "more frequent meetings in smaller sections of territory, that sounder views and a livelier interest may be carried to the doors of those who will not go abroad to obtain them."

He then goes on to give a summary of some of the important facts and views, contained in the school returns and reports.

School Districts are first alluded to. The prevalence of the plan of uniting School Districts and classifying the schools is regarded as auspicious. It enables the united districts to give to every grade of scholarship the instruments best suited to it ;

and by employing less expensive teachers for rudimental students, enables the united district, with about the same expense, to provide the more advanced pupils with exalted means of acquiring an education of a higher excellence.

Thus, too, the attention is directed to the *Schoolhouse*; and from the extraordinary improvements made in this species of architecture, in the comforts and accommodations afforded to the scholar and teacher, in the increased facilities supplied for acquiring knowledge, and thus carrying out the true purposes of the House, even had nothing else been accomplished by the system, its agency is commended to every philanthropist.

The impulse which has electrified every department of common-school education, since the organization of this Board, has in this one been especially brilliant. When we see throughout the entire State decent, comfortable, many frequently elegant and tasteful Schoolhouses, taking the places of the desolate, comfortless hovels, which were once distinguished by the same cognomen, we are filled with the astonishment one may be supposed to experience on beholding, under the transformations of magic, the humble shed suddenly assuming the graceful proportions of an elegant temple. When we observe these results, we cannot but conclude that a master spirit is at work with an energy as potent as it is ubiquitous. On this subject of Schoolhouses the Secretary says, "during the last year the city of Salem, and the village of Cabotville in Springfield have given the best specimens of schoolhouse architecture. Salem has erected several new schoolhouses, remodeled others, and put the residue in a condition of good repair. In Cabotville the wise step was first taken of uniting two contiguous districts. The united district is erecting and has almost completed a beautiful house, far superior to any other in all the middle or western part of the State. Its cost is estimated at ten thousand dollars. . . . The plan of the house for the High School at Lowell is very well devised. . . . These, and several others erected during the last year, are ornaments to the respective places of their location, an honor to their inhabitants, and a pledge of the elevated character of their posterity."

The increasing interest of the public in the common school is manifest from the increase of the *appropriations of Money* to this object, and the jealousy with which any prostitutions of its funds from their legitimate purposes is guarded. It may not

be fully understood, but it is nevertheless true, that no district can lay its hand on the money raised for the support of schools, and appropriate it to the purchase of furniture for the house, to repairs, to seats, to payment of extra services of committee men, or any object except the *payment of board and wages of teachers, and fuel for the schools.*

Under the head of *Amount and Regularity of Attendance*, in which a striking increase is exhibited, much credit is granted to the School Register. Either we do not fully comprehend the statements made under this head, or the Register does not perfectly perform its functions. In speaking of those by whom the benefits of attendance on schools are received, it appears that the average absences for summer are eighty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-three, and for winter, sixty-five thousand one hundred and sixteen. The Enormity of this amount is illustrated with examples, showing how large a district, were all these absences confined to it, would be covered. From the view of the case that is taken a fallacy might be interpreted. On reading the statement as it stands in the Report the general reader might be led to suppose, that a large portion of the population between the ages of four and sixteen, our common-school system does not reach; that we have a population of at least sixty thousand coming into active life entirely illiterate, having neglected the advantages of even a rudimental literary education.

If the Register were so kept as to show all the names of all the scholars in each district, and if from them it should appear that in the State there are sixty thousand children growing up, whose names are on the Register, but whose faces never are seen in the school room, the identical names year after year appearing blank, there would be just cause of alarm. Occasional absences are confessedly bad both for school and scholar; but the mere circumstance of a child's absence from school proves but very little pro or con, in taking the measure of intelligence in the Commonwealth. It does not prove that it is not under the eye of its mother, that it has not been to school for the most part of the year, nor that it is not in some position for acquiring knowledge quite as favorable to that end as the school-room.

The increase of the *Length of Schools* furnishes another cause of gratulation. This, as well as the last point, should be estimated at its true value. It is by no means an unequivocal

truism, that the very best place for every child between the ages of four and sixteen, and during the whole of that period, is the school-room. The real signification of the term Education should not be misapprehended. Mere book knowledge were scarcely more desirable than no literature. The period spoken of is the season for *fashioning the man*. Literature deserves great praise, but its offices and merits have been magnified. Unless man is to be housed and withdrawn from nature and the world, it becomes him to rely on this aid for an education—reservedly. A child may be incessantly conversant with books, and yet have as little practical knowledge as an automaton. We have daily proofs of the perversions of literature under this form. We constantly meet with lamentable instances of men and women, who know only to read and write, — who indeed can do the latter but very indifferently, — and who are distressed at being placed in a predicament requiring an ordinary degree of tact. Such plead guilty to the name of fools, when required to kindle a fire; nor do they aspire to sufficient philosophy to comprehend the uses of an ordinary furnace or cooking stove. Possibly such might make or mend a pen, but to harness a horse would set their entire stock of ingenuity at defiance. Literature is but the key to knowledge, as knowledge is but the key to truth. The man is no more educated with the faculties of the mind alone brought into action, or in whom the physical organs alone are exercised, than the whole efficient force of an army is brought to bear upon the enemy with the infantry alone, or the artillery alone, in the combat. Physical and mental training must proceed *pari passu*. The exercise of the body will help to digest the pabulum of the mind. Every sense must be disciplined and developed; and the Schoolhouse, Books, and Teachers, are but instruments, manuals, and aids to this. Text Books and formulas, unless they stimulate thoughts, are clogs rather than aids in strengthening the mind. The true and full bred man is only formed by a due union of study, observation, and experience. There is a dyspepsia as afflictive and stupefying in the pathology of mind, as in physical pathology. Literature may surfeit the young mind with a multitude of words. In the rage for literature, ideas are quite lost sight of. From frequent repetition and incessant drilling, language loses its efficacy in monotony. The Malay manifests great fondness for literature. He will purchase books and devour them with avidity.

But it is only for the music which the words produce on his ear. His mind is untrained to thought, so that the ideas they are intended to convey he cannot comprehend. While therefore the child may and should be furnished with the best aids for making his attainments, due care should be taken that in the use of means they be not exalted above ends.

The urgent recommendation by the Secretary of a greater uniformity of School Books reminds us of a circular, which has recently been issued by the superintendent of common schools in the State of New York. He urges in it with great firmness the adoption throughout the State, in all the schools, of the New Testament as a Reading Book. The conservators of religion are indebted to the subtle refinements of the present day, backed by its well weighed scruples, for the fancy, that it is a profanation to make use of the Bible as a common school book. And this fine-spun logic is put forward in despite of all the experience of the past. The doctrines once deemed sound, that line must be given upon line, and precept upon precept, now that the moral sense, like the intellect of Minerva, is born into instinctive maturity, is rejected. The teachings of religion which, that they might have due force, were, under a theocracy, enjoined to be taught in the house and by the way, sitting down and rising up, on going out and on coming in, by being written on the posts of the doors and the tablets of the heart, are now practically enforced by a converse scheme. An outline of this is to be found in the canons of a sect, which prohibits the Bible to the common people; and a model, in the usages of our own times, which, while they advocate its freedom, in example, discourage its use, which can discover more beauty in the device of apples of gold set in pictures of silver, than in words fitly spoken, and which, lest they should manifest cant in set phrases, or a discrepancy of profession and practice, carefully keep the oracles of religion as an ornament for the centre table, and take public opinion for their rule of faith and conduct.

But such practices will not stand the test of a close ordeal. Truth is not contaminated by contact. Familiarity with it only serves to increase for it our admiration and reverence. Indeed, like the rarest gems, its beauties are only discovered by the grindings and polishings of close attrition and constant use. Human nature is now what it ever was. Mothers in ancient times taught their absurd mythologies to their children in their

infant years ; and shall they, to whom is committed the ark of the covenant, transmit it to posterity, with the most significant expressions of indifference or disgust? If men have confidence in the power of their religion, they will administer it to their children with their mothers' milk, and daily engrave it, as with a pen of iron, upon their hearts. Were it the business of education to train buffoons, and to ridicule serious things, then might the friends of virtue shrink from making the Bible a manual ; but when its office is to educate the whole man, how absurd were it to contravene this intention by a nice squeamishness. It is pretty generally admitted that the education of the intellect, without the moral sentiments, tends neither to the diminution of crime nor the increase of happiness. Let the Bible, then, without note or comment be the daily reading book in our common schools. Such has been the early practice of our Commonwealth, a practice which has made our community the model to many others of virtue and intelligence. Far be the day distant, when she cuts herself adrift from this anchor of her safety.*

In treating on the subject of *Teachers* the Secretary speaks with great power and eloquence. Nearly the whole of this topic is taken up in giving some hints to school committees, as to the tests, by which they may, if themselves of even limited acquirements, ascertain the qualifications of those who offer themselves as candidates for teaching. This chapter every school-committee man should read, ponder well, and study.

The literary and moral qualifications of the teacher, together with his aptness to impart instruction, are all discussed with that glowing fervor, which genuine talents, combined with true

* To the practice recommended in these remarks we wholly object, if by reading the Bible in school be meant reading the whole Bible in course, without discrimination or selection — the ancient method. To the reading of the whole of the four gospels and the book of Acts in course, with selections judiciously made from the Epistles and the books of the Old Testament, there can lie, we think, no objection, provided still, that the *manner of the reading* be carefully looked after. But if this exercise is to be left for the closing one of the school, to be hurried over with the indecent haste usually attendant on the last recitation, without remark or illustration on the part of the teacher, *as a mere exercise in the art of reading*, and not distinctly as a religious one, — rather than this, we say without hesitation, it were far safer for the child's moral and religious impressions, that the use of the book in school were entirely interdicted. — Ed.

zeal, sincere love for, and a thorough understanding of the whole subject, inspire. The standard of excellence which he adopts is indeed elevated. Such it should be, since collateral branches of the business of education, — such as attention to the convenience of the scholar, more than keep pace with the supply of good teachers; as it is obvious that a schoolhouse can be built sooner than a good teacher can be qualified for it. This is inevitable. The demand for teachers must precede the supply. Teachers will not qualify themselves for places, which are never to require them; nor indeed is a peculiar power of taste or intellect developed till it is in demand. The people must take the lead; and the leaders must be content to make considerable outlays of time, money, and patience, before they obtain precisely what is wanted. If a few schoolhouses be built of the very first class, where high salaries will be paid, and they at once become prizes for enterprise and talent, numbers will forthwith engage in the preparation of themselves for the places, and among them all some will be found worthy.

On the subject of employing emulation, as a means of literary excellence, Mr. Mann entertains enlightened views, and speaks, though briefly, with much cogency. This view of the subject, namely, the inexpediency of employing emulation, may be set down as one of the just results of modern philosophical inquiry. It is applicable to practice and compassionate in its operation. Scarcely ten years ago to introduce it into colleges among students of comparatively mature years was deemed chimerical. An institution in Vermont had the temerity to adopt its forms of government repudiating this principle of action, and the eyes of the world have been attracted to it. About the same time a young man, a student at Cambridge, had the moral courage uniformly to decline the honor, to which his scholarship entitled him; and in a prize essay, which was unsuccessful, but which he subsequently published, defended himself with arguments between which, and those advanced by Mr. Mann against employing emulation, there is a striking coincidence.

These views are fast obtaining currency, and there is reason to believe, that a principle so opposed to the spirit of humanity, will not be brought to act with its unholy influence on young and susceptible hearts. "The Christian virtues," says the *Re-*

port, "are found to have an efficiency vastly superior as motives to exertion." It is to be regretted that Mr. Mann has not taken ground more decided on the subject of corporal punishment. He admits that "any person who, in establishing his authority, begins back where the brute begins, and where the savage begins, can have no approvable capacity for the government of a school;" and yet, by a sort of faltering equivocation, neutralizes the whole force of his statement in saying, "I would by no means be understood to express the opinion, that, *in the present state of society*, punishment, and even corporal punishment, can be dispensed with by all teachers in all schools, and with regard to all scholars." What would have been the force of Mr. Mann's argument in favor of a high degree of qualification for the arduous duty of teaching, if at the close of it he had said, that all the requisitions *in the present state of society* were not to be expected? Such facts and admissions people are sufficiently ready to take for granted. We hold that the community should resist, with indignation and retribution, every attempt of the teacher to establish his authority or enforce his rules by brute force. Confinement, suspension, and expulsion are the only justifiable penal measures which any teacher may adopt. To entrust them with any greater liberties with the person of the child is abhorrent to nature. The infliction on the child of every species of corporal punishment is a prerogative exclusively parental; as the infliction of a similar punishment on the adult belongs exclusively to civil authority. To delegate any power over the person to any one not influenced by the restraints, which nature in the provision of parental tenderness has instituted, is as unauthorized by the designs of Providence, as it is dangerous to humanity. To be efficacious, corporal punishment must be accompanied with love,—that love which in inflicting pain is first wounded at outraged virtue, and then agonized at suffering humanity. Corporal punishment otherwise administered may indeed temporarily check through fear, but instead of subduing the propensity to evil it excites indignation and revenge, which, though for the time suppressed, rankle in the bosom, and eventually break forth in lawless and fearful impetuosity.

But let the teacher adopt the expedients of expulsion and confinement, and he will find no ally so powerful. To exile a child from his fellows touches his pride and chastens his sympathies, and thus cultivates those affections which, in this case,

are absolutely essential to a symmetrical character, which are in greatest danger of being annihilated, and by which alone the idiosyncrasy can be made available. For the parent to surrender the right to corporal punishment to another is as disgraceful, as for the civil authorities to permit individuals in private brawls to settle their own differences. Between the parent and child an identity exists, which it is the duty of the parent to remember. An indignity inflicted on the child should be regarded by the parent as personal. The inviolability of the person cannot be too highly valued, since on it depends to an inestimable degree the intellectual and moral progress of the man. To it also he is indebted for the consideration and esteem of society and his fellows. Corporal punishment is the inviolable possession of parents and governments, nor can it be invaded with impunity.

Under the topic of *Inequality of the Means of Education*, we find that the average of money appropriated to each child in the State, between the ages of four and sixteen, has been $2.7_{\frac{1}{100}}$ dollars. Some towns compared with others have appropriated as seven to one. Five towns appropriated more than five dollars to each scholar, and eleven more than four dollars, while one hundred and thirty-nine towns appropriated but one dollar.

Coupled with the observations under this head we find the following remark.

“As a general fact, the great work of enlightening the intellect, and cultivating the manners and morals of the rising generation, is going forward most rapidly and successfully in those towns, whose appropriations are most generous; while, on the other hand, a non-compliance with the requisitions of the law in employing unapproved teachers, &c., have most commonly been found in those towns, whose appropriations look rather to the question, how little money will suffice to escape from penalty or forfeiture, than how much, through the alchemy of this institution, can be transmuted into knowledge and wisdom and virtue.”

The Report closes with an argument, showing the effect of education upon the *worldly fortunes* or *estates* of men. In the course of this argument testimony is brought from high authority in mercantile and manufacturing life, to prove that the more intelligent the laborer, the more certain are his means of procuring a comfortable support, and of rendering himself valued

and respected. In further prosecuting the subject the following valuable remarks occur.

“Now it is easy to show from reasoning, from history, and from experience, that an early awakening of the mind is the prerequisite to success in the useful arts. It must be an awakening not to feeling merely, but to thought. In the first place, a clearness of perception must be acquired, or the power of taking a correct mental transcript, copy, or image of whatever is seen. This, however, though indispensable, is by no means sufficient. It may answer for mere automatic movements, for the servile copying of the productions of others. . . . But the talent of improving upon the labors of others requires, not only the capability of receiving an exact mental copy, or imprint of all the objects of sense or reasoning, — it also requires the power of reviving, or reproducing at will, all the impressions or ideas before obtained, and also the power of changing their collocations, of re-arranging them into new forms, and of adding something to, or removing something from the original perceptions, in order to make a more perfect plan or model. . . . An awakened mind will see and seize the critical juncture; the perceptions of a sluggish one will come too late, if they come at all. A general culture of the faculties gives versatility of talent, so that if the customary business of the laborer is superseded by improvements, he can readily betake himself to another kind of employment; but an uncultivated mind is like an automaton, which can do only the one thing for which its wheels or springs were made.”

In concluding our notice of this Report, we cannot refrain from reminding the friends of education, that however well this system now works, and however much of good it may promise, it is still incomplete as an educational system, so long as it remains theoretic. Education will never do its whole work for man, until it combines theory and practice. Literature, we have said, is but an aid in acquiring knowledge, as knowledge is but an aid in discovering truth. To render knowledge available in the discovery of truth, the exercise of the physical organs is no less essential than the culture of the mental faculties. To *this*, literature is auxiliary; to *that*, practice in the use of tools, and actual observation and discrimination in converting material substances into use, are auxiliaries. Knowledge nourishes the mind and prepares it for the discovery of truth; exercise invigorates the body, strengthens it for the

endurance of mental labor, and imprints more deeply on it sensible impressions. Truth, the vital principle of mind, is only to be obtained by the conjoined energy of mind and body. Whatever in practice or theory will unfold truth, or give action to the mind, is a part of education; and so far as literature is instrumental in this, it is valuable.

Indeed literature to a certain extent is indispensable. To acquire knowledge by whatever means,—and the more systematic the better,—is the business of the pupil; to discover truth, the business of the master. All educational systems, which do not tend, by the training of every faculty of mind and body at an early period of life, to make masters of men, not all of one description or occupation, but masters according to talent and capacity, are imperfect. The legitimate tendency of education is to bring men to a level, not to reduce to a low grade true worth, but by bringing out latent energy to elevate the low. The consequence of this will be to throw open, to the use of all, those secrets by which a few have arrived at distinction.

Hence the nobility of occupation will be more clearly perceptible, since in some of its forms all must resort to it for a livelihood, contentment, and happiness.

Hence too we perceive, that the present common-school system being as yet imperfect is transient, and must give place by modification or revolution to something more in conformity to the wants of man and society. Activity of mind is its most hopeful state, and the more rapid the changes, so that they be not feverish and fitful, the more certain are the indications of progress. Of revolution, with the present efficient officers of the Board, and the present vigilant Secretary, by whom, through its well disciplined district committees and teachers, as through a vital system, every pulsation throughout its entire corporeity is felt, noted, sympathetically heeded, and frankly laid before the public, there is no danger. That all salutary modification will be carefully engrafted upon the system, which will perfect its operation, may be confidently relied upon. The old is constantly giving place to the new or better, and ere long we shall see the work of education, by a due simultaneous cultivation of the physical and mental powers, by a copartnership of the schoolroom and the workshop, the laboratory, and the kitchen, performing for mankind its high and legitimate office.

The Board has upon it weighty responsibilities and arduous

labors, not the least of which are to be found in exciting the attention of parents generally in the public school, of enlightening their minds on the subject of education, so that they will neither shun book-knowledge, lest it should unfit the child for ordinary occupations, nor estimate it by a standard, which will make it the all-engrossing good, to the exclusion of all practical experience; and in imposing such duties upon the Town committees, as will secure districts from the evils of incompetent, indolent, or self-interested Prudential committee men.

Hitherto the branch of the labors of the Board, connected with the Normal Schools, has been least of all satisfactory.

The public will expect from the Board an impartial opinion of the operation of the Normal School system in their next annual Report. The system has now been a sufficiently long time at work, to give proof of its energy and vitality. The State has been liberal in its grants of money, and patient in its attendance on the experiment. If it appears to the Board, that schools are now supplied with better teachers, that the standard of qualification is more elevated, and that the teachers coming from these institutions meet with greater success, — a success creating for them a constant and an exhausting demand, it will be expected of them that they lay the facts before the public. If, on the contrary, it appears that the institutions, instead of supporting themselves, require an annual grant to bolster their languishing and feeble existence; if it appears that many of those, who flock there with the professed desire to become teachers, do so under the blind impulse of a popular enthusiasm, or with the hope of thus escaping the severer requisitions of a more laborious calling, and gifted with little of ability and less of stability, at the close of the course relinquish their original design; if it appears by the unerring test of utility, self-support, that the system will require ample endowments at regular intervals, in order to its continuance; then it will be fatally hazardous to the Board and its high aims, not to speak out frankly, and condemn with undisguised impartiality. Can there not be issued a diploma, which shall be awarded to such as, having been thoroughly tried under a rigid system of practice, are found to be well qualified, and which shall be withheld from all others? To this there may be some objections; but in any event the sole alternative to the stigma of empiricism, and the fate of the impostor, is to be found in adopting some measures, by which the public can confidently

depend on obtaining what is wanted, and what is recommended, when an application is made to the Normal Schools for a good teacher. It is thus only that the schools can acquire such a character, as shall render their continuance desirable.

E. P. H.

WRITINGS OF REV. WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER, WITH
A MEMOIR BY PROFESSOR PARK.

A VOLUME has lately been published, containing Literary Addresses, and fourteen Pulpit Discourses, besides Abstracts and Notes on the classics, the work of quite a remarkable young clergyman, whose great promise was suddenly blighted by an early death. The Memoir prefixed to the volume by Professor Park presents a very full and interesting account of Mr. Homer's brief course. It is written in a good style, in the warm tone of affectionate friendship, and yet free from all extravagant and indiscriminate eulogy. We like particularly the absence from it, as well as from the writings of the subject of the Memoir, of all cant. It is serious, and at the same time lively. It is full of religion, and yet avoids the set phrases in which it has been usual to talk and write about religion. It gives a very engaging picture of a young man of no ordinary powers of mind, who had made very considerable attainments in literature, who inspired an unusual degree of enthusiasm during his brief ministry, and who died amidst the regrets of numerous warm friends. The volume is an offering laid upon his tomb, and is a memorial of his genius, refinement, purity, devotedness, sanctity. It adds another to the many affecting instances, which the world has had, of *genius* consuming itself in the blaze of its own intense flame; of a mind too fervid and too active for the body, within which it burns and struggles.

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,

And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life."

William Bradford Homer was born in Boston, January 31, 1817. "In his eleventh year he was sent to Amherst, Mass., where he spent three years as a member of Mt. Pleasant Classical Institution," and where he recommended himself to his instructors by his amiable manners and studious habits. After a year spent in Boston and another at Andover in Phillips Academy, he entered Amherst College in September, 1832. Here "he soon took the first rank in his class, which he held to the end of his collegiate course." "In the forms and syntax of Latin and Greek," says Professor Fiske, "he was more thorough than is common, even among those generally accounted good scholars. — If I sometimes helped him in breaking the shell, he always seemed to find a sweeter meat than I had tasted. While he had a strong relish for poetic beauty, and possessed an imagination highly active, and truly rich in ideal pictures, he had also a striking fondness for exact thought, and for lucid order and symmetry in arrangement, and neatness and accuracy in style and performance." After graduating at Amherst, in 1836, Mr. Homer immediately entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, in order to qualify himself for the profession to which he had already dedicated his life. His biographer gives us extracts from his letters during his college life, and his residence at Andover, which are interesting, as showing the workings of a pure ambition, a generous love of excellence, and also somewhat of the morbid action that so often accompanies sensitive and gifted natures.

"Feb. 18, 1837. (Junior year at Andover.) — Last Tuesday was the most miserable day I ever experienced. I arose in the morning jaded and depressed. It was the turn of the eighty-eighth Psalm to present itself to my devotional meditations, and it seemed a remarkable providence, as a more precise and accurate mirror of my own feelings could nowhere have been selected. It was no religious exercise, I frankly own; but in the solitude of my gloom, I am almost ashamed to confess it, I did pour out my soul like water over that Psalm. Such prospects of discouragement as pressed themselves upon me, I pray to be relieved from henceforth and forever. There is one dreadful thought, that at such moments comes upon my

mind. I would whisper it in your ear. It is that my mind has already reached its maturity, that I shall never grow to a larger than my present intellectual stature. My developments were early, perhaps too early. I have always been beyond my years. And you know that it is no unusual phenomenon that minds too soon matured are of a stunted growth, and those who were men in boyhood become boys in manhood. I know that this is a wicked thought. It may be the conception of a diseased imagination. It undoubtedly is the offspring of a pride of intellect, rather than of that humble and submissive spirit which bows in meek resignation to the will of God. But it is a dreadful thought in itself, and in its accompaniments, when I think of the disappointment of the affectionate hopes that have been centred in me. God forgive me, if I ever think of honoring the earthly objects of my love more than the heavenly.' " — p. 38.

We are glad to find that the biographer did not suppress these secret confessions, through any false idea that they might injure the reputation of his young friend with the ultra good. We have proof in the following remarks by Professor Park, that he did not prune off here and there every natural growth of Mr. Homer's character, in order to adapt it to the standard of any particular circle or sect.

"It may be objected, that the secret confessions of fault which the preceding letters contain should not be exposed to the world. They would not be, if the present memoir were designed for a eulogy. They would not be, if the character of its subject needed to be glossed over and his foibles artfully concealed. But of what advantage is a biography above a fictitious tale, when but half the truth is told, and the character of a man is painted as that of an angel? The Christian philosopher objects to novels because they give false views of life, and benumb our sympathies with man as he is actually found. And what are too many of our biographies but likenesses of nothing which is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth? The true idea of a memoir is, that it shall impart the general and combined impression of its subject, that it shall give no undue prominence to his foibles, nor make a needless exposure of his uncovered sins, and shall by no means imply that a man may live selfishly among us, and be canonized when he has gone from us; that he may sin cunningly here, and only his virtues shall be rehearsed hereafter. As the love of posthumous favor is one incentive to virtue, so the fear of censure from our survivors is a dissuasive from vice." — pp. 40, 41.

During his residence at Andover, Mr. Homer did not confine his attention to theological studies, but entered upon a wide and liberal range of literary investigation. He examined carefully the German theory of Homer, interested himself in an edition of Macaulay's *Miscellaneous Writings*, and delivered before different clubs lectures on Jeremy Taylor, and critiques upon the characters of Shakspeare. By this kind of discipline he cultivated a delicate taste, which is conspicuous in all the productions of his pen, and while by these various studies he did not injure the seriousness of his mind, or lower his high spiritual standard, he yet counteracted the injurious effects, too apt to be exerted upon the character by an exclusive attention to the dogmas of a hard and stiff theology. His biographer says of him, that "he had that candor of mind which comes of an enlarged scholarship. He could never have been a partisan in theology, as a young man often loves to be, and he would probably have done much good by his freedom from that narrow spirit which will cling to a sect or school, be it new or old."

"Before he had closed his twenty-second year, he had accumulated much that would have quickened his mental growth for a long time to come. He had written numerous essays and orations, four quarto volumes of notes on his collegiate studies, eight volumes of abstracts and theses upon the topics of his Seminary course, had acquired six foreign languages, some of which he had mastered, had studied with philosophical acumen the writings of Hesiod, Herodotus, Longinus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Æschylus and Euripides, and many of the old English prose authors; had written an analysis of each book in the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*, with copious annotations upon them, a critical disquisition also upon each of the minor poems and fragments ascribed to the father of poetry, an analysis of the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, with extensive criticisms upon each, and various translations from Latin and German commentators upon the sacred and classical writings. He had also collected materials for at least three courses of lectures upon Homer and Demosthenes, and thought himself prepared to finish these courses with but little additional study, and within a short time. A synopsis of these lectures, with a catalogue of the authorities which he considered most important for reference, is published at the close of the present volume." — pp. 55, 56.

But Mr. Homer was not a mere scholar. He was a man

of warm affections, as well as of acute and polished intellect, as his biographer happily expresses it, he "was a true and hearty friend, and all his scholarship never left him a dried up specimen of humanity." This friendship was severely wounded in the loss of Mr. James G. Brown, who perished in the ill-fated Lexington. In a letter dated Feb. 8, 1840, alluding to the melancholy event just mentioned, his remarks seem to us to possess a great deal of beauty and truth.

" "You seem to me to dwell too much upon the aggravating circumstances of our late affliction. This is natural, but unnecessary, and probably incorrect. At first, my own soul was haunted by the terrors of that fearful night, and much of the miserable rhetoric that has appeared in public print upon the subject, has been fitted only to inflame the imagination, and in all probability to carry it beyond the reality. After a cooler examination, I have concluded that the physical suffering of the occasion was probably far less than is generally supposed. The intense and thrilling excitement of the scene to many minds would furnish occupation, without giving them an opportunity to brood over their own personal distresses. The human soul is furnished by its Creator with powers of self-support, to be developed in great exigencies, which are almost miraculous. Where was there an exigency so great as that, and where was the character containing in itself more sources of relief and even happiness, than that of our friend who is gone? I think it not impossible that his constitutional ardor may have made him one of the first who perished. If so, his struggles in the benumbing waters could have been but momentary, and his death may have been as serene as it was quick. We should have perhaps preferred to stand by his bedside and watch his lingering agonies; but for him, it was no doubt physically pleasanter to sink down exhausted and senseless into his ocean-bed. It was more like a quiet slumber than we are apt to imagine. There is another thought which has given me great consolation, even in the more fearful alternative that he may have continued among the last. Our dear friend was prepared to die; probably better prepared than many of us who survive. I think of him in that sweet security, which the presence of Jesus can impart, resigning himself to his fate peacefully and calmly. There is a deep meaning in those passages of Scripture, which were the theme of his last perusal and meditation. There is prophetic beauty in the last words which we heard from him. And now, they are as a voice from heaven assuring us that no outward terrors can disturb the serenity of God's

chosen. I think of him as cheering the comfortless in their gloom. With what ardor may not his zeal have been animated. With what efficiency and success may he not have prosecuted, on the burning deck, the mission he was not faithless to in the common walks of life. And perhaps, many poor trembling spirits may have been guided by his example and direction to the fold of his Shepherd in heaven." — pp. 65, 66.

Mr. Homer, as his biographer informs us, sometimes "gave expression to his feelings in verse." We quote the only metrical composition in the volume before us, and the delicacy and sweetness of this piece make us regret that no more specimens of his poetical talent are furnished.

"I hear thy voice, fond sleeper, now,
Not as it rose in gladsome hour,
When joy illumed thy radiant brow,
And life bloomed fair with many a flower,
But now with solemn tones and still
That wake each chord with finer thr'll.

I hear thy voice in many a scene
Where thou in buoyant hope didst roam,
Not such as when thyself hast been
The cherished idol of thy home:
But now in accents richly deep
From the low grave where thou dost sleep.

I hear thy voice in melting song,
Not as its cadence charmed the ear
Amid the gay and happy throng
Who gathered round thy beauty here.
A spirit's joy, a spirit's lyre
Thy strains of melody inspire.

I hear thy voice in fondness call,
Not as it gave its witching tone
To sway with soft and gentle thrall,
And soothe the sorrows of thine own.
But quivering now with purer love
For us below, for those above.

I hear thy voice! It cometh oft
In sorrow's gush and memory's swell,
When sigh we for its welcome soft
Or whisper of its sad farewell.
It comes with happy tone and blest
And bids us to thine own sweet rest." — p. 69 70.

The paragraph in the Memoir, which relates to Mr. Homer's

religious character, strikes us as very interesting, and is full of just and liberal remarks. Mr. Homer, we are informed, "kept no daily record of his emotions." The particular objection which he felt to Diaries may be perceived by the following remark. "Last week I derived great pleasure from reading the religious diary of——, it is rich, *rich*, in religious experience. He seems to have elaborated his love to Christ until it appears to be almost seraphic. But alas! I shall never read that diary again, for I perceive that a year or two before his death he re-wrote it. What must a man's expectation be, in penning his religious journal the second time?" The piety of Mr. Homer is represented in the Memoir as retiring, modest, unostentatious, natural. To us the phrase "naturalness of piety," is not "an ambiguous one;" it expresses clearly and distinctly to our mind a most important feature in the true religious character. And we rejoice to meet with such sentiments, as are expressed in the following sentences, which we quote gladly from the Memoir. Coming from the quarter from which they proceed, they must exert a good influence in the religious community. "The perfection of goodness is to make a right use of the nature which God has given us." "To shun artificial developments, and mere conventional forms, and to let one's free and full heart flow out in the channel of true benevolence is a great thing; far greater than to catch a certain good tone, and to be familiar with a round of phrases, that may happen to form the Shibboleth of a community." "Like himself too, his (Mr. Homer's) piety was kind, condescending, and considerate. He was not a noisy member of a Peace Society, nor clamorous for Moral Reform, but he cultivated the amiable instincts of his nature, and delighted in diffusing happiness among those around him." "An error of many Christians is, that they attach an authority to the example of some imperfect man, and debar from their fellowship all who do not follow that example. One class of religious developments they commend too exclusively, and are intolerant of another class which are useful in their own sphere, but are not in sympathy with the provincial taste. Our duty is to reverence the graces of the Spirit whatsoever they be, and to aim after that union of all the virtues which we discover in our great Exemplar."

In November, 1840, Mr. Homer was ordained as Pastor of the Congregational Church and Society in South Berwick, Maine, where he had preached most acceptably six months be-

fore. Here he exercised his ministry, and we are informed that his influence was perceptibly growing until he was removed from life. There is to us a delightful simplicity and artlessness in some of the specimens which are given of his discourses. He "was not ashamed to confess that on *his own* account, as well as for *their* good, he desired the regular attendance of his people at church." In a discourse delivered soon after his settlement, he says,

" ' You should listen to the preaching of the gospel with a careful regard to the feelings of your minister. Remember that he is a man ; by education, by profession, it may be by temperament a *sensitive* man. He has eyes that can see. He has ears that can hear. He has a heart that can feel. Let the delicate and honorable deference with which you meet him in the street, or welcome him to your dwellings, not be entirely laid aside, when he stands before you as the messenger of God. There are many persons who act as if they supposed that the eminence of the pulpit raised their minister above the level of human feelings, that it was round about him like an impregnable fortress, and every mark of contempt or disrespect or inattention from the audience falls as powerless as if he were a senseless machine. If he visit them at their homes, they would be ashamed to treat him with such coldness and scorn, and it would be deemed the lowest indecency to look out of the window, or to read a newspaper, or to drop asleep in the chair while he was talking with them ; but when he stands before them in the pulpit, they borrow a license from his remoteness and his elevation, as well as from the multitude who share the responsibility of their politeness, and they never dream that it is rude and ungentlemanly to be gazing around the house, or turning over a hymn-book, or whispering some pleasantry to a neighbor, or fixing themselves in a good position for sleep. The truth is, my friends, the minister is and ought to be more keenly sensitive to these marks of public disrespect, than he would be to private and personal contempt. An insult is offered to the fruits of his own mental toil. A contempt is thrown upon his high office as a preacher. The solemnly dedicated house of worship seems, in their view, to have a claim for decorum inferior to the highway or the parlor. More than all, that august Being in whose name he speaks, before whom angels cast their crowns in ceaseless adoration, Jehovah himself is repulsed by the coldness and stupidity of earthly worshippers. And I wonder how a man can preach, when such reflections are pressed upon him with overwhelming power from a careless or trifling or sleeping audience.' "

“‘There is one other thought connected with this subject, to which you will pardon me for alluding. You are aware that there is now extensively prevalent among ministers of the gospel a singular paralysis of the vocal organs, which has driven many from their pulpits and their flocks. The disease is one which has eluded the researches of medical science, as it has baffled the reach of medical skill. But among the many theories to account for its origin, I have found none more philosophical or more consonant with my own experience, than that which attributes it to the stupidity and inattention of an audience. It is well known that there is an active sympathy between the mind and the body, and what more natural than that a depressed and embarrassed spirit should derange an organ so delicate and sensitive as the human voice. Those of you who are at all accustomed to public speaking can testify how much the ease of your utterance depends upon the interest of your audience. If you find it hard to make yourself understood, or the force of your argument falls powerless upon stupid hearers, the utterance at once becomes difficult, the mouth is quickly parched and dry, there is a choking sensation about the throat, a thousand impediments seem to check the flow of language, the speaking is all up-hill work, and you sit down with the vocal organs irritated and inflamed, and an exhaustion of your whole system tenfold greater, than if you spoke to an audience so full of sympathy and interest and excitement, that the flow was easy from your heart to theirs. For myself, I confess, so great has sometimes been the physical difficulty with which I have preached to a trifling or listless congregation, that I have been ready to wish that in the pulpit I could be stripped of every sense and every faculty, but that of speech, so that there might not come in through my eyes and my ears and my wounded sensibilities, so many impediments to the easy current of my language.’” — pp. 106, 107, 109, 110.

Among the sermons given in the volume before us is a Thanksgiving Discourse on “the Connexion between Christianity and the Social Affections,” from which we make the following extracts.

“It is said, that the celebrated Dr. Johnson once read a manuscript copy of the book of Ruth to a fashionable circle in London. The universal exclamation of the company was, ‘where did you get that exquisite pastoral,’ and the thoughtless were directed to the book, which to them had been associated only with gloom and dulness. It is in truth remarkable, that among a people whose domestic institutions and exclusive

habits seemed so unfavorable to social refinement, the Old Testament history should abound in such delicate narratives of the affections. The ancient classics are notoriously deficient in the sentiments of the fireside, but the more ancient literature of the bible, even in the primitive traditions of patriarchal life, seems to have held the family relation among its choicest subjects. In the whole range of eastern story, I know of nothing more rich than the account of Isaac's courtship. The witching pages of fiction have never yet surpassed the true narrative of Joseph and his brethren. And the sweetest refinement which modern taste has thrown around the grave is unequal to the simple pathos of old Jacob, in his dying request: 'Bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite: There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; There they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.'"

"Go back to the remote ages of antiquity, before the light of our religion had dawned upon the world. Many a bright spot shall you find in the moral waste. Many a city where art has lavished her most gorgeous treasures, and learning has reared her proudest seats. You shall find there the taste of the architect, in marble columns, gracefully carved cornices, and majestic temples that rear themselves towering and queenlike. You shall find there the skill of the sculptor, in the accurately chiseled proportions of that chief earthly beauty, the human form. You shall enter suburban groves, and listen to philosophy in her most inspired lessons, and poetry in her most winning strains. You shall be surrounded by everything outward that speaks of elevation and refinement. But when you penetrate the secrets of domestic life, when you look for the happiness of a pure and holy fireside, the light that is in them has become darkness—and 'how great is that darkness!' You recur to those whited sepulchres, which are beautiful without, but within are full of loathsomeness and corruption. And while you glory in the achievements of human taste and genius, you weep that they can attain so little, when unaided by the gospel of Christ.

"Follow the influence of Christianity during the ages since its origin, and you will find the nature of the case materially changed, yet leading to the same result. *Now* religion and refinement seem to go hand in hand. All that is splendid in art becomes consecrated to, or is consecrated by the spirit of the gospel. Painting and sculpture expend their choicest workmanship on the subjects of the bible, and the mosaic pavement, and the arched galleries, and the frescoed ceiling become vocal

with the praises of God. And it seems as if the social refinement of Christianity attracted to its own service the genius and taste of man, as eminently harmonious with its spirit. Wherever it pressed its way, though among the hordes of barbarism, it invariably carried with it more or less of the blessings of cultivated life. And wherever tribes and nations, that for a time have lived under its power, were left to relapse into their old heathenism, or gave way to the forced establishment of a hostile faith, it has been generally noticed, that barbarism and social debasement have come in, and stalked over the ruins of Christianity with the breath of a moral pestilence." — pp. 302, 303, 305, 306, 307.

At the age of twenty-four years and less than two months, and after a ministry of but four months, the subject of the memoir before us was called out of the world. But short as his ministry and life were, they were long enough for the exhibition of rare qualities of mind and heart, of which the volume before us is a beautiful and permanent monument.

W. P. L.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy. By MOSES STUART, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover, 1842.

WE shall begin to like Professor Stuart, if he gives us such volumes as this. We consider it by far the best book he has ever published. We do not mean to assert that his views, particularly those relating to the principles of interpretation, the theory of double senses, and the import of the phrases, "then was it fulfilled," and the like, which occur in the New Testament, contain in them anything new. They are views, which we have all along held, and which are familiar to all well informed theologians of the class of Christians to which we belong; but it is exceedingly gratifying to meet with them, coming from the quarter from which they emanate in the present volume.

The position which the Professor takes, and which he well defines, is, that the Bible is to be interpreted in the same manner as any other book. Its poetry "is poetry with all its characteristics; its prose is prose;" its history is history, and

nothing more; "the psalms are songs of praise; the proverbs are maxims or apothegms." Its meaning "is simply what the writer had in his own mind and intended to express." — "So far as our circumstances and relations are like those of the persons to whom the Scriptures were originally addressed, so far what was said to them is binding on us; but no further."

The Professor discards double senses altogether. The terms "fulfilment," "fulfilled," &c., used by the Evangelists and Apostles in connexion with certain quotations from the Old Testament, which have given no little trouble to commentators, he considers as implying nothing more, than that the language quoted was in some sort applicable to the Saviour, or that between particular events which took place under the Old and the New Dispensations, there was some resemblance, parallelism, or analogy, so that similar language might be used of both. "Out of Egypt have I called my Son" (Matt. ii. 15) is one of these passages, and he specifies several others familiar to those who have given any attention to the subject.

The Professor strenuously combats the proposition, that "prophecy is unintelligible until it is fulfilled."

In the latter half of the volume he treats, at considerable length, of the "designations of time" used in the Prophecies, particularly in Daniel and the Revelation. He attempts, and we think with entire success, to show that these "designations of time" are used there as elsewhere, that is, a day means a day, and a year a year, unless the writer expressly tells us that they are used in some unusual, or symbolical sense. This principle cuts deep, and at once annihilates the many fanciful hypotheses, which have been erected on a misinterpretation of the above-mentioned books. In this part of the volume is introduced a good deal of incidental matter, relating to the meaning of parts of the Apocalypse, which will be read with interest by those who have a taste for discussions of this kind. The Professor is of opinion that the Book of Revelation, with the exception of the twentieth and twenty-first chapters, has reference to events which took place soon after the time when it was written, and not to a distant future.

There are several passages in the book we should be glad to transfer to our pages, did the limits of this notice admit. At the close of the volume, we have some very just and striking observations relating to the various confident predictions uttered, at different times, by the "*Romancers* in prophecy," on the subject of the supposed approaching end of the world. The following remarks have reference to the *character* of the period of "the latter day glory" of the church, so often alluded to in Christian writings.

“One thing more I feel constrained to say, before I quit this theme of *the latter day glory*. Whether we have respect to the Millennium, usually so named, or to a more prosperous period still, near the close of time, the extravagant apprehensions, so often entertained and avowed respecting this season of prosperity, seem quite unworthy of credit. The prophets have indeed employed most glowing language, in describing the future season of prosperity; and all they have said will doubtless prove to be true in the sense which they meant to convey. But let him who interprets these passages remember well that they are *poetry*, and are replete in an unusual degree with figurative language and poetic imagery. Let him call to mind, moreover, that the language employed in the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, in order to describe the return from the Babylonish captivity, and the prosperity which would ensue, is scarcely, if at all, less glowing than that which has respect to the future prosperity of the Messiah's Kingdom. The visionary schemes, then, which represent the Millennium as the return of the primitive paradisaical state, are not for a moment to be listened to by a sober and discreet man. The state of Adam's race is fixed and certain. A world of sin and suffering is as sure to be their probationary habitation, as that the decree of God will stand.”—pp. 140 – 143.

From some of the views contained in the volume we dissent. We cannot, however, forbear, in conclusion, expressing our most sincere thanks to the Professor for a publication, the effect of which must be, we think, to correct some of the many crude notions which still prevail in regard to the language of the Bible. Such a publication, coming from such a quarter, cannot fail to do good. We know not how it may be received by the denomination of Christians to which the author belongs, but for ourselves, we most heartily commend it to the attention of the religious public.

A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel. By NATHANIEL S. FOLSOM. Boston. 1842. 12mo.

THIS is not a book for critics and theologians, and the author does not claim, we believe, to have made any discoveries in the difficult art of interpreting Prophecy. He was induced to undertake the work of exposition, it would seem, in consequence of the new interest awakened on the subject of Scripture prediction, in a portion of the community, by the foolish fancies recently broached, and which, strange to say, find advocates, about the approaching end of the world, and personal advent of Christ, to take place in 1843. The common reader, who sits down to study the Book of Daniel, we think, will find the volume a help, and we commend it especially to the attention of such as allow themselves to be perplexed by those who are

crying, lo here, or, lo there, and who confidently predict that the world is speedily to end.

Oration delivered at the request of the City Authorities of Salem, July 4, 1842. By CHARLES W. UPHAM. 8vo. pp. 56.

THE recurrence of our fourth of July celebrations can be considered in no other light than as an advantage to the country, notwithstanding some attendant evils, if the people are to be gathered together to listen to discourses such as this of Mr. Upham. It is a political sermon full of wise instruction, a beautiful and profitable chapter of American history. Taking for his subject "the origin and progress of American Independence and liberty," he illustrates it, first by giving a rapid sketch of the early tendencies toward freedom in Europe in the seventeenth century, issuing, in one direction, in the emigration to America, and the founding of the Colonies. He then dwells more at length, and with a genuine enthusiasm, on the early charter history of Massachusetts; and, finally, glancing at the revolutionary period, contrasts, by way of improvement of his subject, the conduct of the spurious brood of patriots in modern times, in a sister State, with those of the revolution, and protests with manly indignation against any parallel being run between them, as a gross and wicked misrepresentation of the revolution, and of the great men who acted in it. We have been more particularly struck with the high and wholesome tone of moral and political feeling pervading the whole oration, especially the closing pages, and with the striking sketch, brief though it be, of the "days of the first charter" in Massachusetts, — days which left their deep and ever-during impress upon the character of the people. If there is such a book as an American Reader for the use of schools, it could hardly receive a better addition than the pages of Mr. Upham, where he treats of the first charter and its fruits. We offer a single extract.

"In the mean time circumstances in England were rendering the situation of nonconformists more and more uncomfortable, and the hearts of many of them were turned towards the remote American wilderness for shelter from the gathering storm. The only insurmountable obstacle in the way of emigration was an unwillingness, on the part of men of influence and substance, to subject themselves, when removed across the Atlantic, to the inconveniences and wrongs to which they would, in all probability, be exposed from a government conducted by irresponsible persons remaining in England, and necessarily, therefore, destitute of all personal experience in the affairs, or personal knowledge of the circumstances of so remote a plantation. This difficulty was vital, and if not removed, would have been fatal.

There was one remedy, and only one, and that fortunately for the world was discovered and applied.

"John Winthrop, with Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, made known to the Court of Proprietors, that they would remove with their families to New England, as permanent settlers, provided that the charter itself, and the government under it, were removed with them. Let it be borne in mind that the incorporated company, to whom the territory had been granted by the crown, were invested by their patent and charter with all the powers of government over it. The question was, whether the colony in America should continue to be dependent upon the Court of Proprietors, assembled in London — in which event neither Winthrop nor any of his distinguished associates would consent to emigrate — or whether the government of the colony should thenceforward be relinquished and committed to those members of the company who should reside in America — in which event they were ready forthwith to embark. The question was, whether British colonists in America should govern themselves, or be governed by a power remaining in England. The language of Winthrop and his associates was this — 'rather than live in America, subject to a power in England, we prefer to endure persecution at home — but let us carry our charter with us, let us govern ourselves there, let us enjoy independence, and we will cheerfully abandon our fertile fields, and costly houses, and pleasant homes, and brave the dangers of the sea and the privations of the wilderness.' The proposal was a startling one to those proprietors who had no intention to emigrate, but it was concluded that the prosperity of the colony would be so much promoted by being under a government, acquainted, from personal observation and experience, with its circumstances, as to render its acceptance expedient, and it was voted that the charter should be transferred to America, and all its powers and functions be exercised and enjoyed there.

"Upon the decision of this question, in a body of merchants and private gentlemen, sitting in London, hung interests and results, as great and momentous, as were ever determined by Congresses, or Cabinets, or Councils of State. Had the proposal of Winthrop been declined, the primeval wilderness might have continued to this day to have brooded over the surface of the American continent — a few feeble colonies might have lingered through a languishing existence, terminating in an Indian massacre, or in pestilence and famine — a few commercial factories might have been scattered along the shores, and a few fishermen and hunters might have frequented the coasts, or penetrated into the interior, but a nation of freemen never could have come into being. The transference of that charter imparted to America the principle of life, breathed over its fields and forests the spirit of independence, and made liberty everywhere a native of its hills and vallies. When Winthrop and his associates embarked with their charter for Massachusetts Bay, the auspicious destinies of this continent were unalterably fixed, the progress of humanity secured, and its prospects brightened to the end of time; and when, on the 12th of June, 1630, the ship *Arabella*, in which the precious freight was borne, came to anchor in the harbor of Salem, the first age of American Independence began." — pp. 11 – 13.

ΓΕΝΝΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΠΕΛΟΥ. — *Review of a Sermon on the "Danger of being Overwise."* Preached June 7th, 1835. By W. B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Boston : W. S. Damrell. 1842.

A LONG pamphlet upon a perfectly unprofitable subject, namely, the use of wine at the communion, and the kind of wine. We regret that a gentleman, who can write such useful fiction, should spend his time and strength in writing such useless truth — admitting, which we are by no means disposed to do, that the truth is on his side. We know no more remarkable example in modern times of "straining at a gnat," than this fierce and ludicrous quixotism in the matter of the sacramental wine.

Observations on the Bible for the Use of Young Persons. Boston : John R. Eastman. 1842. 12mo. pp. 282.

THE author of this work informs us that his "experience has been altogether in the active business of life." But, though he does "not belong to the clerical profession," it is manifest that he has been a diligent reader of the Scriptures, and is intimately versed in sacred criticism. This appears not in minute details, but in practical results founded in accurate learning. The use he has made of his biblical learning, in his "Observations," is the more valuable, as indicating the strong hold which the sacred records have maintained upon his affections amidst secular cares and pursuits. His reverence for them is not such, as to make him shrink from an encounter with the difficulties by which skeptics have attempted to shake the faith of believers. The real difficulties are acknowledged or accounted for ; the factitious ones are stripped of their disguises, and the fallacies with which they are invested plainly exposed.

The author's observations on the books both of the Old Testament, and of the New Testament are preceded by preliminary remarks, which cannot fail to win his readers

"to receive

With joy the tidings brought from heaven."

Without taxing their credulity to excess by superstitious adherence to the letter, he gives demonstrative reasons for believing the miraculous origin and character both of the old dispensation and the new. "It may be regarded," he says, "as an unfortunate circumstance that the language of Scripture [of the Old Testament] should appear equivocal, and represent what, in many cases, are natural circumstances, as the act of

God. But I consider the language of the Bible as decidedly the most just and philosophical. Natural events, as they are called, are no less God's doing than supernatural ones. They are only less striking, less powerful in their effect upon our imaginations. But when they are of a striking and peculiar character, what impropriety is there in speaking of them as God's acts? If the east wind did cause the waters of the Red Sea to subside, so that the Israelites passed over the head of that deep bay without being incommoded, who made it to blow? And who, by changing the direction of the wind, brought back the waters, and overwhelmed the Egyptians? Was this preservation of one party and destruction of the other any less the act of God, because he used the instrumentality of a natural cause, the wind, to effect it? Surely not. And so of all other interpositions of Providence recorded in the Bible. Some of them may have been produced through the agency of nature, as it is called, but there are others which are unequivocally miraculous; and it is no less natural than it is proper, to speak of all the acts of God, and to acknowledge his power, as the *disposer of events*, in all that happens in the world." — pp. 49, 50.

This is an important view of divine agency, including all that can be known concerning it; removing any seeming imputations derogatory to God's perfect attributes, without lessening our faith in his almighty power, or our reverence for its beneficent exercise.

The author's remarks on the writings of Moses and on the historical, prophetic, and poetical books of the Old Testament, are, in our opinion, remarkably well suited to his purpose, to the preparation of the youthful mind and heart for an intelligent perusal of the Hebrew Scriptures, and a tender interest in their contents.

Not less discriminating are the author's remarks on the writings of the New Testament. But we have not left ourselves space enough to exemplify this by extracts from the volume. The following explanation of Christ's rejection by the Jews, his own countrymen, to whom his ministry was devoted, is marked by the clearness of thought and simplicity of style, which pervade the whole book.

"There are many passages in the prophets which were supposed by the Jews to describe the glory of the Messiah's kingdom in such terms, as if taken by themselves might, without violence, be understood to refer to temporal splendor. Annoyed and oppressed as they had been for many ages, it is not surprising that they should have so interpreted such passages; nor that, as generation after generation passed away,

their expectation and hope of such a political saviour should have become more and more ardent, till they reached an intensity of fervor. It would be considered at once a political and a religious duty to believe in the coming of one, who was to relieve them from all their distresses, and guide them to a condition the very reverse of that which they actually occupied. How was the Messiah to resemble Moses, if he did not liberate them from bondage, if he did not establish them in independence, and make other nations serve them?

"This must be fully understood and appreciated, in order that we may at all comprehend the extraordinary fury exhibited by the Jews against Jesus Christ. What was there in his character, or conduct, to excite such deadly hatred? How could any body so persecute the mildest, kindest, and purest being ever seen on earth, one who went about doing good, injuring none — even of those who would have stoned him, and who did, at last, kill him with torture and ignominy, — who spake as never man spake, and whose miracles were uniformly for the most beneficent purposes?

"Such a feeling is not only shocking, but it is out of nature; it is not to be accounted for on any other principle, than that it was the outbreak of their sudden and terrible disappointment. Here was a man whom many began to think must be the Messiah, from the miracles they saw him perform; and what does he do? Instead of raising his standard and beginning a rebellion, or, like Moses, performing miracles for the liberation of his countrymen, he goes about preaching peace, humility, and forgiveness of injuries, the very reverse of the proud and military spirit, which they had secretly nourished in the midst of all their humiliation and subjection. The miracles he performed, if they did not convince them that he was the Messiah, as was sometimes the case, only provoked them to anger and violence. They were either ready to seize him by force, and compel him to act as they supposed the Messiah ought to act, or else they would beseech him to depart out of their coasts, and relieve them from all controversy about claims they would not admit, and could not deny." — pp. 189 – 191.

Though "this little tract," as the author tells us, was written for his children, and is published for the use of young persons, all who revere the Bible, as containing the records of divine truth, will find much in it to guide their thoughts and warm their religious affections. To young persons, especially, would we commend it as a gift from a father to his children, pertaining to truths which, of all things, it becomes them most to learn and reverence. Teachers of Sunday Schools, and their pupils, will find it a valuable accession to their libraries and class books; and, as the author has inscribed it to his own children, we, by such authority as may be conceded to us, would dedicate it to the higher classes of youth who assemble on the Lord's day, for special instruction in sacred truth and religious duty.

ERRATA.

In the last number, p. 320, for *Genoa read Geneva*; and for *naturalism read materialism*.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

NOVEMBER, 1842.

CICERO ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

[From the Tusculan Questions.]

[We offer in the present number, — to be completed in a succeeding one, — a new translation of the first of the Tusculan Questions “*De contemnenda morte.*” It is offered not so much in the character of a translation, as that of an argument for revelation. To many of our readers it is already a familiar treatise, to many, however, it probably is not so, and they may be glad to see how a Roman like Cicero wrote and reasoned upon one of the most interesting subjects of human investigation. Upon reading it they will feel, we think, that the vast superiority in thought and argument of any Christian of the present day, on the subject of a future existence, to one of the master minds of antiquity, is not easily susceptible of an explanation, except through the light which revelation has poured into the humblest mind. In a treatise like this, we obtain a just notion of what the unaided mind of man can do, under the most favorable circumstances, toward constructing a religion for itself. “Here,” observes the translator, “is the natural religion of the human soul; and we must look back of revealed religion for this. We, at this day, cannot have a natural religion; for we cannot help ourselves from using the aids revelation has given us. To know what the human soul can do for itself, we must ask the heathen philosophers. Besides it seemed necessary that the want of more light should be felt before it could well be given. The human mind had tried every expedient to solve the great mystery of being. It had plumed itself to fly to heaven, and would have mounted in its hopes to a higher and better sphere; but it was in vain; all was unsatisfactory, and it was obliged to confess its need, when God sent his Son to tell us why we were born, and what is the ultimate destiny of this mysterious soul.]

“The argument of Cicero must be read, as a cry to heaven for light and guidance; as a confession of human weakness and want. Only in this way can it be understood. The argument is not conclusive. It could not be so. Had it been, what necessity for a revelation? It is a proof of that necessity from its very incompleteness; and herein lies its great

value. The etymological critic may point out fifty errors in this attempt to serve the want of many minds, but perhaps not one of them would affect the force of the general argument. It is not offered to a college of professors, but to the inquiring minds of the People.”]

I. WHEN at length, O Brutus, I was altogether, or in great part, freed from the labor of pleading causes and my duties as Senator, I returned, chiefly by your influence, to those studies which were retained in my mind, even when interrupted by the state of the times, and which I have now recalled after a long interval. And since the theory and method of all the arts, which relate to a right course of life, are contained in that system of wisdom, called Philosophy, I have thought that I ought to treat of this subject in Latin. Not because Philosophy cannot be understood from Greek books and teachers; but it has ever been my opinion that our countrymen, without assistance, have investigated all subjects, to which they have given their attention, with more wisdom than the Greeks, and that even what has been received from them has been made better, when it seemed worthy the pains. For we give more heed to the customs and rules of life than they do, and arrange with more elegance our common and domestic concerns; and certainly our ancestors excelled them in the institutions and laws by which they administered the public affairs. Why should I speak of the art of war? in which if our countrymen have succeeded much by their courage, they have done still more by their skill; while in regard to those things which are obtained from nature, not books, they will not suffer in comparison with the Greeks, or any other nation. What people ever possessed such dignity, firmness, magnanimity, honesty, and fidelity,—such excellence in every form of virtue, that they could be compared with our ancestors? Greece excelled us in learning and every species of literature; in which conquest was easy, for we did not contend with her. For whilst, among the Greeks, the most ancient of their learned men were poets, as Homer and Hesiod, who flourished before the founding of Rome, and Archilochus, who lived in the reign of Romulus, we turned our attention to poetry at a later period; for it was nearly five hundred and ten years after the building of the city, that Livius brought out a play, (Caius Claudius, the son of Cæcus, and Marcus Tuditanus being consuls,) one year before the birth of Ennius, who preceded both Plautus and Nævius.

II. It was at a comparatively late period in our history, before poets were known and received by us; although it is mentioned in the *Origines*, that it was the custom at banquets for the guests to sing songs, to the accompaniment of a piper, in honor of the deeds of distinguished men. Nevertheless honor was not shown to poets as a class, as the speech of Cato shows, in which he casts it as a reproach upon Marcus Nobilior, that he carried poets with him into his province. We know that when he went as Consul into *Ætolia*, he took Ennius with him. The less therefore the poets were honored, so much the less zeal had they in their pursuits. Nor yet did they, who possessed great genius for the art, fail to approach sufficiently near the glory of the Greeks.

Must we not think, then, that if praise had been bestowed upon Fabius, a nobleman, for painting, there would have been amongst us many a Polycletus and Parrhasius? Praise cherishes the arts; and all are incited to such pursuits by desire for glory. Those arts always languish which are held in general disesteem. The Greeks thought it the highest exercise of talent to sing songs to the accompaniment of stringed instruments. Hence Epaminondas, the first of the Greeks, in my opinion, is said to have accompanied himself with eminent skill upon stringed instruments; and when Themistocles, some years after, refused to play upon the lyre, he was esteemed uneducated. Musicians therefore flourished in Greece, all learned music, nor was any one esteemed fully educated who was ignorant of the art. Geometry also was held by them in the highest honor; therefore nothing rendered a man more distinguished than skill in mathematics. But we confined the application of this art to purposes of measuring and calculations.

III. On the other hand, we quickly took up the Orator; not at first the learned orator, but the ready speaker; learning, however, came afterwards; for it is handed down that Galba, Africanus, Lælius were learned. Cato, however, who preceded them, was studious, and after him Lepidus, Carbo, and the Gracchi; and then so many who have been distinguished down to our own time, that we have little if anything to yield to the Greeks in this respect. Philosophy has languished even to this time, nor has Latin literature thrown any light upon it; which subject therefore I would attempt to illustrate and to excite an interest in, so that if, in busy life, I have been of any service to my countrymen, in my leisure, also, I may do them some good, if I

can. Besides, there is more reason for exertion in this behalf, because it is said that many Latin books have been written carelessly; by excellent men indeed, but not sufficiently learned. For it may happen that he, who thinks justly, may not have the power of explaining, what he thinks, elegantly. But he abuses both his leisure and the cause of letters, and fails likewise to bestow any pleasure upon his readers, who publishes his thoughts, without knowing how to arrange them or express them clearly. Such writers read their books to their intimate friends; nor does any one touch them, except those who are in favor of a like license in writing for themselves. Wherefore if by my industry I have added any reputation to the name of orator, much more diligently, on that account, shall I open the fountains of philosophy from which those excellencies flow.

IV. But as Aristotle, a man of the highest genius, and full of knowledge, when he was moved by the glory acquired by Isocrates, the rhetorician, began to teach the youth how to speak, and to join lessons in wisdom with rules of eloquence, so it pleases me, not laying aside the former study of oratory, to employ myself in the consideration of this higher and more fertile subject. For I have always thought that to be the most perfect system of philosophy, which may enable one to speak fluently and elegantly upon great questions. In this exercise I have so studiously wrought, that I have even dared to hold discussions after the manner of the Greeks; as lately in Tusculanum, when, after your departure, several of my intimate friends being about me, I tried what I could do in this kind of study. For as I was formerly accustomed to declaim upon causes, a practice no one has kept up longer than myself, so now this is the declamation of my old age. I suggested to any one to propose some question, which he wished to hear discussed, and upon that I discoursed either sitting or walking. Thus I have arranged the discussions of five days, schools as the Greeks call them, in so many books. We proceeded thus; when he who proposed a question had said what he thought upon the subject, I spoke on the other side. This, as you know, is the ancient and the Socratic method of dialectical discussion. For Socrates thought that by this method the Truth would be most easily and probably discovered. But that you may have the most correct notion of our discussions, I shall write them down as if a passing scene, and not in the form of a narration or report of them.

The beginning was made in this manner.

V. *Adolescens*. Death seems to me an evil.

Marcus. To those who are dead, or to those who have to die?

A. To both.

M. It is misery then, since an evil.

A. Certainly.

M. Therefore both those who are dead, and those who have yet to die are miserable.

A. So it seems to me.

M. There is no one then who is not miserable.

A. Truly no one.

M. And indeed, if you would be consistent, all who have been born, or will be born, are not only miserable, but eternally so. For if you say that they only are miserable who must die, you can except no one living, for all must die; but still there might be an end of suffering at death. But since the dead too are miserable, we are born to endless misery. For we necessarily conclude that they are miserable, who died a hundred thousand years ago, or rather that all are so, who have been born.

A. So indeed I think.

M. Tell me, I pray you, if you are affrighted at those things; the three-headed Cerberus in the infernal regions, the roaring of Cocytus, the passage over Acheron, "and Tantalus half dead with thirst, and only able to touch the top of the water with his chin?" Or that other story of "Sisyphus striving with the rock, sweating with exertion and not advancing a whit?" Or perhaps those inexorable judges, Minos and Rhadamanthus, terrify you; before whom neither Lucius Crassus, nor Marcus Antonius will defend you, nor, since the trial will be before Greek judges, will you be able to call in the aid of Demosthenes,—you must plead your own cause before a most numerous assembly. These things perchance you fear, and therefore conclude that death is an eternal evil.

VI. *A*. Do you think me so foolish as to believe such things?

M. And do you not believe them?

A. By no means, truly.

M. By Hercules you make an unfortunate admission.

A. Why? I pray you.

M. Because I might be eloquent, if I should speak against them.

A. Who could not be eloquent in such a cause? But what need is there of refuting these unnatural fictions of the poets and painters?

M. And yet the books of philosophers are full of discussions against these very things.

A. Vain, indeed! Who can be so silly, that those things can move him?

M. If then the miserable are not in the infernal regions, there are none there.

A. That is precisely my opinion.

M. Where then are those who, you say, are miserable, or what place do they inhabit? For if they exist, they must occupy some place.

A. I think indeed that they occupy no place.

M. Therefore you think they do not exist.

A. Exactly so; and yet miserable on that very account, because they do not exist.

M. Indeed I had rather you feared Cerberus, than make such inconsiderate remarks.

A. Why? pray!

M. You deny and assert existence of the same person. Where is your acuteness? You affirm misery of a being whom you deny to exist.

A. I am not so dull as to speak thus.

M. What then do you say?

A. For example, I say Marcus Crassus is miserable, who has been deprived by death of those great fortunes; that Cneius Pompey is miserable, because he has been deprived of his great glory; that all, finally, are miserable, who are deprived of this light.

M. You come round again to the same point. It is necessary that they should exist who, you say, are miserable. But you deny that the dead are in being. If they are not in being, they can be nothing, so that they are not miserable.

A. I do not perhaps express what I think. But I think that very state of annihilation, after having lived, to be a most wretched condition.

M. How! more miserable than never to have existed at all? Then they who are not yet born are unhappy, because they are not in existence; and we ourselves, if after death we are fated to misery, were miserable before we were born. I do not remember my unhappiness before my birth.

Perhaps your memory serves you better,—I should like to know if you have any recollection of such a state.

VII. *A.* You jest with me ; as if I had said, they who are not born are miserable, and not they who are dead.

M. You say then that they do exist.

A. Nay, it is because they do not exist, once having lived, that they are wretched.

M. Do you not see that you contradict yourself? For what so contradictory as to affirm misery, or indeed any state of being, of that which does not exist? Do you, when, going out of the city by the gate Capena, you behold the sepulchres of Calatinus, of the Scipios, the Servilii, and the Metelli, think that they are miserable?

A. Since you press me with the word, henceforth I will not say that the miserable exist, but only that, for the very reason that they do not exist, they are wretched.

M. You say not, then, that Marcus Crassus is miserable ; but only miserable Marcus Crassus.

A. Evidently, that is what I mean.

M. As if it were not necessary that whatever thing you declare to be in that condition, must either exist or not. Have you not been instructed in logic? In the first place, it is an established rule that every proposition (it occurs to me now to call it *ἀξίωμα*, axiom, I will give it another better name if I can find one) is something affirmed, which is either true or false. When therefore you say miserable Marcus Crassus, or Marcus Crassus is miserable, you say something of which we may judge as to whether it is true or false, or else you say nothing at all.

A. Well then, I will grant that the dead are not miserable, since you have forced me to confess that those who are not in existence cannot be wretched. What then? Are not we who live wretched, because we must die? What sweetness can life have, when the thought of death must be present to us day and night?

VIII. *M.* Do you not perceive what a load of evil you have taken off from human life?

A. In what way?

M. Because if to die were misery to the dead, we should have in life the thought of this infinite and eternal misery. Now I see the limit, to which when we have come we have nothing more to fear. But you seem to me to adopt the

opinion of Epicharmus, an acute and not unwitty man for a Sicilian.

A. What opinion? for I do not know it.

M. I will tell you, if I can, in Latin; for you know I am not accustomed to introduce Greek into a Latin discourse any more than Latin into a Greek discourse.

A. And properly too. But what is that opinion of Epicharmus?

M. "I am unwilling to die, but I think that when I die I shall become nothing."

A. There I recognise the Greek. But since you have compelled me to admit that the dead are not in a miserable condition, go on, if you can, and prove that I ought not also to consider the necessity of dying a misery.

M. That indeed is hardly worth the while, as I aim at higher views.

A. Why of little consequence? or what are those higher views?

M. Because since after death there is no evil, death indeed is no evil; the nearest time to which is after death, a time in which you admit there is no evil; so that neither is the necessity of dying an evil, for this is the necessity of coming to that which we admit is not an evil.

A. Speak more fully, I pray you, upon these points, for I confess that these knotty questions compel me to assent to what I do not fully understand. But what are those higher views, which you say you are about to unfold?

M. To teach, if I can, not only that death is not an evil, but a positive good.

A. I do not demand so much as that; nevertheless I long to hear. For if you shall not prove all you wish, you will establish the point, that death is not an evil. But I will not interrupt you with questions. I prefer to hear a continued discourse.

M. What if I question you, will not you answer?

A. That would be arrogant in me, indeed; but unless it be necessary, I would rather you would not question me.

IX. *M.* I will comply with your plan, and explain what you wish as well as I am able; but I shall not pretend to speak, as the Pythian Apollo, certain and fixed Truth, but, as a man subject to error like all the rest, I shall follow probabilities. For I cannot say more than that this or that seems to me to be the truth. There are those who pretend to perceive and speak certainties, — and such people profess to be wise.

A. Do as you please. We are prepared to listen.

M. We must, therefore, first inquire what Death is, which seems to be a thing perfectly well known. There are some who think that death is the departure of the soul from the body. Others say no departure takes place, but that the soul and body perish together, and that the soul is extinguished in the body. Of those who think that the soul leaves the body at death, some think that it is immediately dissolved, some that it remains a long time after the separation, while others say it exists forever. What this soul is, where and from whence, is a great subject of dispute. To some *cor*, the heart, seems to be the soul; hence we have such expressions as, *excordes*, *vecordes*, *concordesque*, silly, insane, and harmonious; and that wise man, Nasica, who was twice consul, was called *Corculum*, a little heart, and Ælius Sextus a shrewd man was called, *Egregie cordatus homo*, a man of a lofty soul.

Empedocles thinks the soul to be the blood in the heart. To some a certain part of the brain seems to hold the chief part of the soul; others will not allow the heart itself or any part of the brain to be the soul; but others have said that the seat and place of the soul is in the heart, others in the brain; but others think the soul is the breath, as our countrymen declare by the name itself; for we use such expressions as *agere animam*, and *efflare animam*, to expire. Also we say *animosos*, animate, *bene animatos*, very brave, and *ex animi sententia*, from the opinion of the mind. But this soul itself, *animus*, is called so from *anima*, the breath. Zeno the Stoic thought the mind was fire.

X. But these theories, which I have mentioned, that the soul is the heart, the brain, the breath, or fire, have been held by entire sects; other opinions, by individuals, as by many ancients before. And latest Aristoxenus, a musician and also a philosopher, supposed the soul to be a certain attuning of the body, similar to that which in singing and stringed instruments is called harmony; and that its various motions are drawn out from the nature and figure of the whole body, as the tones in music. He did not relinquish his art, and yet said something the purport of which had been said and explained much before that time by Plato. Xenocrates denied that the soul had any figure or body, and said it was number, whose influence, as before was thought by Pythagoras, was the greatest in nature. His teacher, Plato, formed

a triple soul, the ruling part of which, the reason, he placed in the head, as in a citadel ; the two other parts, anger and desire, which he wished to be considered subordinate, he enclosed in separate places, — anger in the breast, and desire under the præcordia.

But Dicæarchus, in his account of the disputes of the learned held at Corinth, which he has set forth in three books, in the first book introduces many speakers ; in the other two he brings forward a certain old man of Phthia, called Pherecrates, who he says, was sprung from Deucalion, saying, that the soul is nothing at all ; and that it is an utterly empty name ; that things are unmeaningly called animals, animated ; that soul or spirit does not exist in man nor beast ; and that all that power, by which we perform anything or percieve anything, is equally diffused through all living bodies ; nor can it be separated from body, inasmuch as there is no such thing ; nor is there anything except body one and simple, which is so formed as to feel by organization.

Aristotle, excelling by far all (I always except Plato) in learning and industry, when he reduced the origin of all things to four classes, thought there was a certain fifth nature, from which the soul originated ; for he thought, that to think, to foresee, to learn, to teach, to invent anything, as well as to remember so many things, to love, to hate, to desire, to fear, to grieve, and to be joyful, — these and similar things cannot be brought under any one of the four classes. He employs a fifth class without a name, and this soul he calls by a new name, *ἐντελεχίαν*, as if it was something which possessed a continued and perennial activity.

XI. Unless some escape me, these are nearly all the opinions concerning the soul. For we will omit Democritus, a great man indeed, who thought the soul was the result of the accidental coming together of smooth and round atoms ; for there is nothing among those sages which a collection of atoms may not produce. Which of all these opinions is true let some god determine, — which is most probable is a great question. Shall we discuss these opinions or return to our proposition ?

A. I desire both, if it might be ; but it is difficult to mingle them. Wherefore, not to discuss these points, if we can be freed from the fear of death, let us do it ; but if that is not possible without unravelling this question of the soul, let us attend to it now, and leave the other question for another time.

M. The course I understand you to prefer, that I think will be the most suitable. For reason teaches us that, whichever of the opinions I have set forth is true, death is not an evil, but rather a good. Because if the heart, or blood, or brain is the soul, certainly, since it is material, it will perish with the body. If it be the breath, it will be dissipated; if fire, extinguished; if the harmony of Aristoxenus, it will be broken. What shall I say of the theory of Dicæarchus, who thinks the soul is nothing at all? According to all these various opinions nothing can pertain to any one after death. Sense is lost equally with life. There is nothing that can affect in any way whatever him who has no sensation. The opinions of others excite some hope, if mayhap that pleases you, that the souls when they leave the body may be able to go to a heaven, as to their own home.

A. That indeed does delight me; that I would first wish to have so; and then, if that may not be, I would wish to be persuaded that it might be so.

M. What need then of my doing anything for you? Can I excel Plato in eloquence? Can I diligently his book upon the soul; there can be nothing more you can desire.

A. By Hercules, I have done so often; but some how whilst I read, I assent, but when I lay aside the book, and begin to reflect within myself concerning the immortality of the soul, all that assent glides from me.

M. But what? Do you not grant that either souls remain after death, or that they perish in death itself?

A. I admit it.

M. What if they survive?

A. I grant that they are happy.

M. What if they perish?

A. That they are not miserable, since they will not exist; — compelled by you, I made this concession some time ago.

M. How then, or why, can you say that death seems to you to be an evil, — a state which results in happiness, if our souls survive the body, and not miserable if deprived of all sensation?

XII. *A.* Explain then, unless it be too much trouble, in the first place, if you can, that souls remain after death, which if you fail in doing (for it is a hard task) you shall teach that death is an exemption from all evil. For I fear lest this very thing be an evil, I do not say the being deprived of sense, but the being to be deprived of sense.

M. We can adduce the best authority for the opinion you wish to establish, that which is wont, and ought, to avail much in all questions. And, first, indeed all antiquity favors it, which, being nearer to the time of the birth and divine origin of the soul, could better discover what was true concerning it.

This one idea seems to have been deeply rooted in those ancients, whom Ennius calls *Casci*, that there is sense after death; that man is not so destroyed by death, as utterly to perish; and this may be understood, as from many other things, so also from the pontifical customs and ceremonies of burial, which men, endowed with the highest genius, would not have observed with so great care, nor punished the violating of them as an inextinguishable crime, unless it had been fixed in their mind, that death was not annihilation, the taking away and extinction of everything, but rather a removal and change of life, which, as a guide, might conduct renowned men and women to heaven; as for the rest they believed they remained in the earth where they were retained a long time. By this view, and in the opinion of our countrymen, "*Romulus passes his life in heaven with the gods;*" as Ennius also says, assenting to common report. And among the Greeks, and thence passing to us, and even to the ocean, *Hercules* is held as so great and so present a divinity. Hence we have *Bacchus*, son of *Semele*; and, of the same wide extended fame, the *Tyndarian* brothers, who not only aided the Roman people in battle, but became the messengers of their victories. What! *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*, was she not named *Leucothea* by the Greeks, and *Matuta* by us? What! is not almost all heaven filled, not to mention others, with those who had their origin on earth?

XIII. If I should attempt to examine ancient traditions, and to search out what the Greek writers have handed down, even those, who are esteemed gods of the highest dignity, would be found to have taken their departure from us to heaven. Seek the sepulchres of those pointed out in Greece; remember, since you have been initiated, what is handed down in the mysteries; and then you will understand how widely this impression of immortality has spread. But they who had not known those physical laws, which began to be treated many years after, believed only so much as they knew by the teaching of nature. They did not fathom the reasons and causes of things; they were often moved by certain

visions, mostly appearing in the night time, to think those who had departed this life were yet alive. Moreover the fact, that no nation has been so wild, no one so uncultivated, as to be destitute of the idea of the gods, is the strongest proof of their existence to us. Many hold low views of the gods; this is usually the result of a vicious character; yet all think there is a divine power and nature. Nor indeed has this been effected by the conferring of men together, nor by public opinion; — the notion has not been supported by institutions nor established by laws. But in everything the consent of all nations is to be esteemed a law of nature. Who is there who does not mourn the death of his friends, in the first place, because he thinks them deprived of the pleasures of life? Remove this impression, and you have taken away grief. No one mourns on account of his own trouble. Men may grieve, it may be, and be pained, but that gloomy lamentation, that mournful weeping, is because we think, that he whom we have loved is deprived of the happiness of life, and is sensible of it. And this we feel by the teaching of nature, by no course of reasoning, by no learning.

XIV. But it is a great argument, that nature silently declares the immortality of the soul, in the regard that all have for those things which shall happen to them after death. "One plants trees which will profit another generation," as says the author of the *Synephebi*. With what view, unless after ages belonged to him? Therefore the diligent husbandman will plant trees, no berry of which he shall behold; and shall not the great man establish laws, institutions, and government? What do the begetting of children, the preserving of names, the adopting of sons, the care about wills, — what do the monuments of burial places and their inscriptions signify, except that we think of the future also? Do you doubt the propriety of drawing an ideal of nature from that nature which is best? And what nature in the human race is higher than that of those, who think they are born to assist, to guard, to preserve their fellow men? Hercules went to the gods. He never would have gone there, unless when he was among men he had secured himself a way thither. These are now old, and are consecrated in the religion of all.

XV. What may we suppose those many great men thought, who in this republic have sacrificed their lives for their country? Did they suppose their names would die with them-

selves? No one, without a firm belief in immortality, will ever offer himself up for his country. Themistocles might lawfully have lived an idle life, and also Epaminondas (and even I myself, not to seek ancient and foreign instances), but a presentiment of future life in some manner is inherent in the mind, and this presentiment exists the most deeply, and appears most plainly, in minds of the highest genius and loftiest character. If this were taken away, who would be so mad as to spend his life in labors and dangers? I speak of great men. How is it with the poets? Do they not wish to be famous after death? Else whence that verse of the poet? "Behold, O citizens, the picture of the form of the aged Ennius! he sang the noblest deeds of your fathers." He demands the meed of glory from those, whose fathers he had covered with glory. And again, he says, "Let no one honor me with tears, nor make lamentations at my funeral rites. Why? I dwell in the mouths of my countrymen." But why should I mention poets only? Artists wish to be made known after death. Why else did Phidias carve his own likeness on the shield of Minerva, against the law? What shall I say of our philosophers? Do they not inscribe their own names in the very books which they write concerning contempt for glory? Now, if the agreement of all mankind is the voice of nature, and if all of every place agree, that there is something which belongs to those who have departed this life, we must think so also; and if we may suppose that they, whose minds excel in genius and virtue, can best discern the laws of nature, because they possess the best nature themselves, it is very probable that, when a good man serves posterity, there is something, which he is going to have a sense of, after death.

XVI. But as we think by the light of nature that the gods exist, and learn what is their nature by reason; so we argue from the consent of all nations that souls are immortal, and we must learn the place and manner of their existence by reason. Ignorance upon this subject has formed the infernal regions, and those terrors which you, not without good cause, seem to despise. Such persons suppose that when bodies fall into the earth, and are covered by the ground, *humo*, from which comes the term *humari*, to be buried, the remainder of existence is spent under the earth. Great errors have resulted from this opinion, which the poets have increased. The crowded audience in the theatre, in which are young women and

boys, hearing such a lofty strain as this, is moved, "I am present, and I come from Acheron, but with difficulty, for the way is steep and difficult, through caves formed of sharp rocks, with masses hanging over head, where the cold, thick blackness of the infernal regions broods." So much did this error prevail, though now it seems to me to be removed, that when they knew the bodies to be burned, they feigned things to happen to them in the infernal regions, which could neither happen nor be understood, unless the bodies were in existence. They were not able to embrace the idea in their minds of souls existing independently, and so they sought for them a definite form and shape. Hence Homer's description of the dead; hence the necromancy of my friend Appius; hence in our neighborhood the lake of Avernus, "from which spirits, are raised from the dark shade through the open mouth of deep Acheron — the bloodless images of the dead." They wished these images to speak, which cannot be without the strength and form of the jaws, and sides, and lungs, without tongue or palate. For they could see nothing with the soul, they referred everything to the senses. But it is the property of a great genius, to separate the mind from the senses, and to draw off the thoughts from what they have been accusomed to. I suppose, indeed, that others must have said the same during so many ages, but, according to the testimony of literature, Pherecydes, the Syrian, is the first who declared the souls of men to be immortal. He was indeed an ancient; for he lived in the reign of my namesake, Tullus. His disciple Pythagoras, who came to Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, strongly confirmed this opinion, and swayed Magna Græcia no less by the fame of his philosophical views, than by his political authority. The name of the sect of the Pythagoreans flourished so much for many ages after, that no other was esteemed learned.

But I return to the ancients. They hardly ever gave a reason for their opinion, unless something was to be explained by numbers and figures. It is said that Plato came to Italy to know the Pythagoreans, and he learnt all their tenets; and that he first came to the same conclusion with Pythagoras, and besides gave a reason for his belief; which we will pass over, unless you have something to say, and leave this whole topic concerning the hope of immortality.

A. Say you so? Will you desert me now, that you have ex-

cited the highest expectation? By Hercules, I would rather err with Plato, whom you make so much of, I perceive, and whom I admire from your lips, than to think correctly with them.

M. Well done! I myself should not unwillingly err with that philosopher. Do we then doubt in this as we do in other things? Not in this by any means, for the mathematicians teach us that the earth, placed in the middle of the universe, in the embrace of the whole heavens, occupies something like a point, which they call the *κεντρον*, the centre. Moreover, that such is the nature of the four elementary bodies, which produce by their combinations everything, that they hold the constituents, as it were, divided and distributed among themselves; that the earthy and humid parts, by their own tendency and weight, are attracted towards the earth and the sea at equal angles; that the other two parts, the one fiery, the other etherial, as the former by their greater weight and gravity are carried towards the centre, so these fly upwards in right lines to a celestial place, either because their nature seeks a higher region, or because things lighter are naturally repelled by heavier. Which being established, it ought clearly to appear that souls, when they leave the body, whether they consist of air, or breath, or fire, are borne on high. But if the soul is a kind of number, which is said more ingeniously than clearly, or that fifth nature, without a name rather than not understood, they are the more sound and pure, as they stretch to the greatest distance from earth. The soul then is some one of these principles; nor may the active mind lie buried in the heart or brain, or according to Empedocles, in the blood.

XVIII. We will omit the theory of Dicæarchus, and also that of his contemporary and fellow pupil Aristoxenus, learned men though they be; the one of whom does not seem ever to have lamented much, because he could not perceive that he possessed a soul, and the other so delighted with his songs that he endeavors to transfer the nature of soul to them. For we can perceive harmony by intervals of sounds, whose various combinations produce many tunes; but I do not understand what harmony the relative position and figure of the members of the body, destitute of mind, can produce. But he, however learned he may be, must yield his theory to that of his master Aristotle. Let him teach music; and well is he admonished by the Greek proverb,

“Let each one exercise that art he knows.” Let us reject entirely the accidental concurrence of smooth and round atoms, which Democritus will have warm and breathing, that is, vital. But if the soul consists of the four elements of which all things are made, it is formed of inflammable air, as I understand was firmly believed by Panætius, and must necessarily aim at the higher regions. For these two elements (fire and air) have no tendency downwards, but always ascend. So that if they are dissolved, it must happen at a great distance from the earth; and if they remain and preserve their condition, it is the more necessary that they be borne upwards; and the thick and concrete air next to the earth is broken through and divided by these as they ascend. For the soul is of a warmer and more ardent nature than this air, which I have just now called thick and concrete; which can be well understood from the fact, that our bodies, formed of the earthy class of the elements, grow warm by the ardor of the soul.

XIX. And the velocity of the soul, than which nothing is swifter, favors the idea of its easily breaking through this air, which I often refer to, and penetrating it; for there is no speed which can equal the motion of the soul. If then it is to remain uncorrupted and like itself, it must be borne up and penetrate and divide this whole heaven, in which are collected the clouds, the showers, and the winds,—a region moist and dark by reason of the exhalations from the earth. When the soul has surmounted this region, and touches and recognises one like itself, it will stop in that place where is a temperature formed by a thin atmosphere, warmed by the gentle heat of the sun, and it will go no higher. And having attained to a place of the same lightness and heat of its own nature, as it were balanced by equal forces, it will move not at all; and that may be called its natural home, when it comes to a place like itself, in which without a want it will be sustained and cherished in the same manner, that the stars are sustained and cherished.

And since we are wont to be excited to lust by the passions of the body, and are more inflamed, because we envy those who possess things which we wish to possess, we shall be truly happy, when, our bodies being left behind us, we are freed from passions and envyings. And as we now, when free from care, wish to behold and examine some subject, we shall then be more

at liberty to indulge our taste, and shall be placed entirely in an attitude of contemplation and study ; for there is by nature a certain insatiable desire in the human mind of seeking that which is true ; and the whole face of those regions, whither we shall have come, will afford a greater facility to us of knowing celestial matters, and a deeper desire of knowing them. For this beauty even on the earth excited that national and ancestral philosophy (as Theophrastus calls it) which burned to know. Especially will they enjoy this who, even when inhabiting this earth covered with darkness, desired to see through it by the acuteness of the mind.

XX. For if they think they have attained some knowledge, who have seen the mouth of the Pontus, and those straits through which the ship named Argo passed, — “ because, borne in it, the Greeks, a chosen band, there sought the golden fleece of the ram ; ” or they who have seen the straits leading to the ocean, “ where the swift water divides Europe from Africa, ” — what a grand sight may we suppose it to be, to see the whole earth, its situation, form, and boundaries, the regions that are inhabited, as well as those which are unoccupied by reason of the extreme heat or cold ?

And those things we do see, we perceive not by the eyes, for there is no sense in the body, but (as not only natural philosophers but also physicians teach us, who have seen them open and exposed) there are certain paths perforated from the seat of the soul to the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils. Often, when lost in thought, or affected by disease, the eyes and ears being open and sound, we neither see nor hear ; so that it can easily be understood that it is the soul that sees and hears, and not those parts which are, as it were, the windows of the soul ; for the senses can perceive nothing, unless the soul be present and act. Why do we comprehend the most dissimilar things by one mind, as color, taste, heat, odor, sound, which the soul would never know by the five senses, unless they referred all things to it, and made it the sole judge of everything ? And indeed all objects will be seen much more clearly and truly, when the free soul shall have arrived at that place, to which it tends by its nature. Now indeed although nature has by the most cunning workmanship formed these avenues, which conduct to the soul from the body, nevertheless they are often clogged up by earthy and solid substances. But when there shall be nothing but pure mind,

no object will intervene to hinder its seeing how and what everything is.

XXI. We might here mention at length, if the occasion demanded, how many, how various, how splendid are the sights, which are about to open upon the soul in the celestial regions; which when I reflect upon, I often wonder at the arrogance of some philosophers, who are amazed at the knowledge of nature, and exultingly give thanks to its discoverer and master, and worship him as a god, because they say that by him they are freed from the severest tyrants, continual terror, daily and nightly fear. What terror? what fear? What old wife is so silly as to fear, what forsooth you would fear, if you had not learned natural philosophy — “The lofty Acherusian temples of the Infernal Regions, the pale realms of Death, the places thick with black clouds.” Is it not a disgrace to a philosopher to boast, that he does not fear these things, and that he has discovered them to be false? From which you may gather how acute they are by nature, who without learning would have been ready to believe these things. They gained I know not what great advantage, in that they learned, that when the time of death should have come, they were utterly to perish. Which, if it be true, — and I will not oppose it now, — what matter of joy or boasting is there? I have seen nothing which proves to me, that the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato is not true. But if Plato had assigned no reason for his opinion, — behold how I venerate the man, — the authority of his name alone would persuade me. But he has adduced so many arguments, that he seems to wish to convince others; certainly he had persuaded himself of this truth.

XXII. But many contend against this opinion, and punish souls with death, as if they were condemned of a capital crime; and no reason is given why the immortality of souls appears incredible, except that, they say, they cannot understand and embrace in their mind the idea of a soul without a body. As if they could understand how it exists in the body, its shape, size, and situation; so that if all those parts now concealed in a living man could be perceived, the soul would fall under their observation, or by its extreme fineness escape notice. Let them think over these points, who deny they can understand how the soul can exist without a body. They will then see how they can know its existence in the body. It is much more difficult and puzzling for me, reflecting upon the nature of

the soul, to decide how it exists in the body in a separate state, than to believe that, when freed from matter, it will rise to the clear heaven as to its own home. And if it be said, that we are unable to comprehend how that exists which we have never seen, we answer that we do embrace in our thoughts the idea of God himself, the divine soul, as unincumbered by body. Dicæarchus and Aristoxenus, because of the difficulty of understanding what the soul is, and the manner of its existence, said that there is no soul at all. It is indeed the greatest mystery of all, that soul can be perceived by soul. And truly the precept of Apollo refers to this power, when he admonishes each one to know himself. He does not command us to know our limbs, our stature, or figure, as I believe. Nor are we all body. I, now speaking to you, speak not to your body. When therefore he says, *know thyself*, he means know thy soul; for thy body is, as it were, the vessel or receptacle of the soul. Whatever is done by your soul is done by yourself. Therefore to know this soul, unless it were divine, could not be the command of any mind so acute, as to be attributed to a god.

But if the soul is ignorant of its own nature, tell me, I pray you, shall it be ignorant even that it exists? that it moves? It was from this, that that argument of Plato originated, which is explained by Socrates in the *Phædrus*, and by me is placed in my sixth book concerning the republic.

XXIII. That which always moves is eternal; but that which moves another thing, or itself derives its motion from without, when the motion ceases, necessarily ceases to be. But that alone which is self-moved, as it never is deserted by itself, can never cease its motion. And this is the source or principle of motion to all things which are moved; but the principle itself has no beginning, for all things arise from *it*, and the principle itself cannot be produced from anything. For it would not be a principle, if it were produced from another thing. So that which has no beginning cannot have an end. For if the principle should be extinguished, it could not be reproduced by anything else, nor could it create anything else, as all things necessarily have their origin from this principle. So it results that the principle of motion is from that which is itself moved by itself. But that can neither begin nor end; otherwise all heaven would fall and all nature stop, nor could acquire any

force by which, having received its first impulse, it may be moved.

Since then it is clear that that which moves itself is eternal, who is there who will deny that this nature belongs to souls? Everything is the *inanimate* which has its motion from an external force. But that which is moved by an inner power of its own is *animate*. For this is the peculiar nature and power of soul; which, if it is the only one of all things that moves itself, it is not certainly born, and is eternal. Although all philosophers of the lower sort should concur, (for it seems proper to call those by this name, who differ from Plato, and Socrates, and others of their class,) they will not only not explain any of their views so elegantly, but they will not even understand with what refinement of reasoning this conclusion has been drawn. Therefore the soul perceives itself to be moved, which motion it perceives to originate in its own power, and not from abroad; nor can it happen that it can desert itself. By which immortality is made out, unless you have some objection to offer.

A. Truly I willingly suffer the conclusion; nor does any objection occur to me, I am so much in favor of that opinion.

XXIV. What shall we say to other opinions? Do you think them of less consequence? Those which declare that certain divine powers are inherent in the soul of man; which if I could see how they could originate, I might be able to see how they might perish. Suppose I were able to declare of the blood, bile, phlegm, bones, nerves, and arteries, finally the whole shape of the members and of the whole body, how they are united and in what manner created, if the soul is not of a different nature from that of mere existence, then I might judge that by nature the life of man is sustained, as a vine or tree is sustained. For we say of these things that they live. Also if the soul of man should possess no power, but to seek pleasure and avoid pain, this would be common to it with the brutes.

First, it has memory, the power of remembering an infinity of facts; which Plato will have to be the remembrance of a previous life. For in that book entitled *Menon*, Socrates puts certain geometrical questions to a little boy, respecting the dimensions of a square. To these he answers as a boy would be likely to; nevertheless the questions are so easy, that by his answers he arrives at the same result as he would, had he

learned geometry. From which Socrates wishes to prove that to *learn* is only to *remember*. Which position he much more accurately explained, in that conversation he held on the last day of his life ; for he teaches that any one, though he may seem entirely uncultivated, replying to another fairly questioning him, will declare that he learns not at the time the answers he gives, but calls them to mind by the power of memory. Nor can it be otherwise, since from boyhood we have so many impressions, upon such a variety of subjects, ingrafted and stamped in the soul, which they call *εἰσβολαί*, conceptions, than that the soul before it entered the body had been practised in a knowledge of facts. And since by the other supposition it would not exist, as in all places is taught by Plato, (for he considers that as nothing, which begins and dies, and that only truly to exist, which always remains such as he calls by the term *ἰδέαν*, form, and we by the word *speciem*, form,) the soul inclosed in the body could not gain a knowledge of these facts, and so it has brought them forward as what was already known. By which view our wonder at the memory of so many events is removed. Neither does the soul evidently see these things, when it first enters into its new and unquiet abode, but when it has collected its energies and refreshed itself, it calls them up by recollection. So that to learn is only to remember. But I, in a manner, feel still greater wonder at the power of memory. What is that power by which we remember ? Whence has the soul this faculty, and where does it originate ? I will not inquire now how great the memory of Simonides was, nor of Theodectes, nor concerning him, I mean Cyneas, who was sent as ambassador to the Senate by Pyrrhus ; neither will I refer to the great memory of Charmadas, and of him who has just left us, Scepsius Metrodorus, nor of the remarkable powers of our Hortensius in this respect, — but I speak of the memory common to man, and especially of those who are employed in the higher studies and arts, who remember so many things, that it would be difficult to estimate the extent of their mental power.

J. N. B.

THE BIBLE.

WE propose in the present Article to discuss *the influence of the Bible upon science, art, and poetry*. In grouping these three great departments of human culture together, we are aware that each might demand volumes for its full elucidation in this connexion. We are aware also, that we cover this broad field at the expense of strict logical unity; but have thought that there might be peculiar advantages in thus presenting a comprehensive view of the agency of the Bible in man's intellectual progress and refinement.

I. We would first show what *science* owes to the Scriptures. And, in order to determine this, we must refer to the state of science in the Pagan world before the Christian era. The human mind had been left to itself for four thousand years, and had been constantly employed in the search after truth. The most patient investigations, the boldest speculations, were essayed, lives were worn away, ease sacrificed, death incurred, in the pursuit of knowledge; and with what results? With scarce any of permanent value. The wisdom of the old world was foolishness. Thick darkness brooded over the whole expanse of nature. The laws of animal economy and of vegetable physiology were unknown, and natural history was but a tissue of fabulous conjecture. The geographical features and astronomical relations of the earth were in part but dimly seen, and for the most part undiscovered. The system of the universe, as conceived of by the first philosophers of Greece and Rome, would provoke the laughter of a modern schoolboy. The science of mind was a senseless jargon; that of morals imperfect, sophistical, and corrupt; that of government chimerical and impracticable. Even history, which seems at first sight but an earth-born science, was enveloped in superstition and absurdity; nor could any of the renowned nations of antiquity furnish a rational account of their own origin and progress, or an authentic biography of their illustrious men.

And why was all this the case? It was for want of those general principles, which lie at the basis of all knowledge, and which modern philosophy has drawn from the Bible. The unity of God was unknown, the heavens and the earth were

cantoned out among the numberless chimeras of a polytheistic belief; therefore unity and harmony in creation were neither supposed nor sought; and nature's apparent discrepancies were passed over as real and irreconcilable. The deities of Pagan mythology were also painted as both weak and cruel; the universe of ancient science was accordingly insignificant in its compass, oppressive in its laws. The origin, nature, and destiny of the human spirit were also unknown; consequently the metaphysics, ethics, and politics of the ancient world were aimless and worthless.

Yet in the Old Testament, a series of books, written not by philosophers, but by herdsmen, shepherds, and warriors, of a nation just emerging from barbarism, without any outward means of culture, we find traces of a more authentic history, of more accurate science, of a sounder philosophy, than adorned the brightest era of the Pagan world. There was light on the hill-tops and in the dwellings of Judea, when deep darkness brooded over the groves of Academus and the banks of the Tiber.

Modern history furnishes a striking parallel to the state of science in the ancient heathen world. We refer to the period of the French revolution. The infidel literati of that day shot across the intellectual firmament with the brilliancy of meteors, but with a glare as unsubstantial and evanescent as theirs. They put forth lofty pretensions in every department of knowledge, and for a time a dazzled and bewildered world admired them; but the unanimous verdict of posterity has hurled them from their unrightful eminence, and is fast consigning them to oblivion, as a cunning crew of superficial pretenders. Voltaire, their most venerated sage, was wont to boast in secret of his dexterity in coining facts to support his hasty theories; and, though he played for a while the master magician in every department of the empire of mind, he is now not trusted in any, and is hardly so much as consulted; nay, his very name is deemed ample guarantee for the hollowness and falsity of any theory or opinion. Even his histories are full of fable; and, while we read them for their beauties of style, for authentic statements of facts we must resort to other records. His brother philosophers, whatever their theatre of research, seemed, like him, incapable of distinguishing between fact and falsehood, insensible to the laws of evidence, blind to the characteristics of truth. They carried natural science back to a chaotic state. Their mental philosophy was a system for

brutes. Their ethics and political philosophy would have commended themselves to a community of wolves or tigers. And even in the department of mathematics, where it might have seemed impossible to be otherwise than accurate, they often used a sophistical, bewildering style of demonstration, assuming at the outset the point to be proved, and then arguing in a circle, so that their text-books, for a while received, are now superseded by better in almost all our seminaries of learning.

Having thus shown that, where the Bible has been unknown or rejected, science has either remained in infancy or returned to infancy, let us now examine more particularly the way, in which this revered volume has shed essential light upon the various departments of science.

We inquire, in the first place, what agency has the Bible had in developing and perfecting natural science? Suppose that we were on the site of an ancient edifice, and saw here and there a broken column, a fragment of an arch or a cornice, with one or two apartments not entirely dilapidated, and it were required of us to construct a plan of the edifice as it originally stood, would it not give us essential aid in this work to know the tastes, habits, and character of the architect, and the design which he had in view in this particular building, and especially to examine some entire structure, though of a different kind, of his planning? Most assuredly it would. Now in the temple of universal nature, the portions, which we are able to discern without the aid of science, are as few and as disjointed as the fragments of our supposed edifice; research, preceded and aided by theory, must ascertain the proportions and complete the structure. To the successful prosecution of this work nothing can so essentially conduce, as a knowledge of the character and purposes of Him, who built the temple, of his design in building it, and of other structures planned by the same mind, erected by the same hand. This knowledge we can get from the Bible, and we can find it nowhere else. There we learn the nature and attributes of Him, of whose ideas whatever is, is the copy, whatever takes place, is the expression. There we learn the design and office of the material creation. There too we have a perfect outline of that spiritual temple, of which the outward universe is but the type and emblem. We are thus furnished with materials for philosophizing, with data, with starting points, with general principles, on which

to found our particular theories. We can commence our investigation of the parts of the system with just and adequate ideas of Him, who is the whole.

Thus the Bible teaches us the immenseness, the infinity of the divine attributes; and this idea has been the germ of many of the most sublime discoveries of modern science. Let a sense of the infinite power and majesty of the Almighty once take possession of the mind, the bounds of the universe recede, its dimensions stretch beyond the reach of thought; the heavens are no longer the concave canopy of earth, but the limitless theatre of plastic power; the stars are no longer diamond spangles attendant upon our little planet, but worlds, and suns, and systems; earth ceases to be the centre, and becomes a mere point in the circumference of creation. 'The Copernican system, the sublime theories now universally received with regard to the fixed stars, considered each as a luminary to a cluster of worlds like ours, the revolution of these immensely large and distant orbs around a common centre, a sun of suns, — these are ideas, which could not have entered the soul of a Pagan, of a worshipper of the impotent and finite Jupiter; they flow from those right and lofty conceptions of omnipotence, which the Bible alone can inspire.

The discovery of those general laws, which constitute the harmony of nature, we may also trace to the Bible. Polytheism naturally led its votaries to suppose separate systems, conflicting mechanism, discrepancy and discord in creation; for how could strict unity of plan and operation have been expected among gods of opposing interests and characters? Had Newton been a polytheist, however vast his reach of intellect, he could never have discovered that universal law of gravitation, which binds atom to atom, world to world, system to system, which assigns to the movement of the least grain of sand, on our seashore, an influence on the remotest star in the milky way. No. He inferred, as had preceding *Christian* philosophers, from the unity of God the unity of his creation. His *theology* taught him, as it had his predecessors, that there must be universal, comprehensive laws for the government of the material universe. Some of these laws had been already discovered by Kepler and other faith-enlightened seekers after truth. But it was reserved for Newton, as the most humble, child-like worshipper of Nature's God, to penetrate her inmost recesses, to lay bare her secret springs, to reveal that sublime

and perfect harmony of creation, in the belief of which, *as a Christian*, he would have lived and died, even if, as a philosopher, he had failed to ascertain its laws.

Another principle of revelation, to which modern science owes much of its present perfection, is the infinite benevolence of God. The necessary inference from this doctrine is, that nothing is made in vain, that everything has its use in the economy of animal or human enjoyment, that seeming evil must have a beneficent design and tendency, that pain must be the handmaid of pleasure, that what is in aspect terrific and appalling must be merciful in its aim and result. Pagan science could acquiesce in the belief, that malignant powers were at work, and that unmingled evil existed in the universe. Christian philosophy assumes the benevolent aim and tendency of all things, as the basis of its theories. Thus, in the animal economy, modern naturalists on Christian grounds have assumed that every bone, muscle, nerve, and fibre must have its use; and they have so far made good this assumption, that now, in the harp of thousand strings, it can be determined with entire precision, what note vibrates from each in the diapason of joyous health and buoyant activity. So too, with regard to the more gloomy portions, the awful phenomena, the fierce convulsions of nature, modern philosophy has, solely by inferences from the Christian doctrine of the divine benevolence, spanned with the bow of peace the clouds which were big with terror, and drawn forth voices of gladness from every wrathful conflict of the elements. The lightning, once dreaded as a winding sheet, is now welcomed as a swift-winged minister of health. The eclipse, once feared as an omen of impending desolation and death, is now waited for with longing, as a sublime interlude in the harmony of the spheres. The pathless forest, the sunless cavern, is viewed no longer as the abode of malignant demons, but as the means of shelter, nutriment, and joyous life for numberless animals, which could not elsewhere exist, unharmed and unharmed. Even the volcano, earth's most terrific feature, is but a safety valve to subterranean fires, which, for aught we know, may be our prime source of heat, while the sun is but the means of attracting it to the surface. Thus, in every department of nature is terror dethroned, and benevolence crowned as the presiding genius. Everything is demonstrated to be good in its place, and beautiful in its season; and all through the power of that axiom of the apostle,

now an axiom in science, no less than in theology, "GOD IS LOVE."

In the intellectual sciences also, the Bible has given the germ and the impulse to every new discovery. Mental philosophy assumes, as its foundation truths, the Scripture doctrines of man's spirituality, immortality, and accountability. Ethical writers go to the gospel for their rules and standards. The elements of all sound political science are wrapped up in that grand and simple truth, hidden from the old world, but revealed to us in the Bible, that all men are children of the same Father, subjects of the same providence, invited heirs of the same destiny.

There are yet two departments of science, to which we wish to invite more particular attention, before leaving this branch of our subject. One of these is *ancient history*, which, (as we have already remarked,) in the hands of the ancients themselves, while all its documents and monuments were still extant, was a tissue of fable and absurdity. Its monuments have all crumbled; the greater part of its documents are lost; but yet modern research, guided by revelation, has raised it phoenix-like from its ashes, and infused into it a freshness and reality of life, to which, even in the days of Herodotus, or of Livy, it was a stranger. The early records of Moses fix the date and circumstances of the creation of man, of the origin of the arts, of the rise of nations, all which were wrapped by the Pagan world in fiction, too gross and grotesque to contain even a discernible germ of truth. The Scripture chronology, by its accuracy, furnishes the means of rectifying the self-contradictory and incoherent chronology of heathen writers. The Scripture history runs like a golden thread through the complex web of events, giving completeness, coherency, and unity to what without it would be a mere gossamer texture. Thus we might safely affirm, that an ancient history, composed in conclave by all the eminent historians of Greece and Rome, would bear about the same comparison, in point of fidelity and authenticity, with a modern compend of ancient history, that would be borne by a fashionable historical romance to a literal transcript of the events on which it is founded.

The other case, to which we wish to make particular reference, is that of a science, which in its infancy bade defiance to revelation, but is now in close covenant with it, — we mean *geology*. The earliest modern geologists proudly proclaimed the

unanswerable testimony of nature against the Mosaic account of the creation, and professed to read, in the strata which compose the crust of our planet, a revelation entirely opposed to that of the written word. But they read each with different eyes ; they broached the most absurd and puerile speculations concerning the primeval origin of our globe ; they exposed their science to ridicule and contempt, and well nigh brought it to an inglorious grave. But just at this epoch a new and better race of inquirers took the inspired historian for the “ man of their counsel ;” and, as the crippled giant of old received new strength the moment he touched his mother earth, so no sooner had geology embraced the holy mother of science, than she started into new and healthy life and vigorous progress. And now the book of Genesis is received as the basis of geological theories, as a map to guide inquiry, as a divine and perfect compend of results, in which every research and investigation must terminate. Geology and revelation now go hand in hand, geology compensating Moses for the new life, which she has drawn from him, by the clearness, with which she interprets his records, and the resistless proof, which she affords of his inspiration.

II. We pass now to the *fine arts* ; and would ascertain the extent of their indebtedness to the inspired volume.

And first we will speak of music. This divine and heaven-taught art early reached, under the religion of the Bible, a fuller maturity, than it ever attained in the Pagan world. The music of classic antiquity was sweet, soft, tender, polished to the last degree of refinement. But it lacked soul, fire, power. It was light and voluptuous in its style. Its syren strains were well suited to the feast and the dance, were the chosen language of earthly love, and floated as a gossamer veil over what was disgusting and repulsive in licentiousness and debauchery. Music was not regarded as an elevated and ennobling pursuit, but simply as an amusement for the idle and the gay, and a solace for the sad ; and its cultivation was often left entirely to slaves, as unworthy the dignity of freemen. It formed indeed at times a part of worship ; but then it frequently sank below, instead of rising above its wonted tone ; for the altars of Bacchus and of Venus demanded lighter and more wanton lays, than were deemed decent for the domestic revel.

But long before the rudest essays of the Attic lyre, the banks of the Red Sea had resounded with the choral anthem

of a nation's gratitude to the God of Abraham, performed with a dignity, majesty, and perfectness of melody, which the theme alone could have inspired, and which no Pagan powers of song could have emulated. And long ere the halcyon days of Grecian minstrelsy, was gathered and established in Judea the most majestic and perfect choir that the world ever saw, a choir composed of the very *élite* of the people, embracing the whole tribe of Levi, arranged with skill and care into separate vocal and instrumental bands, furnished in magnificent profusion with the means of cultivating their sacred art, supplied with music, led in song by the royal minstrel himself. Art too was here employed for a higher purpose than mere amusement. The monarch's harp was one of the most effectual means of elevating his countrymen from the barbarism in which he found them, to the comparative refinement, in which he left them.

"It softened men of iron mould,
It gave them virtues not their own:
No ear so dull, no soul so cold,
That felt not, fired not to the tone,
Till David's lyre grew mightier than his throne."

In estimating the dignity and influence of music at this period, it must be borne in mind that the Psalms, now extant in the Bible, constituted for the most part the basis of this majestic national minstrelsy. In modern times, sacred music has been a distinct and superior branch of the art, a branch on all hands allowed to demand purer taste and loftier powers than any other, both in the composer and the performer. To the services of religion we are indebted for the noblest of all musical inventions, the organ, which could not have lent its slow and solemn tones to lighter than sacred lays, and would hardly have been sought out for the performance of profane melodies. Indeed the style of music, which is consecrated to sacred subjects and purposes, could never have existed without religion, or under a religious system less sublime than that of the Bible; for nothing else affords themes of sufficient magnitude and dignity to call it into being. Music is but the transcript in sound of the emotions of the human soul; and it is the immeasurable distance between fervent devotion to the infinite Creator and Father, and the loftiest and purest of earthly passions, that exalts sacred music so vastly above the highest grade of secular music. Thus the great masters of the art have chosen sacred themes, as alone capable of embodying their

conceptions, and doing justice to their powers. Nor could their masterpieces have possibly been suggested, except by the spirit of the Bible; nor would they, now that they are produced, if they could be connected with any other class of themes, excite aught but a painful sense of irrelevancy and perversion. Let us imagine, for instance, the "Dead March in Saul," the "Stabat mater dolorosa" of Pergolesi, or the music of any of our truly sacred tunes or anthems, connected with any words or ideas other than those of fervent devotion; and we shall at once perceive that music owes its highest inspiration, its noblest achievements, solely to the Bible.

We pass now to the arts of design, to painting and sculpture. In these, the superiority of Scripture subjects will appear from the fact, that modern artists have made choice of them, almost to the entire exclusion of those afforded by ancient history and mythology. Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and numerous other celebrated European painters and sculptors, expended all their fire of genius and their intensity of effort, and based their undying fame, on scenes drawn from the world-long drama of man's redemption. And those, of whose culminating stars America's infant Muse grows proud, Allston and Greenough, are following in the same path, and laying deep the foundations of their renown in the religious sensibilities of an admiring world.

Merely physical beauty and grandeur are the highest attributes, that belong to the masterpieces of ancient art yet extant. To unite in an Apollo or a Venus the utmost symmetry of countenance and contour, and grace of attitude, to bring forth in prominent relief the brawny strength and lion-like ferocity of a Hercules, to corrugate with savage sternness the brow of a Jupiter, or (greatest achievement of all) to temper justly the eagle and the dove in the azure-eyed, but hard-featured Minerva; this was the highest aim of those, who in classic days sought the honors of the pencil and the chisel. But to portray the deep workings of the soul, the healing pangs of penitence, the holy calm of resignation, the earnest faith of prayer, the rapture of praise, the sunlight of heavenly love, — to catch and embody in ever-breathing canvass, or marble, those shadowy aspirations, those glimpses of a higher spirituality, which, rare as angels' visits, come and go as on the wings of the wind, — to place before the eye traits of the godlike so warm with life, that the devout cannot gaze without pausing to adore

the Invisible, — this has been the aim and the achievement of none but Christian artists.

Indeed, Christianity has introduced new and more divine forms of beauty and grandeur, even those of which piety in its various modifications is the soul and essence. To illustrate this, we need only name side by side several parallel subjects of classic and of Christian art. Compare then Venus and the Madonna; the former no more than the *belle ideale* of a modern coquette, and incapable of awakening other associations than those, which float around the mazes of the dance or the saloon of fashion; the latter, beaming with the mild light of devotion, a being partaking more of heaven than of earth, subduing the soul into that reverential affection, which we should feel for a chance visitant from a higher sphere; and this, in whatever posture the artist exhibits her, whether receiving with the upturned glance of faith the archangel's benediction, or caressing with a young mother's fondness the infant King of Kings, or standing in mute affliction by the cross, or stooping piteously from her radiant throne to succor trembling suppliants. Compare also the dying gladiator and the dying martyr; the former the personification of bare, brawny strength, with rigid muscles, clenched teeth, stoic brutality of visage, without a ray of moral beauty to relieve the gigantic, amazing, but repulsive outline; the latter, with the light of faith beaming from his eye, the prayer of forgiveness or the song of triumph quivering on his parched lips, his countenance and attitude, that of a victor assuming his laurels, reaching for his crown.

And then the groups, which the sacred scenes of Scripture furnish, how far do they surpass the most vaunted scenes of classic antiquity in grandeur, in pathos, in those elements of moral beauty, that touch the fountain of tears, and awaken the deepest feelings of the heart! We need here barely remind our readers of the Last Supper, as every one has seen it copied from the original of Leonardo da Vinci; and ask whether it be in the painter's power to choose a group, which could on his part demand equal vividness of conception, compass and originality of genius, or skill in execution, or which could so irresistibly entrance the senses, sympathies, and soul of the beholder.

One of the most interesting departments of sculpture is that, whose office it is to adorn the spots consecrated to the ashes of the dead. In this department antiquity was singularly defective, garnishing sepulchres with the exploits of heroes, the wars

of the gods, the effigies of Mercury, or some equally inane and puerile theme, which could never suggest a thought capable of drying a mourner's tears, or of assuaging their bitterness. In a little Swiss church, in a rude hamlet, a few miles from Berne, over the grave of a young and obscure mother and her infant, is erected an infinitely more noble monument of genius, than the mausoleums of all the statesmen and monarchs of Paganism could boast. Over the grave is placed a simple slab, which appears irregularly fractured as from beneath, and so widely cleft as to reveal what lies there; and under it is sculptured the mother in the habiliments of the grave, but with a countenance beaming with pious exultation; on one arm reposes the smiling, sleeping infant, the other is gently uplifted with a gesture of welcome to the descending Redeemer. The sublime conception, which the artist intended to embody, was of that day of final resurrection, when the earth shall quake, the tombs be rent, and the graves of the righteous yield up their dead. Who could gaze at such a monument, without feeling for the moment lifted above the fear and the power of death? Has classic mythology such inspiration for its artists? Before leaving this division of our subject, we would say a word on architecture. Here the Bible prescribes no form, suggests no model. But we are indebted to the religion and the spirit of the Bible, probably for the origin, certainly for the perfection and perpetuity, of the most grand and impressive of the architectural orders, the Gothic. Temples have in all ages been the chief representatives of the prevalent architectural taste and style; and the structure of temples among different nations has always borne a close analogy to the national religion. Thus the cavern is the element of the Egyptian style, and doubtless suggested the low, massive, immense, but tasteless structures, in which ancient Egypt abounded; and it was from the caverns of the earth or the deep, that she sought most of those loathsome deities, whose effigies filled her temples. The Grecian polytheism was anthropomorphic in its character, that is, its gods were in the likeness of men, and were indeed for the most part deified men. The Grecian architecture is accordingly strictly terrestrial in its style. The log cabin, man's first dwelling, was its element; and in all its modifications and refinements it retains the proportions of this element. This style is beautiful, chaste, elegant. By its faultlessness of symmetry it defies criticism. It is admirably

adapted to human mansions and palaces ; and diffuses over the dwellings or secular haunts of men an air of good taste and refinement. But it is unspiritual. Its columns and façades have nothing in their contour or arrangement, which can awaken any moral association, any heavenward aspiration, any thought of infinity, immensity, or eternity. It could have connected itself with no other religion, than that with which it was allied, the votaries of which worshipped gods who were altogether such as themselves.

Far otherwise the Gothic order. Its element is nature's noblest temple, the grove ; its pointed vaults and arches are derived from the lofty embraces of giant oaks ; and its whole character bears the same marks of grandeur with the primeval forests, among which it had its birth. Its essential feature is that, in which lies the very essence of the sublime, namely, that its proportions are too vast to be measured by the observer's eye, and therefore are virtually infinite. In this order, the spires and turrets losing themselves in the clouds, the deep recesses, the dizzy height of the ceilings, the shadowy rows of clustered columns, the mellow light making the whole perspective dim and phantom-like in the distance, all help to constitute a shrine meet for the lowly, awe-stricken worship of Him, who is in part unseen, in part but dimly seen ; all awaken the sense of an infinite presence, of power immense, of greatness unutterable. Such a pile, in its solemn grandeur, makes man feel his nothingness before Him, to whom the temple is reared. The Gothic order is thus, in its very idea, aspiring, spiritual, Godward tending. It is the offspring, no less than the perennial fountain, of devotion ; and its gorgeous cathedrals and abbeys, the wonder of all lands and climes, are so many gifts of the genius of Christianity to the world, which it is regenerating.

It is a singular fact, and one strikingly illustrative of the foregoing remarks, that, during the brief reign of Atheism in France, the (so called) men of taste instituted a crusade against Gothic architecture, and strove to supplant it by the introduction of Grecian models. Either their disbelief in an Infinite Supreme rendered them incapable of appreciating a style, which is, if we may so speak, man's least finite copy of the infinite ; or else they too well knew, that where Gothic temples reared their towers, devotion could not long want a home. But, with the restoration of the ancient worship, returned a taste for the

antique architecture ; and the public buildings, erected during the reign of terror, are now pointed at as ignoble monuments of a grovelling age.

We pass now to poetry, and would fain show, at greater length than our limits will permit, how much this most creative of all arts is indebted to the sacred volume.

And we would first remind our readers, that the Bible itself contains the purest and noblest poetry. Not a gem of fancy sparkles in the diadem of uninspired song, than which a richer and purer of its kind may not be drawn from the treasury of inspiration. An obscure Scotch peasant, calling on business at a gentleman's house in Edinburgh, saw a bust of Shakspeare, and these lines from the *Tempest* inscribed beneath it.

“The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a rack behind.”

The gentleman, seeing the peasant's eyes attracted by these lines, asked him if he had ever seen anything equal to them in sublimity. His reply was just and striking. “Yes, I have. The following passage in the book of Revelation is much more sublime. *And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them.*” But the poetry of Scripture is an exhaustless subject. We will not mar its beauties by attempting a hasty enumeration of them ; but will rather consider the influence which the Scriptures have had on modern poetry.

In the first place, the Bible has made poetry what it is in its design and essence, a universal language. The poetry of the ancient world is strictly local and national. Homer and Pindar, Virgil and Horace are indeed read with interest in every country. But how ? After so long and thorough a process of training in classic mythology and antiquities, that the student not only imbibes the spirit of the times, but almost cherishes the then current belief, and glows with the then current emotions, in fine, becomes, as it were, an alien from his own age and land, and gifted with the citizenship of Athens or of Rome. And he, who reads the classic poets with any preparation short of this, will find his labor lost. But modern poetry may be

read everywhere with interest. It appeals to the heart of man as man ; it throbs in unision with the general pulse ; it strikes chords which can vibrate in every soul. For Christianity is the religion of humanity ; it reveals man to himself ; its truths, though undiscoverable by unaided reason, yet, when brought to light, commend themselves to the common sense and feeling of our race. Thus Christian ideas are universal ideas ; and the colors, which they give to nature, society, the past, and the future, are familiar and congenial to every eye and taste. Thus even descriptive, epic, or historical poetry, though it treat of unknown scenes and personages, if its general tone of imagery and sentiment be of the Christian school, is understood and felt at once by every cultivated mind. In testimony of this, it will suffice to specify the fact, that persons of taste in our own country, though almost utterly ignorant of localities in continental Europe, read with fresh and vivid interest the most strictly local poetry of every European nation.

Again, the social and domestic affections are the finest and purest elements of poetry ; and these affections owe almost all their intensity and elevation to the religion of the Bible. It is Christianity that assigns to woman her equal and honored rank in the social scale, that gives inviolable permanence to the conjugal tie, that affords the shelter and delights of a holy home, with chastity, modesty, and love for its guardian angels, that turns the hearts of fathers to children and of children to fathers, that makes of neighborhoods and communities bands of brethren. These are privileges, for which we are indebted to Him, who revealed the common parentage and common destiny of all men. To his religion therefore do we owe all that poetry, whether ostensibly religious or not, which paints the affections in their utmost degree of refinement and purity.

In this point of view the classics are most of all deficient. Their sketches of the most momentous epochs, and the most pathetic incidents in life, are generally cold and spiritless, betray no feeling in the writer's, awaken none in the reader's soul. To this remark we are well aware that there are striking and beautiful exceptions. But even in these exceptions there is wanting the most lovely element of modern poetry, the breathings of a living faith and an immortal hope. Sorrow refuses to be comforted, nor looks to powers above for relief or solace. Parting friends part without a word of a happy meeting beyond the chances of mortality. The ashes are laid

in the urn, and the funeral hymn is chanted, as over dust that has returned irrevocably to dust, while the spirit has ceased to be. Almost every one is familiar with that celebrated scene in the Iliad, where Hector, about to expose himself anew to the perils of battle, takes an affectionate farewell of his wife and child. What a rayless gloom broods over that parting ! How barren is it of those sentiments and emotions, which play like sunbeams amid the shades of sorrow, and which alone have power to wake the imagination, and to touch the heart in pictures of fictitious woe ! How devoid of noble thought, of fortitude, of magnanimity, of the virtues of a truly high-souled woman, are Andromache's wailings ! And Hector's reply, how tame, how unmanly, how mean-spirited, how far in richness and power of sentiment does it fall below that impassioned enthusiasm of patriotism, unwavering trust, and undying hope, which modern bards have put into the lips of their heroes !

“ Andromache, thy griefs I dread,
I see thee trembling, weeping, captive led,
In Argive looms our battles to design,
And woes, of which so large a part was thine ;
To bear the victor's hard commands, or bring
The weight of waters from Hyperia's spring.
There, while you groan beneath the load of life,
They cry, *Behold the mighty Hector's wife !*
Some haughty Greek, who lives thy tears to see,
Embitters all thy woes by naming me ;
The thoughts of glory past, and present shame,
A thousand griefs shall waken at the name.
May I lie cold before that dreadful day,
Pressed with a load of monumental clay ;
Thy Hector, wrapped in everlasting sleep,
Shall neither hear thee sigh, nor see thee weep.”

Now, in contrast with this, we will not quote from any of the laurelled names of modern days ; but we will cite a strictly parallel passage, bearing the almost forgotten name of Graham, “ the Sabbath Bard.” The piece represents the same parties as the extract from Homer, a husband, a wife, an infant. The husband and father is about to embark with his wife and child on a perilous voyage.

“ Then come, my lovely bride,
And come, my child of woe ;
For, if we've nought on earth beside,
What matter where we go ?

We heed not earthly powers,
We heed not wind or weather ;
For, come what will, this joy is ours, —
We share it still together.

And, if the storms grow wild,
And we perish in the sea,
We 'll clasp each other and our child, —
One grave shall hold the three.

And neither shall remain
To meet and bear alone
The grief, the injury, the pain,
Which we, my love, have known.

And there 's a sweeter joy, —
Wherever we may be,
Danger nor death shall e'er destroy
Our trust, O God, in thee.

Then wherefore should we grieve ?
Or what have we to fear ?
Though home, and friends, and life we leave,
Our God is ever near.

Then come, my gentle bride,
And come, my child of love,
What though we 've nought on earth beside ?
Our portion is above.

Sweep, mighty ocean, sweep !
Ye winds, blow foul or fair !
Our God is with us on the deep, —
Our home is everywhere."

There is no need of comment. Our own hearts tell us which of these extracts breathes most of the true spirit of poetry. And the former, be it remembered, is from the most lauded specimen of the poetry of the affections, which antiquity has left us, while the latter is chosen almost at random, and bears a name hardly known to fame.

It is in elegiac verse, that we most of all need the inspiring thoughts and hopes, which the Scriptures breathe. The ancients have left us numerous elegies and funeral songs ; but all of them cold, dreary, repulsive, redolent with a charnel-house atmosphere, giving only those lugubrious pictures of wounds, disease, and death, at which the soul sickens, unless they be relieved by the dawnings of a higher sphere and a nobler life.

The following is an almost literal translation of the commencement of Bion's well-known elegy on Adonis.

"I mourn Adonis, and the Loves lament him,
The fair Adonis lies upon the mountains,
His white thigh wounded with a tusk, with a white tusk ;
And, as he dies, the graceful Venus grieves.
The black blood trickles down his snowy limbs ; —
His eyes within their sockets sink ; — the rose
Fades from his lips ; — around him dies the kiss,
Which sorrowing Venus ceases not to give.
Dear though to him, when living, her embrace,
Adonis knew not that she kissed him dying."

Now, in contrast with the unmingled sadness and rayless gloom of these lines, we might refer to the commencement of Bishop Heber's well known dirge, as indicating the only class of sentiments, which modern taste can tolerate in a modern elegiac poem.

"Thou art gone to the grave ! but we will not deplore thee,
Though sorrows and darkness encompass the tomb ;
Thy Saviour hath passed through its portal before thee,
And the lamp of his love is thy guide through the gloom."

Thus essential, in a merely poetical point of view, are the sentiments suggested by the Bible to the delineation of the tender affections, and the pathetic scenes of life.

The worth of Scriptural subjects and imagery will still farther appear from the universal appropriation of them by modern poets, whether themselves religiously disposed or not. All the great epics, that have appeared since the Christian era, have been founded on Christian subjects and adorned by Christian imagery. Voltaire's *Henriade* is only a partial exception to this remark ; for, though his principal machinery consists of certain allegorical abstractions, all the finer portions of the poem owe their power and charm to illustrations drawn from the faith, which he blasphemed. Spenser, Milton, Cowper, and, in our days, Montgomery and Coleridge, are but a few of the names forever great, that owe their poetic inspiration solely to the fountains of Solyma. And those poets, who have essayed various classes of themes, have almost always, on Scriptural subjects, surpassed their wonted selves, winged a loftier flight, won a purer fame. This was preëminently the case with Racine, whose classical tragedies are polished, but icy, while his *Esther* and *Athalie* are warm and spiritual, full

of the fire of genius, and of themselves constituting the twin pillars of their author's renown. Even licentious and unbelieving bards, like Moore and Byron, when they have drawn their themes from holy writ, have so far transcended their wonted powers of song, that we might almost suppose the harp to have been for the time wrested from them, and swept by an angel's hand.

But it is time for us to bring these remarks to a close. We have spoken of the indebtedness of modern poetry to the Bible. This view must have even more of truth in the future, than in the past. The time is close at hand, when poetry must depend entirely on the genius of Christianity for its imagery, its vitality, and its power. Poetry has always resorted, and must ever resort, to the region of the unexplored, the inaccessible, the dimly seen, for its themes, its materials, and its fountains of inspiration. Such a region has hitherto been open upon earth. When the whole expanse of nature was as a sealed book, the mystery, which brooded over every scene and event of life, furnished ample scope for the play of poetic fancy. And since the earth has been measured, the deep sounded, and the ordinances of the heavens registered, superstition has still kept open a world of marvel and mystery, on which modern poets have hitherto drawn deeply. But clouds are rolling away from the whole earth. Mystery is everywhere lifting her veil. The terrestrial empire of the unknown and the wonderful is retreating and vanishing, before the resistless progress of truth and fact. Science and knowledge have started imagination from her every earthly covert, and left her no resting place, but in those boundless and exhaustless prospects of the true, the good, the infinite, the eternal, which the Bible brings to view. Poetry then can live only by being baptized into the Holy Spirit, by becoming the handmaid of devotion; nor can the time be far distant, when every lyre shall strike seraphic tones, — when every strain shall breathe of heaven and sing the way.

A. P. P.

TO YOUNG.

From the German of Klopstock. By C. T. Brooks.

DIE, prophetic old man, die! for thy branch of palm
Long hath budded and bloomed; long has the tear of joy
 Stood in the eyes of immortals,
 Waiting, trembling to welcome thee.

Still thou tarriest? and hast up to the clouds, e'en now,
Thine own monument reared! For the freethinker sits
 Pensive, solemnly watching
 Those night-hours with thee, and feels

That thy deep-rolling song, bodeful of coming doom,
Sings prophetic to him, — feels all that Wisdom means,
 When she speaks of the judgment
 And the trump that shall wake the dead.

Die! thou hast taught me to know, e'en the dread name of
 Death
Like a jubilee-song sounds in a just man's mouth;
 But still be thou my teacher;
 Die, and ever my genius be!

SKETCHES OF HOPKINSIANISM.

It appears from authentic sources of information, that about twenty-five years ago, the celebrated Dr. Emmons, having passed the age of threescore and ten years, and being apprehensive, that the end of his earthly course was draw-

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ing near; and anticipating that after he should die there would be an interment and a funeral discourse; and having a desire, as it was natural he should have, that justice might be done to his memory, which could be expected only from a friendly hand, suggested a wish to Mr. Williams, then a Congregational minister in Providence, that he would undertake that service. Mr. Williams complied, and forthwith composed the Sermon, carried it to Dr. Emmons, read it, and received the Doctor's remarks. This is said to have been done repeatedly; so that we have here, *in fact*, what, many years ago, we had *in fiction*, "a minister preaching his own funeral sermon."* We undertake not to say that there was any impropriety in all this; and have, in regard to it, only to remark, that we may safely rely on the accuracy and faithfulness of the representations given in the sermon, that Dr. Emmons was (at the least, aimed to be) just such a minister as the sermon describes.

Gathering our materials from this discourse and from other sources, we propose to offer some brief notices of the character and writings of this distinguished man, and of the part taken by a few others, also remarkable men, in the controversies that grew out of the opinions first broached by Dr. Hopkins.

Nathaniel Emmons was born in East Haddam, now Millington, Connecticut, on the first day of May, 1745. He entered Yale College when eighteen years of age, and was graduated four years after, 1767. He closed his college course with blushing honors, having assigned to him the Ciosophic Oration, delivered at the conclusion of the examination of his class for the Baccalaureate. He then employed four years in studies preparatory to the Christian ministry; two of them with Mr. Strong of Coventry; the other two with Dr. Smalley of Bertin, Connecticut. It is not said, but the fact seems to be implied, that Emmons was educated under the influences of the Old Light School, and studied divinity two years in that connexion; that he then sustained a change in his religious views, and went over to the New Lights. He made his public profession of religion about this time. It has been represented that he passed through a scene of deep mental depression, caused more,

* The Official Character of the Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. Taught and shown in a Sermon on his Life and Death. By Rev. Thomas Williams, of East Greenwich, Rhode Island.

however, by the difficulties which perplexed his *reason* than by those which thwarted his *heart*. For a considerable time he was in utter darkness. He could not see the rectitude and beauty of God's moral kingdom. "At length," said he, "I thought I saw one gleam of light. Keeping my eye fixed upon it, the brightness seemed to increase. And by steadily looking to that light, it has grown brighter and brighter to the present day." This scrap of Dr. Emmons's religious experience may serve as an index to many chapters and volumes on the same subject. The mistake is often made of regarding the just remonstrances of reason, as being the vile rebellion of the heart. President Edwards states that he remembered the time when, in his youth, the orthodox "doctrines of grace appeared to him *unreasonable and unrighteous*." His moral nature was then unprejudiced. Its dictates were impartial and just. But he was taught to consider them as the murmurs of the carnal mind; that the pride of human reasoning must be put down; that it is the office of humility to be still and submissive. But where is the propriety of silencing the voice of pure *reason*, and misnaming it the rebellion of pride? Do not the Scriptures often appeal to *the reason* of mankind? And is that real and enlightened humility, which gives up the testimony of one's own heart, and bows to the dogma of a reigning creed? It is when the heart bends before the throne of duty and of truth that there is humility; the rest is but self-deception.

Mr. Emmons now took his stand with the New Lights. "He was," says the author of the Funeral Sermon, "the last and the youngest of the old school, the first and the oldest of the new; the wisest and the best of them both." We stop not to inquire about the propriety and truth of this representation. Undoubtedly Emmons was considered a valuable acquisition. He now placed himself under the tuition of Dr. Smalley, of whom Mr. Marsh in his Ecclesiastical History says, he was "a man of astonishing logical powers, and contributed more than any one of his age to the progress of theological science." The New Lights had now gained the ascendancy in the ecclesiastical establishment of Connecticut. The printed works of Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, West, and Smalley had done much to lop off the excrescences of their divinity, — which had worked so ill in the great revival of 1740, — and to give it shape, consistency, and strength. It was now wrought

into a scholastic system, a modification of Calvinism, and nearly ripe to be, as it soon was, baptized into a new name, *Hopkinsianism*.

On the 3d day of October, 1769, Mr. Emmons was approved by the South Association of Hartford County, as a preacher of the Gospel, and a candidate for the Christian ministry. "His approbation," says Mr. Williams, "was attended and followed by peculiar difficulties and strong opposition, very painful to his youthful and modest spirit." This opposition must have come from the Old Lights, who, though now fallen into a minority, remembered the day of their strength, and were still formidable to their opponents.

It seems, however, that Mr. Emmons did not preach as a candidate until 1771. In May, 1773, he was ordained in the West Parish of Wrentham, Massachusetts, now the town of Franklin. His reputation was such that he had students in divinity almost from the time of his settlement. Within the first year he preached at the ordination of Mr. Whiting, Rockingham, Vermont, who was a native of West Wrentham. His theological school was the chief organ of Dr. Emmons's influence and reputation. In this post he was greater than he could be in any other. He continued this school about thirty years, and then, when his strength was unabated and his fame at its zenith, he suddenly, and to the surprise of his friends, discontinued it. It was in the spring of 1805, that we repaired to the Emmonian bower for the purpose of enjoying its highly appreciated light and privilege. We then believed there was no other place to be compared with it. Having arrived, we announced to the Doctor our wishes. "And you have come," said he, "to study divinity. But I have no divinity students, and have done taking them." "I did not know that, Sir." "But why did you not know it? I have made known my purpose to educate no more young men for the ministry. There is a prejudice against me that is extensively felt. It does not aid a young minister's reputation, if he has been a student of mine. On the contrary it is a disadvantage; a black mark is set upon him." "But Doctor, may I not tarry with you?" "Why, as you have come and have no convenient means of returning, you may continue here for a time. I have heard of you from Mr. S. You tell me that he says that you must study divinity with me. He is a mighty man for dictation. You may go to Deacon Blake's, and there I

think you can obtain a boarding house." This we did, and for a season enjoyed the privilege of Dr. Emmons's tuition.

Whether the reason assigned to us by Dr. Emmons was the principal one for the discontinuance of his school, is rather problematical. We have never heard from any other source that it had become a mark of unpopularity to have been a student of Dr. Emmons. He was prone to be jealous on the subject of public opinion toward himself. He often made great mistakes in construing little incidents into marks of disrespect, where none was intended. It had produced many little flare-ups between him and his students. These were, however, but momentary; a short explanation generally restored harmony and good feeling. But in one then recent case the issue had been more serious. The Doctor had accused a student of insulting him. They were sitting at the dining table. The young man, conscious of his innocence and having a sensitive spirit, repelled the imputation. "I have not insulted you, Dr. Emmons, but you have insulted me by making this groundless charge, and I will no longer be an inmate of your house." He immediately rose from the table, and hastily prepared for his departure. The Doctor, sensible of his own mistake, now endeavored to sooth and detain him, but he was inflexible, and soon disappeared.

This unpleasant occurrence, perhaps more than any other thing, induced Dr. Emmons to take the resolution to give up his school. Aware of his infirmity, he wished to avoid the occasions of its manifestation. The Doctor's students regarded him with profound veneration, and retained it to the latest period of life. Though every one may have had some experience of their master's constitutional foible, it did not diminish their high estimation of his worth. And this remark may be extended to his parishioners and others about him. On a certain time, while at dinner with some half a dozen men who were that day laboring on his farm, the Doctor manifested deep displeasure, and left the room. But what it was that gave the offence it was impossible for them, after much discussion among themselves, to determine. He once, on the Sabbath, broke off in the midst of his sermon, declaring that he would not preach to so stupid an audience, took his hat, descended from the pulpit, and retired from the meeting-house. Of this character were the Doctor's peccadillos. And happy the man to whom no greater faults can be ascribed.

The sermons of Dr. Emmons were run in one mould. They had, first, a short formal introduction; then a doctrine was announced; this was followed by the annunciation of the general divisions, the subdivisions being noticed in their several places; last and greatest was the "Improvement," which generally amounted to one half of the whole discourse, and was divided, under numerical heads, into a long series of inferences and reflections. Dr. Emmons made great account of this form of sermonizing, especially the *inferences*. He always observed it with scrupulous exactness, having double sermons, one text for a whole Sabbath, and the afternoon discourse consisting entirely of inferences. This was the chief distinction of the Emmonian model, as it differed from that of Dr. Blair. It was much followed by the Doctor's pupils, agreeably to their master's special counsel. The plan doubtless has some advantages. It is mechanical. Sermons are fabricated more easily upon this model than upon any other. It often admits the substitution of words for things. The spaces are often occupied with mere commonplace, inserted for the sole purpose of filling up. Some points are proposed to be proved which need no proof; others to be illustrated which cannot be made plainer. The introduction is, perhaps, as often a mere superfluity as a requisite preliminary. The divisions frequently stand on verbal distinctions, and afford small aid to a just exhibition of the main sentiment. Definitions are proposed and labored, which might be either omitted or disposed of in a single sentence. Inferences are studiously sought after and multiplied, many of which are extraneous and impertinent. Inspiration is dispensed with; dull mechanism substituted in its place. But why should every sermon be a *ten or twenty headed* piece of intellectual manufacture? Very true it is, that a just and clear method deserves to be regarded as indispensable. It is, however, a different thing from mechanical and verbal divisions. These sometimes create more confusion than they remove. Such divisions are easily made, but a happy method is, oftentimes, a thing of difficulty, and can be gained only by a laborious stretch of active and patient contemplation.

The personal character of Dr. Emmons is too well known to render more than a few words necessary. That he was eminent both for endowments and acquisitions, that he was a worthy and a good man, it would be superfluous to say. This,

by all is readily acceded to. But how does he compare with other distinguished men of his own age and country? On this point there may be considerable discrepancy of opinion. Mr. Williams pronounces him the Coryphæus of all New England, the past and the present. The Edwardses, the Hopkinses, and the Bellamys are placed below him. Not many, we conclude, will accord with this judgment. We should not, probably, do Dr. Emmons any injustice, if we say that he possessed not the matchless strength of the first Edwards, nor the rich learning of the second; nor the profound depth of Burton; nor the well balanced understanding of Bellamy and Hopkins. It has often been said that "Emmons could manage an argument with incomparable skill." He never dared, however, though virtually challenged, and that repeatedly, to try his strength with Dr. Burton. And he acted wisely to decline. Dr. Emmons made too many false issues to entitle himself to the name of a first-rate reasoner or metaphysician. None, perhaps, of all his admirers could adopt all his peculiar sentiments. And most of those, who did adopt them in their youth, outgrew them as they advanced in years. He was ingenious, bold, and independent. That was the individuality of the man. His ingenuity was inexhaustible. His moral courage was literally heroic. In conscientious, modest independence, he had no superior. He formed his opinion from his own resources, and then frankly avowed it. He never shrunk from adopting a new view, when it appeared to him in the light of truth, however startling the consequences; nor was he afraid to declare it, though reputed heretical. It was not in him to consent to wear fetters, or to walk in Chinese shoes. Always orthodox, yet his orthodoxy was his own. On certain points, it would not, perhaps, have saved any other man.

His peculiar talent lay in the composition of sermons. They are incomparable for their perspicuity; as transparent in their dress as they are solid and weighty in their contents. The Doctor was always at his table, and his employment there was writing sermons. He gave to the public some three hundred. With the exception of two controversial pamphlets against Dr. Hemmenway, on the subject of church membership, the closing battle of the one hundred years half-way-covenant war, he published nothing but sermons. The last of them, produced when the author was above eighty years old, is on the subject of Congregationalism. He always stood firmly to

this, in preference to Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, being ever the staunch friend of rational liberty. On this principle he disapproved of all clerical associations, except those for mutual improvement. He viewed them as dangerous to individual freedom.

Dr. Emmons possessed remarkable modesty and good temper. On this account he had no detractors; no enemies. He never provoked a man by speaking of him with bitterness or injustice. The consequence was, that no one ever spoke evil of him. And as while living there was no one to stigmatize his name, so now dead, there surely will be none to hate his memory.

The biography of Dr. Emmons is nearly identified with the history of Hopkinsianism. He entered on the stage of public life about the time that *New-Lightism* was receiving its new designation. Of course he saw its birth, its life, and its burial. During the thirty years of its existence, he was Leader of the host. While Hopkins, Bellamy, and the second President Edwards were yet in the field, the name of Emmons eclipsed them; for he was more the working-man, and thus put forth the stronger influence. As Dr. Emmons's students came "from every quarter," so, returning thither, they became settled ministers in all the northern States of the Union. And when they were consecrated to the service of the altar, it was generally their master who preached the ordination sermon. These occasions were an important means both of extending the Hopkinsian doctrine, and of elevating the reputation of the minister of Franklin. He paid great attention to the composition of these discourses. They are the best specimens of all his works. While friends admired and extolled, adversaries were seldom offended, and instead of dispraise, usually accorded to them the merit of much ingenuity and talent. As early as 1790, Hopkinsianism was realizing its palmy days. It had nearly swallowed up all accredited orthodoxy. It had few opposers, except the Liberals and Arminians. The Hopkinsian ministry became a "Spartan band," active, untiring, confident, burning with zeal, and inspirited with courage. Every year added strength to their ranks. The prospect before them looked clear, wide, and cheering.

The hopes, however, which this state of things excited, were not destined to be all fulfilled. Hopkinsianism died out before

Dr. Emmons was laid in his grave. The late Father West, of New Bedford, was in the habit of saying that it should have been named *Emmonianism*. But admitting it had been thus called, its ephemeral existence could not, on the whole, have added much to the satisfaction of the man whose name it briefly honored, but has so totally failed to immortalize.

But by what causes was the progress of Hopkinsianism arrested? Why did so "bright a morning turn to a dark and cloudy day?" We will mention two. First; it was shaken and debilitated by schism; second; it was unfitted for durable popularity. The schism was threefold; three branches springing from the same trunk; "The Exercise Scheme," the "Taste Scheme," and the "Obedience Scheme of Atonement." Of the first scheme Dr. Emmons was the pioneer; of the second, Dr. Burton, of Vermont; of the third, David Sanford, of Medway, Massachusetts.

The Hopkinsians were addicted to inquiry and speculation. Many points of their doctrine could be explained and defended only by making subtle distinctions; by spinning hairs and then splitting them. "By reason of use, they had their senses exercised" and trained to the work of discrimination. In their controversy with the Arminians, on the subject of predestination and free will, they were obliged to resort to the nicest distinctions for the detection of a flaw in their adversaries' argument, and for the confirmation of their own. Thus was their eyesight sharpened. And a man with sharp eyes sometimes looks at himself. In due time, the Hopkinsians began to look at themselves; to examine their own positions. The spirit of inquiry had always been rife among them. Unlike Catholics and Jesuits, they had never taken the vows of implicit faith and unquestioning obedience. It was a principle with them, to receive and defend truth because it was truth, and not merely because it was orthodoxy. The Hopkinsian system had too many weak points to endure close examination; to stand hard racking. It could not itself bear the severe scrutiny which it was in the habit of exercising upon other systems. When, therefore, without prejudice, they examined certain of their own dogmas, dissent and schism was the consequence.

We have said that Dr. Emmons was the pioneer of the "Exercise Scheme." In the Arminian controversy, the point frequently came up, what relation does the human soul sustain to the great First Cause? The Arminians regarded the soul

of man, — which was man himself, — as a *real structure*; something endowed with a constitution, possessed of certain powers both of action and susceptibility. The Orthodox, though they did not expressly deny this, yet in maintaining their positions of entire dependence on the part of man, and of absolute predestination and sole efficiency on the part of God, did, in effect, annihilate all human ability. Dr. Hopkins was understood to maintain the doctrine, that God was the author of sin. And he inferred the doctrine from the assumed fact, that all power is in God, and none in the creature. Still, however, he did not repudiate the sentiment, so generally entertained, that the human soul is, in itself, a creation, and has an existence prior, at least in the order of nature, to the acts and affections of which it is the subject. Dr. Emmons became aware of the inconsistency of allowing the soul to be a constitutional structure, and yet disallowing it any real power. He, therefore, boldly renounced the common-sense doctrine of the soul's being a previous structure, and maintained that *ideas, exercises, impressions*, were themselves ultimate facts in man; that nothing stood between them and the Almighty First Cause; that the human soul, itself, was nothing other than *a series of exercises* proceeding from God. Such was the Emmonian psychology. On this ground it was easy to maintain the dogmas of universal predestination, entire human dependence, the sovereignty of God, and all others which belong to the Calvinian system. And though it conflicted most inveterately with every man's consciousness of individuality and responsibility, yet this theory was extensively adopted and defended. Dr. Emmons's pupils, almost to a man, and with them many others, regarded it as sound doctrine, and employed it as a powerful engine both to make assaults and to parry off the attacks of their adversaries.

Dr. Asa Burton, of Thetford, Vermont, next to Dr. Emmons, was the most popular theological tutor in New England. In ingenuity and fearlessness he did not come up to the stature of his rival, but in depth and caution, far exceeded him. He took a broader and correcter view of the relations which one thing bears to another, and examined a doctrine on its own separate merits. If it could not stand on these, let it fall to the ground. It has then "gone to its own place."

A palpable distinction had long been made, in the Hopkinsian school, between *natural* and *moral* power; that Man, in

his natural state, possessed the former, but not the latter ; that he was physically able to repent of sin and to become holy, but not morally. This distinction served a great purpose. It was, therefore, asserted and urged with the utmost earnestness and zeal ; for without it Orthodoxy could not be successfully defended. Without it, the cause became hopeless and lost. But the discriminating mind of Dr. Burton saw that it was a distinction without a difference. That it was *verbal* not *real*. The power in question was not, in any case, *available*, and therefore it was nothing. An unavailable power is no power at all.

There was, in bygone days, a favorite story which circulated on the tongues of the learned and Orthodox in New England. It told that Dr. Chauncy, the cotemporaneous antagonist of President Edwards, was heard to say ; “ I read Mr. Edwards’s new book on the Freedom of the Human Will, and though I believed that the conclusion at which he arrived was erroneous, yet I could not detect the spot where the error lay. I therefore determined to review the whole treatise, having this object constantly before me, to find out where the wrong step was taken. But after doing all this, I am still in the dark. I feel sure that there is a great error somewhere, but it is not in my power to detect it.” So much for the story. We come now to a matter of fact. Dr. Burton did detect the great error in President Edwards’s celebrated work. It consisted in employing the term, *will*, in two senses, so materially different the one from the other, that two distinct faculties of the mind are denoted by it. President Edwards, like other psychologists of his own times and of all former time, had distinguished but two general powers of the human mind, which they named *the Understanding* and *the Will*. Both these general powers performed various offices ; had different modifications of action. To the Will was referred all such mental phenomena as desire, inclination, appetite, taste, tendency, affection, passion, and choice. To love a thing, and to choose a thing, was the same. Whatever a man loved, he chose to love ; and whatever he hated, he chose to hate ; he both loved and hated because he chose so to do. This was the doctrine of the schools. But it never was the doctrine of the common sentiments and dictates of men. They all could feel the error, but it was not easier for them, than it was for Dr. Chauncy, to unravel the web and pick the knot. This service, perhaps, had

never been done in a clear and philosophic manner, until it was accomplished by Dr. Burton. He discriminated between *the sensibilities* and *the will*. The power of feeling, and the power of choosing, were distinct faculties. No man can love a thing merely by choosing to love it. He must possess the previous and requisite sensibilities. Hence, in a moral agent, such as man, there must be three distinct, general faculties; Understanding, Sensibilities, and Volition. Dr. Burton called the sensibilities, *taste*. Hence his theory of three general faculties, and of the distinction between the will and the affections, was called "The Taste Scheme." The doctrine was rather psychological than religious. Its element was an important truth in mental science, but a great heresy in Hopkinsian Divinity. It exploded the fondly cherished and the much depended-on sentiment, that a perfect natural power in constitutional man was consistent with his entire moral inability. Dr. Burton, being an honest and consistent Calvinist, acknowledged that natural man did not possess the faculties requisite to enable him to love God and become holy. Others, besides the pupils of Dr. Burton, embraced his doctrine. And thus came up the first schism in the ranks of the "Spartan band," of which Dr. Samuel Hopkins once, when near his decease, felicitated himself that he was the leader and the head.

Nor was this the only evil of its kind. Another came up simultaneously with it, on the subject of the atonement. The Hopkinsian mind had a strong tendency to generalization. Thus they had reduced all moral holiness to the principle of benevolence; and all moral evil to that of self-love. With them there must be some one simple thing, which rendered a being, or an action, either good or evil. And there must be some one thing, which constituted the Atonement necessary and effective. But in studying the standard works of Protestant Doctors, Calvin, Turretin, Petavius, and others, they found that the doctrine of the Atonement was made strong on two principles, merit and satisfaction. The obedience of Christ was *meritorious*, and was passed over to the account of the believer. The death of Christ was *expiatory*, making satisfaction to Divine Justice, and thus released the believer from his dreadful debt; from condemnation. Hence, the distinction between the active and the passive obedience of Christ. But this twofold principle did not fulfil the demand of the Hopkinsian mind for simplicity. It would have but one of the two; and the question was,

which of them? Is it merit or satisfaction? Either of them alone is sufficient to answer the purpose. Satisfaction, by removing guilt and the wages of sin, of course, places the believer in perfect safety. "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin." Merit, also, alone, will accomplish the same object. What has a person to fear, to whom is accounted the merit of having perfectly fulfilled all the law of God? There is, certainly, no need of both merit and satisfaction. For what does a man owe who has paid up every demand? And what has a man to fear who has, by his substitute, borne the penalty of every transgression? The subject of the Atonement standing in this light, it is no matter of wonder that some should make their election of one principle, and some of the other. The majority adopted the satisfaction doctrine. A minority preferred the principle of merit. The leading man of this division was David Sanford, of Medway, in Massachusetts. Mr. Sanford was a clergyman of great dignity and excellence of character; in his personal appearance and manner of preaching, much more popular than either Dr. Emmons or Dr. Burton. He, as well as they, had Divinity students. Others, also, embraced the sentiment. Mr. Remely, of Newport, New Hampshire, composed and published an ingenious argument, expounding and defending "the Obedience Scheme of the Atonement."

We have said that it was not strange, in view of the circumstances of the case, that this division should have arisen. But, did we not know the unreasonable tenacity of the sectarian spirit, we might be surprised at the zeal with which the "Obedience Scheme" was resisted by its opponents. Emmons and Sanford, members of the same [the Mendon] Association, would at their meetings assault each other with the vehemence of antagonist knights. Yet they were both men of much Christian mildness and forbearance; and neither of them could justly accuse the other of, even constructively, making void any part of the work of Christ, our Redeemer. For according to the one, the Saviour's passive obedience, his death, went in full to the enhancement of his *merit*; and according to the other, all the active obedience of Christ went to the enhancement of the *expiation* made by his death. Both parties were agreed in respect to all the facts included in the great work of redemption. The parties, however, especially the abettors of expiation, thought the difference to be a matter of

the very highest importance. The death of Christ, as a sacrifice, said they, is the very pivot on which the salvation of man entirely depends.

And it deserves to be further noticed, that the more enlightened of the party not only admitted, but they openly declared, that the language, commonly employed on the subject of the Atonement, should be understood only in a peculiar and partial acceptance. That when it said, Christ paid the debt; bore the penalty of the law; obeyed and suffered in our room and stead; the expressions are not to be literally understood. For sin and holiness, guilt and desert, reward and punishment, are inherently and necessarily *personal*; they cannot be *transferred* from one person to another. Moreover, the real penalty they held to be eternal destruction, and this the Saviour certainly did not suffer. "The room and stead" doctrine was extensively renounced; and the death of the Mediator, now denominated variously, "an equivalent; an expedient; an example," &c. The explanation of the Atonement theory became as much mystified as that of the Trinity. Known words were to be used in an unknown sense. A line was to be recognised which was acknowledged to be invisible. All this evinced that the Hopkinsian mind was inquisitive; it was verging toward the light, though not with a single eye and an unprejudiced heart.

If the schism on the point of the Atonement did something to debilitate the phalanx of Hopkinsianism, that on the point of man's natural power did this to a much greater extent. It put on Orthodoxy a most forbidding aspect. It was easy for Dr. Burton and those with him to contend with their Orthodox brethren, and to silence them. They had only to say to them, Your natural power is no power at all; it is not available, as you acknowledge, in a single instance, nor in the least degree. *We* give the natural man as much endowment and as great a chance as *you* do. The Emmons men could not deny this. But the uninitiated and unprejudiced would deny, and demand, what propriety can there be in a doctrine, which destroys the balance between a man's obligations and his resources; between what a man *ought* to do, and what he *can* do? Is not God a reasonable Master? If not, how can he judge the world in righteousness?

Hopkinsianism had other forbidding aspects. It pushed the doctrine of Divine Predestination to a point of ultraism that

was startling and intolerable. "Every man was made, infusurably, either for salvation or for perdition. Every man's character, and every act of his life, whether good or evil, had been fixed upon from eternity by Him whose counsel shall certainly stand. Every man, remaining unregenerate, is constantly accumulating guilt, working out his ruin, making himself more and more a vessel of wrath." These sentiments could not long be made popular, or even endurable, in any place, or with any people. Hopkinsianism, moreover, had lost its revival spirit and power. It had now become a scholastic, metaphysical system. Such, however, was not its origin. It grew out of the New Light; and this was identical with *revivalism*. So it was in the days of Cotton, Wheelwright, and Mrs. Hutchinson; likewise in the days of Edwards, Whitefield, and Davenport. Twice it had burned itself out into darkness. Still, however, it had learned, gifted, and substantial supporters. Such were Edwards, Bellamy, Buel, Wheelock, Pomeroy, and their coadjutors. Disappointed, grieved, but not disheartened, they sat down to their writing tables and composed treatises, small and great, for strengthening the foundations which had been broken up. They yet looked for the clear shining of the New Light, and obscurity of the Old; and their labors wrought effect. The New Light doctrine grew into Hopkinsianism, an ingenious, elaborate, and scholastic form of Calvinian theology. But its growth in metaphysical lore deprived it of its power to excite and sustain revivals. It was by means of these that Hopkinsianism had extended and sustained itself. But in its adaptation to promote revivals, Hopkinsianism could not stand advantageously by the side of Methodism. The disciples of Hopkins were but second best in competition with those of Wesley. They dealt out too much of the indigestible strong meat of Calvinism, to act the part of successful evangelizers and revivalists.

We have mentioned a three-fold schism in the Hopkinsian ranks; it might have been extended to five. The Satisfaction division separated into two parties; one of which, having Dr. Joseph Huntington, of Coventry, at its head, adhered in full to the old "Room and stead" doctrine; the other, with the second President Edwards for its leader, embraced the new and modified views. Each of these distinguished men put forth a publication to explain and defend his position. The adherents to the "Exercise" scheme were also divided. Dr. Emmons with a part of his school contended, that the soul could be the subject

of but *one exercise at a time*. When it had a good thought, a bad one could not be simultaneous with it. The soul was then perfectly holy. A doctrine very consistent certainly with the theory, that the soul itself is but a thread of thoughts, concatenated by an uninterrupted succession. Dr. Smalley, who had been tutor to Dr. Emmons, disclaimed this sentiment of his former pupil, and published reasons for rejecting it. Dr. Smalley regarded the soul as being a real structure, distinct from its acts, although accountable only for the latter. The "Taste-scheme men," holding the soul to be a real structure, maintained its responsibility not so much for its *acts*, as for the *sensibilities* which started them into being.

Such being the divisions and subdivisions of the Hopkinsian body, we have little cause for wonder, that it was destined to find an early grave. "A house divided against itself cannot stand, but hath an end." Yet with all its imperfections on its head, Hopkinsianism was no contemptible thing. It was the natural creature of the circumstances and influences which brought it forth, inspired it with life for a season, and then compelled it to give up the ghost. During a brief life, it executed a useful and important mission. It went out of the world leaving in it a meliorated condition of things, very different from what it found. The Hopkinsians set an example of inquiry and investigation worthy of imitation and praise. While it was this that split them into varieties, it efficiently aided the cause of truth. They attacked many errors which had long been sanctified by their connexion with Orthodoxy. Such, surely, were the doctrines of hereditary guilt; imputed righteousness; condemnation for unavoidable deficiencies; the partiality of God in electing and reprobating individuals irrespective of their lives; faith without works as the condition of acceptance with God, and the expiatory character of the great Christian sacrifice. For though the Hopkinsians, as a denomination, did not renounce all these unreasonable and unscriptural dogmas, yet individuals among them rejected, some one, some another. Dr. Emmons and his school repudiated the doctrine, that men are responsible for anything but their own acts, or that they can be justified on any other ground, than that of personal righteousness. Mr. Sanford stood against the doctrine of penal satisfaction. Dr. Edwards set at nought the doctrine of transfer and substitution. Dr. Huntington protested against the doctrine of partial election, contending that

God is equally the merciful Father of all his people. Dr. Burton effectually exposed the shallowness and futility of that philosophy, which makes actual thoughts and volitions to be *ultimate facts* in the spiritual world. And here are all the elements of a liberal and just theology. And though no Hopkinsian gathered the whole of them into his creed, for in so doing he would have been accounted an apostate, yet to have adopted and avowed them singly was making progress toward the goal of truth. Each of the Hopkinsian varieties broke ground against some of the strongly entrenched dogmas of a narrow and dominant system. Notwithstanding all their subtilities of speculation and extravagance of doctrine, the Hopkinsians made a better use of philosophy than had ever yet been done by any theological school, within the wide and long-standing realm of Christendom. Their prominent faults, as we have just intimated, were an undue subtilty of ratiocination and an extravagance of doctrine, especially on the subject of predestination and Divine agency, which amounted to a form of pantheism. But with all this aberration, the Hopkinsian ministry, as a body, were men of very commendable character and habits; vigilant, faithful, and affectionate pastors; conscientious, diligent, and intrepid teachers of what they believed to be the true import of the oracles of God. In them, and by them, was there a true manifestation of the genuine New England spirit, which, looking before as well as behind, is impatient of confinement, and refuses, knowingly and willingly, to wear trammels, whatever be their polish and antiquity. It was the genius of Hopkinsianism that stayed and dried up the flood of open and gross Antinomianism, which, during the middle period of the eighteenth century, raised its swelling waves and dashed them impetuously on the shores and mountains of New England. This good service, more than by any other, was performed by Bellamy. We intend not to say that he "purged out all the old leaven." For, doubtless, it is, in a degree, inseparable from the technical doctrines of grace; so that where there is pure prevailing Calvinism, there will be some lurking Antinomianism; but he, at least, commenced the work of a great and effectual reformation.

S. F.

BURIAL OF THE SEED.

From the German. By C. T. BROOKS.

Now, my seed, thy grave is made ;
In thy silent chamber laid,
 Thou mayst slumber lightly :
May the sun his radiance lend,
And the dews of heaven descend
 On thy pillow nightly.

Couldst thou speak, thou gentle one,
Couldst thou feel what I have done,
 Thou wouldst whisper, weeping,
“ Ah, green earth and bright blue skies
Never more may greet my eyes,
 All in darkness sleeping.”

Yet sleep on, thou seedling dear ;
Sweetly sleep, nor dream of fear ;
 Soon from slumber waking,
Once again shalt thou behold
Morning sunlight, bright as gold,
 O'er the green earth breaking.

I at last must sink like thee ;
Hands of love shall bury me,
 Heaping cold earth o'er me ;
But when God, from yonder skies,
Bids the slumbering dead arise,
 May I wake to glory !

BURNAP'S LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. *91. 4-1000000000*

ONE of the best books ever published in this country on the general views of the Unitarians, and the support they derive from reason and Scripture, is Mr. Burnap's "Lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity in Controversy between Unitarians and other Denominations of Christians," which appeared in 1835; a work to which, as we think, and we are not alone in the opinion, justice has never been done in our public journals. We cannot point to the book we would sooner put into the hands of one, who should be desirous to know what Unitarianism is, and how it is defended. Mr. Norton's "Statement of Reasons," a work unsurpassed and unapproached in its kind, contains a discussion of only certain points of the controversy, those relating especially to the "Nature of God, and Person of Christ." Other points of difference have been stated and argued in books, pamphlets, and sermons, among which, passing over those of a more recent date, we may mention Dr. Ware's Letters addressed to Trinitarians and Calvinists in reply to Dr. Woods, and Sparks's Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines.

But besides that no one of these covers, or professes to cover, the whole ground, portions of them, having more immediate reference to the occasion which called them forth, are too purely controversial to be generally and permanently interesting. For popular use Mr. Burnap's, we repeat, is the best book on the subject now to be had. We considered it at the time as meeting the wants of the public more fully than any existing work; and certainly there has been nothing published since, explaining what Unitarianism is and defending it, which is to be compared with it in point of general merit and utility.

We are aware that this is using somewhat strong language, but not stronger, we believe, than truth warrants. We have never met a person who has attentively read the book of Mr. Burnap, who has not freely admitted its singular merit. It is true, it necessarily partakes in a degree of a controversial character; but in its topics and illustrations it has little or nothing which can be considered as merely local and temporary.

One of its great merits is its originality. Mr. Burnap gives evidence throughout that he has thought, and read the Scrip-

tures, for himself. He has borrowed nothing ; he does not repeat the common arguments and illustrations ; he makes very little use of other men's ideas. He not unfrequently passes over texts often appealed to by former writers, or if he takes notice of them, he generally points to something in them which multitudes will be conscious of never having before noticed, and which gives the argument drawn from them a freshness and force equally striking and beautiful. On the other hand, he continually surprises the reader by an appeal to passages, which had been heretofore perhaps passed by as having nothing to do with the subject, but which, as it is soon made to appear, furnish evidence of the strongest kind, and the rather as it is wholly incidental. In this respect it resembles the evidence adduced for a different purpose by Paley, in his celebrated *Horæ Paulinæ*.

This is one of the distinguishing features of the book, which may possibly have escaped the notice of the mere cursory reader. But let any one, we care not who, take up the volume and read carefully a few pages, relating, for instance, to the Trinitarian controversy, a topic hacknied enough, we venture to affirm that he will find it as we say. He will be made to see new force and significancy in language, which he has perhaps read a hundred times, without ever thinking of it in connexion with the subject on which, as he now perceives, it has a direct and intimate bearing ; and he will wonder that he had never before viewed it in this light, which now seems to him perfectly natural and obvious.

In thus speaking of a former production of Mr. Burnap, we are sensible that we are doing him but tardy justice ; but we could not suffer the occasion to pass without recording our conviction, which we know to be the conviction of many minds, of the great merit of the work, especially its freshness and originality, united with discriminating thought and searching criticism.

Mr. Burnap has since laid the public under obligation to him by the publication of *Lectures to Young Men*, and *Lectures on the Sphere and Duties of Woman*, both of them works written with ability, abounding in sound and vigorous thought, and altogether free from the extravagance which marks too much of the literature of the day. We know not what the success of these publications has been ; but they are books we could wish to see extensively circulated and read, as fitted to

give just views of life, and help in forming a correct taste, and inspiring in the breasts of those to whom they are addressed elevated sentiments, and a high moral aim. Such books are useful in these times to correct the many silly notions, but too prevalent, on the subject of education and life, and especially to counteract the tendency of much of the fashionable reading of the day, the effect of which is anything but salutary.

The recently published work of Mr. Burnap, which has furnished the occasion of the above remarks, he calls "*Lectures on the History of Christianity.*" We are not quite satisfied with the title. It does not clearly mark the character of the work, and may lead the reader to expect what he will not find. The general history of Christianity, in its progress and effects in different ages, is not treated at all in the volume. The author does not come down below the apostolic age and writings. He gives a history of the introduction of Christianity into the world, with some notices of its character and records, of the state of the world, of opinions and philosophy at the time, with various other matters, all tending to show what there is peculiar in the religion of Jesus, and the circumstances of its early diffusion.

The Lectures are not all of equal merit; but they may all be read with interest; and it is impossible to read them without having trains of thought awakened in one's mind, which it will be found profitable to pursue, and without being convinced that the writer has attentively studied the writings of the New Testament, and gives the results of his own independent inquiry and thought. It is pleasing to find that the author does not write as a sectarian. In truth, he has that just abhorrence of sectarianism which marks a refined intellect, that has drunken largely at the pure fountain of Christ's teaching, rather than at the turbid streams which flow in the writings of theologians.

It is but fair, however, to let the author speak for himself. He thus writes in his Preface.

"Believing as I do, that the Scriptures contain a revelation from God, and that they are the main source of all that is most valuable in modern civilization, the only sure ground of hope for man here and hereafter, I have ever esteemed them the worthiest subject of study and investigation. To understand the sacred records completely, and to comprehend the wisdom of the Divine plan, which arranged the time, the place, and the circumstances of the advent of the Author and Finisher of

our faith, has never been granted to any human mind. To the understanding of this most interesting subject any original inquirer may contribute something, and he has the satisfaction of knowing that no particle of truth is ever lost. However humble the source from which it emanates, it is cast into the common treasury of the human mind, and does something to help forward the grand approximation towards the truth, which is constantly going on while the ages roll away.

“The first requisite to the understanding of the New Testament is a thorough knowledge of the circumstances, opinions, and expectations of the age of Christ and the Apostles. When these are ascertained, the darkest passages become plain and intelligible. We learn immediately to draw the necessary distinction between substance and form, between the essential truths of Christianity, and the mode of representation by which they were adapted to a particular people, between figures of speech and literal statements, between logical proof and analogical illustration, between the language of the heart and affections and that of the reason and intellect, between what is fundamental and eternal, and what is accessory and transitory.

“But the most precious fruit of biblical research is the entire prostration of the walls of sectarian prejudice and exclusiveness. No one can proceed far without discovering, that the principal controversies, which have divided the church, have been upon points either unimportant in themselves, or entirely foreign to Christianity. A moderate degree of critical learning, combined with any measure of candor and fairness, would suffice, either to settle most of the controversies in existence, or to demonstrate that it is of little importance which way they are decided.” — *Preface*, pp. iii – v.

The first Lecture relates to the Mosaic Dispensation, and the various influences to which the minds of the Jews were subjected, the effects of which were visible on their literature, character, and habits of thinking. The second begins with the following just statement. “No one can open the New Testament without perceiving, not only that the world has changed since the closing of the Old, but that it has advanced. No one can read the first discourse of Christ, for instance, without discovering that it is adapted to a much higher state of intellectual cultivation than any part of the Old Testament. One is addressed to the childhood, the other to the maturity of man.” The object of the Lecture is to show how this “intellectual advancement” was brought about, and the attention of

the reader is directed to the influence of the Greek literature and philosophy, which "made part of the preparation of the world for the advent of the Redeemer."

The next five Lectures treat of the Persian Empire, and the effects of the captivity on the Jewish mind and character; the conquests of Alexander and the Romans, and their results; the character of the Pagan religions; the religion of the Jews, and Jewish sects. The account of the origin and services of the Synagogue, in the sixth Lecture, will be read with interest, as our modern preaching, text and all, may be directly traced back to those time-honored services; and in truth, "the Synagogue was the cradle of Christianity."

"I turn now from the temple to the synagogue. Though the provisions under the first temple for worship may seem to us ample, those for religious instruction, compared with our present usages, must appear deficient. There is a tradition that this was the opinion of the Jews themselves after their return from the Babylonish captivity. It is said, that during their exile, they were led to reflect on the causes of their awful apostacy from Jehovah. And among them occurred as one of the most prominent, the ignorance into which they had fallen of the laws of Moses, and the fundamental principles of their religion. After their return they attempted to remedy the evil by building synagogues, or places of assembly, in every town and village throughout the country.

"A more probable account of the matter to my mind is, that after their return from Chaldea the difficulties of imparting religious instruction were greatly increased, and roused them to new efforts. The Hebrew had become a dead language, and of course inaccessible to the mass of the people, except by an interpreter. They could no longer read their Scriptures at home, and when they pleased. The office of religious instructor could no longer be performed by the Levite as such, but he was obliged to add to his other qualifications the accomplishments of a scholar, and be able to read the Hebrew and interpret it into the Chaldee. This might be done for a while in families. But the natural course of things would be for many families to assemble on the Sabbath, and listen while one interpreted. When the assembly grew beyond the dimensions of a house, a special building for that purpose would be the most natural resort. Thus originated the synagogue. How they sprung up may be readily suggested by what is recorded to have taken place immediately after the return of the Jews, and their reëstablishment in Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehe-

miah. In the eighth chapter of the book of Nehemiah we read, that on a certain day at the feast of trumpets, in the year four hundred and forty-four before Christ, the people being assembled at Jerusalem desired to hear their law. 'And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water gate: and they spake unto Ezra the Scribe, to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded Israel. And Ezra brought the book of the law before the congregation, and he read therein before the street that was before the water gate from the morning until mid-day, before the men and the women and those that could understand, and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law. And Ezra the Scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose.' At his side stood thirteen of the principal elders of the nation whose names are given. 'And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people, for he was above all the people, and when he had opened it all the people stood up. And Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God, and all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands, and they bowed their heads and worshipped the Lord with their faces to the ground.' Then thirteen of the Levites, whose names are also given, 'caused the people to understand the law, and gave the sense,' that is, interpreted it from Hebrew into Chaldee.

"Then and there, in a street of Jerusalem, growing out of the circumstances, nay, the difficulties of the time, was born the great instrument of the spiritual regeneration of the world, the invention of preaching; an institution which has done more to change the face of the world, and to elevate the level of society above anything which was known in ancient times, than anything else that can be named. 'For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.' The synagogue was modelled upon the assembly of Ezra, the Christian church was copied in a great measure after the forms of the synagogue, and the very pulpit in which I now stand is a lineal descendant of the one which they built for Ezra two thousand two hundred and eighty-five years ago in the street of Jerusalem." — pp. 114 – 117.

We next come to John the Baptist, who forms the subject of one Lecture; then to "Christ's first discourses;" and the "Apostles Christ's witnesses." Mr. Burnap very properly states the office of the apostles, which was to testify to facts, not to teach the metaphysics of creeds. We commend the

following passage to the attention of those, who are anxious and distress themselves about questions relating to the metaphysical nature and rank of the Son.

“ Such is the testimony of those twelve witnesses, on whose evidence the faith of the Christian Church has rested from the beginning. And nothing can be plainer than that their testimony, being founded on what they saw and heard, goes no further than the life, the doctrines, the miracles, and the resurrection of their Master, and these all bear upon his office, what he was made by God the instrument of effecting. They have no bearing on his nature whatever.

“ If the Christian Church had been contented with this, what boundless miseries might have been saved, what useless controversies, what unspeakable malice and uncharitableness ! Arians and Trinitarians, Sabellians and Athanasians, might have met in peace around the table of their common Lord. That men should have differed in their opinions of the metaphysical rank and nature of Christ was natural, and perhaps unavoidable. The Messianic and Oriental phraseology of the New Testament was necessarily liable to misinterpretation in remote nations and ages. There is no possibility, except by perpetual miracle, of restraining the human imagination. It was natural, particularly among the converts from Paganism, into whose hands the Gospel soon fell, that they should have placed him in every rank, from that of simple humanity to supreme divinity. But the misfortune was, that they should not have had the discernment to see that these opinions had nothing to do with Christianity, they must therefore be left open, and suffered to cause no alienation of feeling between those who entertained them. The ground of these questions is not covered by the Apostles' testimony. Their testimony goes to this extent and no farther, that Jesus lived, and taught, and wrought miracles, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven. Now this is equally true, and equally the foundation of Christianity, whatever hypothesis we adopt as to the metaphysical rank and nature of Christ. And now, after eighteen centuries of controversy, the only way in which peace can be restored to the torn and bleeding church, is to return to the simplicity of the Apostolic testimony. There always has been, and there probably always will be, the widest differences of opinion as to the metaphysical rank and nature of Christ. This will do no harm so long as they are held merely as matters of opinion. But they become the cause of unspeakable mischief, as soon as one attempts to force his own opinions upon another. The question which is

vital to Christianity is not what Christ was metaphysically, but whether God did or did not send him to enlighten and save the world. The Apostolic testimony, the facts to which they bear witness to all ages, go to this extent and no farther.

Just so it is with the doctrine of the Trinity. On this point, as a doctrine of Christianity, I can have no dispute with any man. To me it is a matter of abstract speculation. It has nothing to do, except incidentally, with Christianity. A man tells me, that he believes that Jesus of Nazareth was the Infinite Jehovah. I do not reproach him, I do not blame him, I merely tell him, that to my apprehension his belief goes beyond the facts of the Apostolic testimony. I go back to the record of Peter's testimony after having been with him during his whole ministry, "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all manner of sickness, for God was with him." I ask him in turn, if he believes that God sent Jesus of Nazareth to be the Saviour of the world? If he answers in the affirmative, I welcome him as a Christian, I give him the right hand of fellowship, because he believes the very proposition which the twelve witnesses, whom Jesus summoned about him, were sent to testify to the world. I could not do otherwise as a conscientious man, whatever might be my private opinion, whichever of the thousand hypotheses I might adopt of the rank and nature of Christ. For I read in the second chapter of Acts of the admission of three thousand into the church for their assent to a discourse of Peter, in which not one word was said of the nature of Jesus, other than that he was "a man approved of God by miracles and wonders and signs which God did by him," and that "God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ." After this, I dare not propose any conditions of admission into the Christian Church, which should involve any hypothesis as to Christ's nature." — pp. 191 – 194.

These are views which cannot be too often reiterated, and can never be out of place as long as the world shall stand.

The gradual illumination of the Apostles furnishes the subject of the next Lecture, which is followed by one on the character, history, and preaching of Paul. The topics of the remaining Lectures are, the first controversy in the Christian Church; faith in Christ; the Epistle to the Hebrews; Epistle to the Romans; and to the Corinthians; analysis of the New Testament.

Mr. Burnap is no seeker after novelties. He is content to

go back for his religion to Jesus of Nazareth, and to the New Testament, as containing a record of his teachings and life, carefully distinguishing, however, between facts and doctrines, on the one hand, and opinions and phraseology, or mere forms of speech, on the other. In this connexion we give a single extract, not as containing anything new, but as furnishing suggestions which may not be familiar to every reader of the New Testament.

“Christ came as a religious teacher, to make known to us on satisfactory authority all that is necessary for us, as religious beings to know, in order to obtain eternal happiness. He came not to anticipate the discoveries of science, or to correct the false opinions which had prevailed in consequence of the want of science, upon the subjects of astronomy, metaphysics, physiology, &c. It was necessary for him to use the current language of the time upon these subjects. Any departure from it would have involved him in vexatious and profitless controversy with his contemporaries, entirely foreign to the purposes of his mission. And if he had thought it necessary to set the world right on every collateral subject before he could teach them religion, the last sun of his ministry would have set before he would have prepared the way for the commencement of his real mission. When, therefore, he uses the language of the age, which implies the truth of certain opinions, in illustration of the truths which he taught, neither he, nor his religion, can justly be made responsible for the truth of those opinions. Hence arises the necessity of drawing a distinction between the doctrines of Christ, and the opinions adverted to in the New Testament. The former are to be received as a part of our faith, the latter as opinions belonging to the time, and are to be received or rejected according to their own intrinsic probability. For instance, in the parable of the sower, Jesus speaks of the rising of the sun. This expression is conformed to the astronomy of the time, which supposed the earth to be placed in the centre, and the sun, moon, and stars to revolve round it. Modern astronomy has discovered that this is not the fact. It is an optical illusion. The sun is stationary, and neither rises nor sets. The earth turns on its axis, and produces that appearance. But was it necessary for Jesus, before he uttered that exquisite parable, so full of truth and beauty, to pause and explain the true nature of the solar system? His audience would have either disputed his assertions, or laughed him to scorn. Are we then to make it an article of Christian faith, to be forced upon men’s consciences upon the authority of Christ,

that the sun actually rises, and that the modern system of astronomy is false, because such an inference may be drawn from the language of Christ?

“Just so it was with regard to the language which he uses concerning demoniacal possession. It was supposed that many diseases, particularly derangement, were caused by the devil, or were the work of malignant spirits, just as our ancestors a few hundred years ago believed in witches. The progress of science dispelled this superstition, and attributed these phenomena to their real cause, the disorder of the brain or nervous system. Is Christ, because he adopted the language which was based upon this superstition, to be made responsible for the truth of this hypothesis? By no means. He never made it a subject of direct teaching. He never made a positive assertion concerning it. It was an opinion which had prevailed long before his ministry, and one which he saw fit neither to assert nor deny. It may be said, that he used language which seemed to imply the truth of the hypothesis of demoniacal possession; and so he did with regard to the sun’s rising. But as it was no part of his office to teach astronomy or physiology, he naturally and properly adopted the language which was in common use at that period upon these subjects, leaving to the progress of science to correct the errors which then prevailed.” — pp. 358–360.

It is highly creditable to Mr. Burnap, that in addition to his arduous duties, — the more arduous from his somewhat isolated position, — he can find time for services which are, in some sort, extra-professional, but which have for their object to promote the moral and intellectual welfare of his fellow beings. We honor his industry; we honor still more the spirit which animates him; and if our voice can cheer him in his labors, we would gladly utter an encouraging word, and bid him go on with heart and hope.

A. L.

OMNIA.

EVIL.

How essential to man's highest happiness, to his present and ultimate true greatness, are the conflicts to which life calls him. War is sometimes defended, on the ground, that it ends in blessings not wholly disproportioned to the evils which palpably it brings along with it. The Christian warfare differs from this, in that it is a warfare for its own sake. It is a warfare, the end of which is not something else, and something better, but whose end is itself. Except that it is not, as every one's experience convinces him, in any respect sport, it might be more fitly compared to trials of skill with weapons. Strength, greater skill, are here the only objects, conflict and collision the only means by which they are to be attained. So it is in life. The bitterest and most dangerous encounters, we ever engage in, are but so many golden opportunities of the soul's more quick and vigorous growth. As in real or mimic fight the more equal, or sometimes even superior to ourselves, the antagonist, the more our arm is nerved and the whole energy of our being put forth for our deliverance, so, in life, the more violent the temptation, the more heart-oppressing the trial, the harder the labor, the greater the good that redounds to the soul. Its powers are the more put to their proof, and the sincerity of its attachment to God and his will the more satisfactorily shown. It is only through conflict and resistance that we may ever look to become real men on earth, and more than men in heaven.

If any one would only take the trouble to picture to himself such a scene as he in his thoughtlessness often wishes life was, where existence shall flow on placid and undisturbed, where desire shall never wander, nor passion betray, nor outward objects ever tempt, where knowledge shall pour itself into the passive mind, and, in a word, all virtue and all attainment come with a wish, and rest and repose make up the days and years of such a being ; and then compare a creature, like man, formed under its influences, with man, as formed, or rather created, by the exposure, trial, temptation, duty, and toil of earth, could he hesitate one moment which to pronounce the greater, and more glorious of the two ? Would he not, then, see that it is this

very difficulty and darkness of which we are so apt to complain, that in truth constitute the glory and worth of life, — that just as strength of body results from exercise, and rough encounters with others, with labor, and with the elements, so does strength of soul, rectitude, purity, conscientiousness, exaltation above the poor gratifications of sense, spring from the spiritual conflicts of the mind with the innumerable forms of temptation, error, and sin. So that the presence of evil is the glory of human life ; for out of this grow, what could never grow otherwise, so far as we can see, a mind vigorous from the pursuit of knowledge, through a thousand forms of error, and a soul that has chosen virtue, and from choice adhered to it, in the face of temptations the most seducing, which the heart of man can conceive. And what good, of which we have any knowledge, or of which we can frame a conception, is to be compared with this? The opportunity afforded by the life on earth, to seize this good and make it our own, is one, than which we in vain attempt to imagine a greater or better, in any region of the infinite universe. Everything great and good seems thus to be placed within our reach. We have only to stretch out our hand, and it is our own.

Evil then is good. It is by this ministry that the true life of man is unfolded. He becomes a genuine man just in the proportion in which evil solicits and is withstood, just in the proportion in which difficulties throng and darken the way of knowledge, of truth, and of virtue. To find fault with such a state of things, what is it but to complain that the power is given us to raise ourselves not only to the highest point of humanity, but to seats of angels and archangels ; — to complain that we *are* men, and may make ourselves anything? Does not he, who complains of labor, of hard work, of the difficulties of goodness, of the evils that beset the path of life, in truth complain that he is a man — and not rather a mere animal — mindless, heartless, soulless animal. For with the first entrance of a reasoning mind, of the feeling of right and wrong, of the sense of duty, of a power to discriminate between truth and error — into a created being, is not the outward world that instant, wherever and whatever it may be, filled both with temptation and difficulty? It is the nature we have that crowds the world so with what we call moral evil — the only evil. It surely is not in the material world, or any of its objects. Take away conscience, reason, the moral power of

choice, and this world is as free of evil as paradise, or Heaven itself. Impart these powers again — and where shall the soul be placed, and among what beings or objects, where there shall not spring up difficulty and labor, and motives drawing the mind this way and that, and perplexing its power of choice? — but, at the same time, and by the self-same process, invigorating its faculties, raising it to higher and still higher spheres of glory and enjoyment. The evils that are in the world are the steps by which we mount up to heaven — the Jacob's ladder, that joins Heaven and Earth.

PRAYER.

Though it be admitted that holiness is that without which no man shall see God, with which no man shall fail to see Him — “the pure in heart shall see God,” — it may still be true that worship is essential also. In truth, one might say that in the proportion that holiness is essential, in that very proportion is worship also; and especially that form of worship which we denominate prayer, so helpful is it as a means of virtue.

Prayer is the intercourse which man holds with the invisible Creator. It is the utterance, as addressed to him, of holy purposes and desires. It is dwelling for a few moments upon our spiritual interests and our future hopes, upon our relations to our Maker and things eternal, upon life and death, and preparing ourselves by every holy art we can use for a return to scenes of temptation and danger. It is laying open to the eye of Heaven, not as if God needed any knowledge we could impart, but as an evidence of our sincerity, all the weaknesses and imperfections of our virtue, all the secret sinful desires of our hearts, seeking his pardon, and renewing in his presence vows of a better service. It is renewing our religious purposes under circumstances of solemnity, calculated, beyond any other means we could make use of, to cause us to remember them and act up to their spirit, when we shall have left our privacy and ventured forth again into the world.

This is not a complete definition of prayer, but these ideas would be embraced in any complete definition of it. But if this be only in part what is meant by it, can there be a doubt whether to perform this duty would have the most beneficial effect upon our virtue? Will not he who begins the day — every day — with an enumeration in the form of prayer

of the great purposes of human existence, reflects upon his exposures, dangers and duties, and expresses in earnest language, in all the added solemnity of an approach to God, his desire to do well and overcome all evil, — will not such a one enter upon the affairs of life in a state of mind more favorable to the higher worship of holy living, than if he had indulged in no such previous self-communion — than if he had rushed recklessly, without one thought that sprung not from earth and sense, into the great conflict of good and evil? There is philosophy, reason, and nature in prayer, not less than authority. Look at analogous cases. Would not the man who had every day a difficult task to perform, a statesman for example, go through the business of each day more successfully, for considering well beforehand what he had to do, and the principles by which he must be guided? Nay, who would dare to engage in such transactions without the most anxious and careful deliberation? Is there any worldly duty, the business of any office, the cares of which are at all complicated or mutable in their character, which would not be more intelligently discharged after previous thoughtfulness and a wise forecast, than if we depended upon the wisdom and strength of the moment? The same must be true in every relation; and he is accordingly not only unobservant of the express command of his religion, but unwise as a man, who, if he aim at all or with earnestness at moral progress, foregoes the use of prayer as the best and strongest defence against the more serious dangers and cares of human life. And if in the common affairs of life we resort to every probable means of performing our tasks well, there is even more need of such prudence in the affairs of religion and the soul. For much more arduous, much more complicated than any other conduct, is the right conduct of life — much more difficult than any other art, the art of living well. It requires that our principles be deep-founded, our knowledge ready at a moment's warning, our faith intelligent and clear — our feet shod with the very preparation of the Gospel. Wholly indispensable, then, is prayer, and that previous arming of the soul for what it is to encounter, which is the necessary effect of prayer. There are various forms of mental preparation for the tasks which men perform, as filling important stations in society. Prayer, in one aspect, is this previous spiritual preparation — seeking about on every side for strength and power. It is not a mere empty offering of praise to God, who needs it not.

No error then can be more material, than because it is perfectly true, that holiness is the grand essential, the fulfilment of the whole will of God, we may therefore forbear worship as a duty unimportant ; for it is, though not holiness itself, a means of creating it, which is resorted to, on the truest principles of human nature. Man may not safely dispense with this friend and ally of his virtue, nor believe, that whatever degree of virtue he may have reached without it, it is as true and as exalted as it would have been with it. To think so, were to believe what is contrary to all we know and experience of our nature ; it were to believe not only without evidence, but against it. How much more likely, then, it is all we say, is he to worship God as he is required to do, and as he may desire to do, in the beauty of holiness, who shall first worship him in the beauty of prayer.

THE LOVE OF GOD.

I cannot think it difficult to define what is meant by the love of God. It is described essentially, in any definition we may give of the love which we bear to an earthly parent. I should define it as a sentiment resembling in its nature, with great exactness, the affection we bear those earthly parents, from whom we have received a thousand proofs of the tenderest regard, whose aim has ever been to promote our happiness and our virtue, and whose amiable dispositions have bound us to them by cords which no power can dissolve. Our love of God may and ought to be a sentiment like this, — a sentiment of warm, grateful affection. We have not, it is true, seen this wonderful Being with the eye of the body. Is it necessary, in order to love him, that we should see him ? We love many things that we do not see. It is the character of a parent or friend that we love, not the outward, perishing form. And if our eye do rest with delight upon the countenance, still it is the expression of goodness we meet there, which attracts and warms us, not the mere features, which serve but as a medium by which that expression is conveyed. It is his virtues, his goodness, in a word, his character, that we love. If for a season we are separated from him, his moral image remains unchanged ; and though death remove him forever from us, the heart, faithful to its early moral impressions, remembers to the latest hour of life, and with no loss of distinctness, the kind friend, the wise counsellor, the liberal benefactor,

while in the lapse of years, we can but with difficulty, if at all, recall the face and the form. Such the love of God may be, and surely ought to be. We have indeed *never* seen Him. But his character we know ; his benefits we have experienced from the first ; his bounty has never failed ; his goodness we see on every side. From himself we are for a season separated. From his goodness and the experience of an unfailing beneficence, from the acts of his love, we are not, we have never been, we cannot be separated. These are always present to us ; and as it is these that we love in our earthly friend, and not the mere perishable form upon which our eye rests, so it is these upon which we can fix our affections, if we will, in that Great Being whom we have never seen. Frequent contemplation of the works of God, and recollection of what we have received from him, will raise in us emotions of love and veneration, not very different from or inferior in strength, vivacity, and reality, to the affection which we entertain towards those whom, on earth, we have seen, known, and loved.

This is one way in which we may love God ; another is, through principles of right action. Some deride the idea, — which we will not, — of any other love toward God, than this. They think that it is possible to love God, only as we obey him and do all things to his glory. And it cannot be denied, that some good ground has been furnished for this opinion by the conduct of many, who, in the endeavor to love God after the manner of men, have fallen into extravagances, that have brought discredit upon religion. But the errors of a few cannot falsify a great truth. The annals of Christianity present us with illustrious examples of men, whose love of God has been an affection as warm and glowing, as the heart ever entertained toward any present object, and at the same time as pure and holy, as from the nature of the Being, on whom it has rested, it ought to be. Still it is doubtless true, that the least suspicious form, in which the love of God can be shown, is in that of a principle of conformity to his will. He 'in an eminent sense loves God, the single aim of whose whole life it is to do his will, who, in whatever he undertakes, aims to do all to the glory of God. Jesus has said, "He that keepeth my commandments, he it is that loveth me." And a prophet has said, "What doth the Lord require of us, but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with him?" How can we testify our love of God in a way more certain to be right in itself, and useful

to ourselves and the world, than by keeping ourselves to that path of duty which we know to be prescribed. The true child is one who obeys, and never consciously violates a parent's command. The true citizen is he who yields to all the lawful requisitions of the power that is over him. No protestations of affection, on the part of a child, would command our respect, or possess the least value, whose *conduct* was such as to give pain to the heart of a parent. True affection is never selfish. It consults the whole will of the object loved, and is ready to sacrifice whatever interferes with an exact conformity to it. He, who is filled with a genuine, all-controlling love, must be able to say, that he has no will of his own; or, rather, that his only will is, to do the will of God. Such a one is ready to sacrifice what he most dearly loves; to forego what he most earnestly desires; to abandon a course he may deem most truly conducive to his interests; to assume any post of duty or danger; to deny any of his appetites, and any of his tastes, if he finds reason to believe, that so lies the path of duty, so prescribes the will of God. He who loves God, through his principles of action, gives not only those evidences of that affection that are easiest, but the more difficult also; he not only muses in private, and communes with the great Invisible upon his bed, but he brings, or aims to bring his every action into harmony with the Divine will. In the use of his time, in the use of wealth, in the discharge of official or professional duty, in the domestic relations, in the placing of his affections, in the ruling of all his conduct, it is his first and supreme desire to comply with the laws of the Being who made him. Love is a principle of such authority with him, that the circumstances cannot be imagined, in which he should hesitate, between his own will and the will of God, which to choose. Just as instinct warns of that which would injure, and prompts to involuntary efforts for self-preservation, so does the love of God, — herein lies the proof of its genuineness, — guard us against even the approach of evil; sounding an alarm while yet it is afar off. Just as it is difficult to conceive of a person, who has acted for a long series of years upon principles of pure selfishness, easily doing them violence; so is it difficult to conceive of one, over whom the love of God has long reigned, doing that affection violence; he cannot be selfish any more than the other can be disinterested; he cannot act for himself alone, (with him God is all in all,) any more than the other can for God alone.

How happy and well ordered would a love like this make life! It would cover it with brightness. Pain and evil would lose their nature. Like that fabled stone that turns all it touches, even the most unlikely substances, to gold; so would this love convert into blessing and honor all the labor and duty, even all the trial and suffering of life.

COURAGE.

To the traveller, penetrating unknown regions of the earth, what so essential as courage, — as a mind not to be taken by surprise, or easily daunted, full of new expedients, not to be defeated in the accomplishment of its objects, determined to succeed, if putting in action every energy, and using all the power God has given, can avail to its deliverance.

Courage like this is as needful to the Christian. A spirit that will not be subdued, crushed, or disheartened by any accumulation of trial, that will not be discouraged from new undertakings, — which, as often as calamity comes, though for a while it may bend, will not and cannot break, but through the virtue of its faith springs back, after each trial, elastic to its place, and displays its accustomed energy, ever ready for new conflicts, and strong for yet worse encounters; — this is what we mean by Christian courage. Its value cannot be overrated. It ought to be the temper of every Christian. For the Christian, the traveller over life's moral wilderness, is exposed to evils and dangers, many more, and many times more terrific, than any which throneth the path of him who, for purposes of knowledge or of gain, traverses the earth's surface. The Christian is scarce ever in such a position that he needs not courage, either for endurance or action. His exposures are always; his dangers, not from without only, but much more even from within also, and the call for resolution and the spirit of patience without intermission.

There is nothing, either of pride or presumption, implied in a true courage. The brave man is at the same time a moderate, considerate, calculating man. If he is willing and prompt to expose life when necessary, he is as unwilling to throw it away. It is the fool, who, incapable of appreciating the worth of life, or too much of a coward to act with independence, puts it at hazard for a word or a whim, and when nothing is to be gained at most, but death and the applause of fools.

The Christian needs not, because he knows not what fear is, expose himself without reason, nor put such trust in himself, as not still to feel that human strength is but weakness, and that many a trial may prove too much for him. He, who would exhibit a true courage, will foreknow and prepare for the evil day, and when it approaches will be on the alert, ready for it, and so never the victim of the unmanly despondency of those who, because the sun shines to-day, and all goes well with their virtues and their fortunes, cannot bring themselves to believe that clouds may hide it from them to-morrow. Presumption is no part of moral courage. On the contrary, it is full of humility, of the spirit of acquiescence, endurance, and trust. It is prophetic of evil in the coming years, as well as of good. But it anticipates evil not on the principle of borrowing trouble, but of being ready for it.

To possess and exhibit this courage is one among Christian obligations. When we are restive and repining and despondent under many of the evils of our condition, is it not by our actions, our temper at least, to find fault with the Great Disposer of events, to complain of our being and its exposures and allotments? I know not what the language of such a temper is, if it be not this. Is not this virtue, then, not only of the greatest value as one of the best springs of happiness, but in truth obligatory upon us? To sink too easily under the burdens of life; to shrink from the tasks which our condition imposes; to be turned back from duty by resistance, is to distrust Providence. Cheerfulness and a heart always up, — *sursum corda*, — should be the temper and motto of the Christian. This may seem to require too much, seeing what the trials of life are. Yet when we consider what, and how universal the providence of God is; that he appoints whatever befalls; that the reverses and evils of life flow from an order of things which he has instituted and pronounced good, and that this variety and mutability of events has been ordained or permitted for moral ends, that character might be formed, and the Christian grow out of the man; — we shall be ready to acknowledge, that if we do not exhibit this virtue, when circumstances call for it, then are we false to ourselves and to the moral teachings of Providence, and do what in us lies, to render nugatory this whole institution and discipline of human life. Dejection, despondency, fear, when they pass the limits of transient emotions, are essentially irreligious. They unfit us for the tasks of

life, for any of its more difficult, and therefore more important, duties, — for any path but one that shall lie before us broad, and straight, and smooth, with not a stone over which to stumble. And how often, and to whom is such the path of human life? But he who can take no other with courage to encounter its dangers, in a spirit that events cannot subdue, at least with a determination not to fall but after a hard fight, deserves not his privilege of living; and, if he shows himself so unfit for the moral trial of this world, is he not for that of any other? Where can a place be found for him, who will not exert his powers of self-defence?

Faith is the deep spring of courage, — the faith that works by love, — that trusts. The faith that only believes is not faith, it is only belief. Faith carries with it the idea of confidence, — of believing and then trusting because you believe. He who believes thus can hardly be otherwise than of good courage. Courage is its natural fruit. And so, if we find ourselves without courage, we may know that we are without faith. We have what we call faith, perhaps, but it is cold and mechanical, the faith of circumstances, tradition, necessity, interest, — it has not been enlightened by a wide observation, — enriched by meditation and the study of the works and providence of God, and strengthened by prayer, and it has very little of the power that belongs to it. Unless their faith was true, even apostles were powerless. Their voice died away upon the air, like the voice of common men, — the dead heard them not; demons heeded them not; they were the sport and derision of the multitude. Much more will our faith fail us in our extremest need, if it want reality. But let it be that high and holy principle which it ought to be, and which we may make it if we will, and then no more signal miracles were ever done by apostles, than the Christian will do when overtaken by the calamities, or assailed by the temptations of life.

RELIGION.

Some preach and talk as if there were to come a period, the approach of which we should all labor to hasten, when religion and its peculiar offices and observances will occupy the whole mind; and the world, as in the days of monkery, be fairly abandoned, only to a much greater extent. But what can this mean? Must we not eat and drink, if we would live? Then

agriculture and commerce, and all subsidiary and related arts, must forever remain just what they are, and mankind continue devoted to them much in the same way they now are. Must we not be sheltered and clothed? Then the sciences, arts, and manufactures, which satisfy these wants, must continue to the end of time, and men continue devoted to them. There will be differences of condition, moreover, there will be rich and poor, richer and poorer, serving-man and master, so long as God makes men to differ in natural capacity. The whole race must be industrious and hard-working just as it is, till the earth is burned up, or the constitution of all things is changed. Religion, then, rightly defined, can mean nothing more than a principle which shall influence men to engage in these occupations honestly, and in such a manner, that while they provide, as they are bound to do, for the comfortable estate of the body, they do not neglect, at the same time, to make more sure provision still for the happy future existence of the immortal mind that inhabits it. Religion is to be the guide of life, not its occupation.*

THE GERMAN'S NATIVE LAND.

Happy the land of which the following song may be sung ! Would that it could be said or sung of our own ; but to neither one verse nor another is there here anything very closely correspondent. We have no Rhine winding sea-ward among her castle-crowned hills, with her " vineyards gleaming in the sun," though of oak, and other forests, we have indeed enough and to spare,—America is not, just now at least, an honest land, " where word of man is good as gold," — nay, her word would not now

* Here is one of the most significant religious anecdotes of the day ; it is from a late sermon by Mr. Mott. It is full of meaning as it can hold, and is an apt illustration of the above sentiment.

" In a late excitement in Boston, a person met a Christian neighbor, who took him by the hand, and besought him to go to these meetings, and become a Christian. I have done so, said he, and have got religion. I am at last a Christian. You are a Christian, then, all at once, said the other. You profess to act strictly on Christian principles. I am glad of it. I congratulate you. Suppose now we have a settlement of our little accounts between us. Pay me that thou owest. No, said this new-born child of grace, turning away on his heel, religion is *religion*, and business is *business*."

avail in Europe to borrow a shilling ; — wicked songs are still sung, — judging especially from some late indictments ; — religion is anything but devoid of art ; and, lastly, for the Anglo-American heart, it has sadly lost its simplicity.

Happy and honored the land, then, of which the song we now quote may be sung with truth. It is a translation from the German of some unnamed author, by Mr. Brooks.

“ Know ye the land, where tall and green
The ancient forest-oaks are seen ?
Where the old Rhine-waves sounding run
Through vineyards gleaming in the sun ?
We know the lovely land full well ;
’T is where the free-souled Germans dwell.

Know ye the land where truth is told,
Where word of man is good as gold ?
The honest land, where love and truth
Bloom on in everlasting youth ?
We know that honest land full well ;
’T is where the free-souled Germans dwell.

Know ye the land where each vile song
Is banished from the jovial throng ?
The sacred land, where, free from art,
Religion sways the simple heart ?
We know that sacred land full well ;
’T is where the free-souled Germans dwell.”

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

Happening, not long since, to hear a sermon, preached by a person a little past middle life, upon the subject of fear, as one of the false foundations of a genuine religion, it was curious to notice, though the sermon in truth was not bad, how its merit, nevertheless, was diminished if not quite taken away, as a friend, upon reaching his library after the service, took from his shelves a volume of Sir Thomas Browne, containing his *Religio Medici*, — and read the following sentences, as forcible and eloquent as they are true.

“ I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place. I have so fixed my contemplations on Heaven, that I have almost forgot the idea of hell, and am afraid rather to lose the joys of the one, than endure the misery of the other ; to be deprived of them is a perfect hell, and needs, methinks, no addi-

tion to complete our afflictions. That terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof. I fear God, yet I am not afraid of him. His mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his judgments afraid thereof. These are the forced and secondary method of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation ; a course, rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into Heaven. They go the fairest way to Heaven, that would serve God without a hell. Other mercenaries, that crouch unto him in fear of hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty."

Having opened Sir Thomas Browne, it is not easy to close his volumes without a more liberal quotation. Let the reader then take one upon death, and another upon dreams.

DEATH.

"I thank God, I have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the world, as to dote on life, or be convulst and tremble at the name of Death. Not that I am insensible of the dread and horror thereof . . . but that, marshalling all the horrors, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not anything therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well resolved Christian. And, therefore, am not angry at the error of our first parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and, like the best of them, to die, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When I take a full view and circle of myself without this reasonable moderator, and equal piece of justice, Death, I do conceive myself the miserablest person extant. Were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not entreat a moment's breath from me. Could the devil work my belief to imagine I could never die, I would not outlive that very thought. I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the sun and elements, I cannot think this is to be a man ; or to live according to the dignity of humanity. In expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life ; yet in my best meditations do often defie death. I honor any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it ; this makes me naturally

love a soldier, and honor those tattered and contemptible regiments, that will die at the command of a sergeant. For a pagan there may be some motive to be in love with life, — but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.”

DREAMS.

“Let me not injure the felicity of others if I say I am as happy as any. *Ruat cœlum, Fiat voluntas tua*, solveth all ; so that whatever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content, and what should Providence add more ? Surely this is it we call happiness, and this do I enjoy, with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a nearer apprehension of anything that delights us in our dreams, than in our waked senses ; without this I were unhappy, for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me that I am from my friend ; but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest, for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness ; and surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as meer dreams to those of the next, as the phantasms of the night to the conceit of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other ; we are somewhat more than emblems in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity my ascendant was the earthly sign of Scorpius ; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet within me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company ; yet in one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful, as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams ; and this time also would I chuse for my de-

votions. But our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed. We term sleep a death . . [it is] so like death I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu to the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God."

These thoughts are in both a sweet and a manly strain; they speak of a pure life, a clear conscience, a brave heart, and a trusting faith. A simple and natural piety breathes through the whole, and engages the affections as well as commands the respect of the reader. Every part of this celebrated essay is not equal to those that have been now selected, but all is weighty in thought or quaint in fashion, and well rewards perusal. The edition from which the present citations have been made is that of 1685, in small folio, and of course is not generally accessible; but the *Religio Medici* will be found reprinted in the series of Old English prose writers, edited by Mr. Young.

It may be interesting to know how a man, who at thirty wrote with such contempt of the fear of death, encountered that event when it overtook himself. It will be gratifying to learn that he met it with equanimity. A friend of Browne — whose brief memoir is cited by Johnson — who was present with him during his last illness, says: "His patience was founded upon the Christian philosophy, and a sound faith of God's providence, and a meek and holy submission thereunto, which he expressed in few words. I visited him near his end, when he had not strength to hear or speak much; the last words which I heard from him were, besides some expressions of dearness, that he did freely submit to the will of God, being without fear. He had often triumphed over the king of terrors in others, and given many repulses in the defence of patients; but, when his own turn came, he submitted with a meek, rational, and religious courage."

Johnson's general estimate of Browne is high, but his reader will not think it too high; nor will he be inclined to defend him from the faults with which he is charged by the great critic. "It is not on the praises of others, but on his own writings, that he is to depend for the esteem of posterity, of which he will not easily be deprived while learning shall have any reverence among men; for there is no science in which he does not discover some skill, and scarce any kind of knowledge, profane or sacred, abstruse or elegant, which he does not

appear to have cultivated with success. His exuberance of knowledge, and plenitude of ideas, sometimes obstruct the tendency of his reasoning and the clearness of his decisions; on whatever subject he employed his mind, there started up immediately so many images before him, that he lost one by grasping another. His memory supplied him with so many illustrations, parallel or dependent notions, that he was always starting into collateral considerations; but the spirit and vigor of his pursuit always gives delight; and the reader follows him, without reluctance, through his mazes, in themselves flowery and pleasing, and ending at the point originally in view. 'To have great excellences and great faults, *magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poesy,' says our author, 'of the best natures.' This poesy may be properly applied to Browne; it is vigorous, but rugged; it is learned, but pedantic; it is deep, but obscure; it strikes, but does not please; it commands, but does not allure; his tropes are harsh and his combinations uncouth. He fell into an age in which our language began to lose the stability, which it had obtained in the time of Elizabeth, and was considered by every writer as a subject on which he might try his plastic skill, by moulding it according to his own fancy. Milton, in consequence of this incroaching licence, began to introduce the Latin idiom; and Browne, though he gave less disturbance to our structures in phraseology, yet poured in a multitude of exotic words; many, indeed, useful and significant, but many superfluous."

Dr. Johnson warmly defends him against the charge of infidelity, which had been carelessly or maliciously brought against him. "He may," he says, "perhaps, in the ardor of his imagination, have hazarded an expression, which a mind intent upon faults may interpret into heresy, if considered apart from the rest of his discourse; but a phrase is not to be opposed to volumes; there is scarcely a writer to be found, whose profession was not divinity, that has so frequently testified his belief of the sacred writings, has appealed to them with such unlimited submission, or mentioned them with such unvaried reverence." And adds, "It is, indeed, somewhat wonderful, that he should be placed without the pale of Christianity, who declares, that 'he assumes the honorable style of a Christian,' not because it is 'the religion of his country,' but because, 'having in his riper years and confirmed judgment seen and examined all, he finds himself obliged, by the principles of

grace and the law of his own reason, to embrace no other name but this.' ”

One more passage from Dr. Johnson, not without its application at the present time.

“ It is observable, that he, who in his earlier years had read all the books against religion, was in the latter part of his life averse from controversies. To play with important truths, to disturb the repose of established tenets, to subtilize objections, and elude proof, is too often the sport of youthful vanity, of which maturer experience commonly repents. There is a time when every man is weary of raising difficulties only to task himself with the solution, and desires to enjoy truth without the labor or hazard of contest. There is, perhaps, no better method of encountering these troublesome irruptions of skepticism, with which inquisitive minds are frequently harassed, than that which Browne declares himself to have taken ; ‘ If there arise any doubts in my way, I do forget them ; or at least defer them, till my better settled judgment, and more manly reason, be able to resolve them ; for I perceive every man’s reason is his best *Oedipus*, and will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds, wherewith the subtilties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments.’ ”

BAPTISM.

THE topics, upon which we would offer a few remarks in the following pages, are, the meaning of the ordinance of Baptism, the mode of administering it, the proper subjects to receive it, and the duties of Christians in regard to it. The discussion of these points may ally itself to higher themes, than a dry criticism upon the meaning of a Greek word, and a strife about the adjuncts of a ceremony. It may connect itself with the right interpretation of many scriptural phrases, with the practices of early Christians, with many instructive lessons, drawn from the strange notions and absurd customs, which a history of the rite brings to view, with the essential spirit of our religion, and with our purest and best feelings in some of the most interesting periods of life.

In entering upon the discussion proposed, the question which meets us at the threshold of our subject is, in what sense did our Saviour use the word *baptize*, when he directed his disciples to go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, &c. Now, as to the derivation and original meaning of the word, all controversy may be spared. Springing from a root which signified, at first, *to plunge*, the word came, in process of time, to stand for other acts, such as coloring, bathing, dipping, cleansing, and wetting; examples of which are found in classic use, and among the writers of the Old Testament. But there is a question which lies deeper than this. We all know, that through secondary senses and remote analogies, words come to represent ideas which bear but the slightest resemblance to the meaning, which they were, at first, invented to express. Numberless instances will occur to every mind, on a moment's reflection. Take the word *subjugate*, originally used to denote the act, in a beast of burden, of coming under the yoke; now applied in senses in which the original act is entirely lost sight of. A victorious conqueror subjugates a nation to his power; truth subjugates us to her sway. Take the word *anoint*, originally used to denote the putting on of ointment to one set apart to a sacred office; but now applied to one consecrated, by any form whatever, or by no form at all, to some high calling. We say of a Fenelon, or a Howard, or a Washington, that they were anointed by God, that is, chosen and qualified by him, for the high services they rendered to their race. Take the word *crowned*, originally used to denote the act of putting on a kingly covering for the head; but now applied to any one who is elevated by honor or power, by beauty or grace, by our praise, admiration, or love.

The inquiry, then, here arises, did the word *baptize*, in its common use, in the time of our Saviour, stand for other meanings, than the original one of plunging or immersion? We see not how any one can possibly deny that it did. The glance we have just given at the history of the word shows, that it was perpetually enlarging its meaning. From at first denoting the act of plunging, it soon came to mean to color, to tinge, to bathe, to wash. Even in the time of Daniel it was used in the general sense of *to wet*, for in Daniel iv. 33, when we read that Nebuchadnezzar "was wet with the dew of heaven," it reads, in the original, "was baptized with the dew of heaven." If we come down now to the time of the Apostles, we

find St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x. 2, speaking of the Israelites "as baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," at the time of their escape from Pharaoh; although the history of that transaction records, that "the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground," Exodus xiv. 22; and if they were wet at all, it was only by rain from the cloud. We find the word *baptize* used in the same general sense by the Evangelists. Mark and Luke both inform us of the surprise which many expressed, that Jesus and his disciples eat bread with unwashed hands. Mark vii. 4. Luke xi. 38. But in the original the word is *baptize*, which is here translated, wash. Now, it is well known, that the oriental manner of washing hands was by pouring water upon them from pots, such as we are told were used at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, "after the manner of the purifying of the Jews." This custom of pouring water is alluded to in 2 Kings iii. 11. The mere pouring of water, then, was called baptism, in the familiar language of Judea, at the time of Christ.

Here, then, we have abundant evidence of the enlarged signification of the word under consideration, and that it stood for other meanings than the original one of immersion. We may see the same truth by another process. If, in the time of Christ, the word *baptize* invariably meant immersion, we could substitute that word in the New Testament, in the place of the present rendering. But this cannot be done. So many other significations did this word have, that neither plunging, pouring, sprinkling, nor any other word denoting one particular act, is equivalent to it. Let us try the experiment and see. Would these texts be intelligible, if they read as follows: "I have a plunging to be plunged with." "And were all poured into Moses." "For by one spirit we are all sprinkled into one body." "Know ye not, that as many of you as were immersed into Christ were immersed into his death." "John, indeed, poured unto repentance, but ye shall be poured with the Holy Ghost." "I indeed immerse with water, but one cometh after me who shall immerse with fire." "John preached the immersion of repentance." "To what then were ye immersed? To John's immersion." These texts teach us how widely the word *baptize* had departed, in the time of Christ, from the oneness of its original signification.

A review of these texts should intimate to us another inquiry. By a careful analysis of all the passages in the New Tes-

tament, where the word *baptize* is used, can we detect an idea common to them all, expressed by that word? If this can be done, we arrive at once at the object of our search, — the meaning which Christ's use of the word would convey to the minds of his disciples. But an examination of every such text must be here passed by, as a work altogether too extended for this occasion. It is enough to say, that it is by no means difficult to see a common idea expressed in all places where the word *baptize* is used. It may be more difficult to express that idea. A word, which has departed from its original sense, takes many shades of meaning, according to the connexion in which it stands. While it has a common element, there is also connected with it something subtle, which we cannot tie up and label in a definition. I before alluded to the original signification of the word *crowned*. Who can exactly express all the nice shades of meaning conveyed by our present use of that word? When we say of a mountain, that it is crowned with the clouds; of a man of might, that he is crowned with strength; of the year, that it is crowned with God's goodness; there is a common meaning, which the word has in all these connexions, which no one finds it difficult to understand, though it may not be so easy to express it; and one would certainly fail in doing it, if he insisted upon applying the original, literal sense of the word.

So it is with the word *baptize*. In the time of Christ it had become appropriated *as a religious term*. It had an established usage, in a borrowed and secondary meaning, to which the original force of the word would be as unsafe a guide as in the case we have just named. I can think of no better words to define that meaning, than to call it *a separation by a purifying rite*. This seems to be the idea that is present in every instance, where the word occurs as a religious term in the New Testament, — the idea of separation by purification. Go ye into all the world *separating* by purifying all nations in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. John came preaching the *separation* of repentance. And were all separated unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea. For by one spirit we are all separated into one body. I have a separating trial to pass through, and how am I straitened till it be done. Know ye not, that as many of you as were separated by the emblem of purity unto Christ, were separated unto Christ's death? Therefore, by our separation we are, as it

were, buried with Christ. Separated by fire. Separated by the Holy Ghost. Indeed, we can think of no passage wherein the word *baptize* occurs as a religious term, in which this does not seem to be the fundamental idea. Hence, we can explain many expressions which occur in the writings of the early Christian Fathers ; such as “ the baptism of martyrdom ; ” “ the baptism of grief or of tears.” Any literal rendering of the word according to its original sense, whether immersion, pouring, or sprinkling, perverts its true meaning, which is, doubtless, that of separation and purification by martyrdom and grief. We can easily see, moreover, how it was that a term, which originally meant to plunge and to wash, came, in process of time, to stand for anything set apart and pure. In the Jewish ritual, the act of separating anything from a common to a sacred use was by washing or sprinkling. Baptism, by a common figure of speech, and according to the universal and necessary laws of language, would soon come to stand for the effect, as well as the cause. Doubtless this use of the word was still further established by the custom of Jewish proselyte baptism, by which all converts were purified from their heathen state, and separated as children of God. We know that the existence of such a custom has been denied. But the balance of evidence preponderates strongly the other way. The Jews do not appear to have regarded the baptism of John with any surprise, but seem to have looked upon it as a rite with which they were already familiar. The disciples of Christ baptized converts before they received the command recorded Mat. xxviii. 19, as if it was something which their previous habits of thought would lead them to do, as preachers of a new religion. It is certain, that Jewish proselyte baptism was practised not long after the Christian era ; and the argument is very strong, drawn from the extreme improbability, that the Jews would then borrow the rite from Christians.

Supposing, then, that we have now presented the vital and essential idea expressed by baptism, and that the disciples of Christ would understand him to say, “ Go ye, and separate, by a purifying rite, all nations,” &c., another question here arises ; is not the particular *mode*, by which that idea is to be expressed, prescribed and essential ? It is not prescribed, certainly, by the force of the word itself *baptize*, as then commonly understood. We have already seen in what great latitude that word had come to be used, in that age, meaning *to wet*, as

used of Nebuchadnezzar; *to pour*, in the reference to the washing of hands; and *to separate*, or, at most, *to sprinkle*, as used by St. Paul, in his allusion to the passage by the Israelites of the Red Sea. The derivation and primary signification of the word, I repeat, decides nothing at all. A writer, in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, speaks of one who, in France, had been crowned by martyrdom. What should we say of a reader, who should insist, that the native force of the word *crowned* compels us to believe, that the martyr came to his death by something resembling a crown put upon his head? We should say, that he overlooked the fact, that the term had an established usage in a borrowed and secondary sense. There is the highest evidence that can be given, that the word *baptize*, as a religious term, had an established usage, in the time of Christ, in a secondary and borrowed sense. That evidence is the utter impossibility of translating that word, in numberless passages, by any definition of it according to its primary signification. It is idle, then, to affirm, that we are tied down to one mode of baptism, by the original force of the word.

Again, the prevailing notions, which the Jews entertained on the subject of consecration and purification, would not prescribe one particular mode, as essential to the idea of baptism; and, of course, no such limitation is to be presumed from the words of Christ, who used the popular language of Judea. Certainly, we say only what must be admitted by all, when we affirm, that the Jews were as familiarly acquainted with *sprinkling*, as emblematical of purification, as they were with immersion. It must be wholly unnecessary to verify this by any quotations from the Old Testament. The Levites were set apart to God's special service by sprinkling; the leper was cleansed by sprinkling; his house was purified by sprinkling; one defiled by touching a dead body, the vessels near a dead body, the tent in which a dead body was laid, were all made clean by the sprinkling of water upon them. "Because the water of separation is not sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean." These words are found repeatedly in the law. And they are noteworthy, as they show, both that the idea of ceremonial cleanness was, in some instances, inseparably attached to sprinkling, and also, that the idea of *separation* was expressed by this act. This is the idea, as I have before shown, which was carried into Christian baptism, the water of which

we may correctly define as “the water of separation.” The expression, too, used in Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, is remarkable; “Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.” Here the very act of purifying from a heathen state is described by the sprinkling of clean water. In the 10th chapter of Hebrews we are directed to draw nigh to God, having our hearts *sprinkled* from an evil conscience. A passage, moreover, in the 9th chapter of this same epistle, is important in this connexion. In the 10th verse the writer alludes to the old covenant as standing in meats, and drinks, and divers washings, or, as it is in the original, “divers baptisms,” and then immediately specifies one of these,—the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of an heifer, sprinkling the unclean and sanctifying to the purifying of the flesh. Here, beyond all controversy, sprinkling is called baptism.

On the other side, it need not be shown, that the same ideas of purification and separation are now attached by the Jews to the acts of washing, bathing, &c. both of persons and sacred vessels. This is well known. The remarks we have offered go to prove, that to no one mode were these ideas exclusively confined, and, of course, that there was nothing in the habits of thought among the Jews, which would limit the force of our Saviour’s words to any one mode of baptism.

But we advance now to a more important consideration still. There is nothing in the examples of baptism, in the apostolic times, which prescribes any one mode as that which is indispensably necessary. Even if we should admit that Christ was baptized by immersion, and that the apostles invariably practised that mode, it would only prove that that was the mode adopted then to symbolize the idea of purification and separation. Not one word is said to show, that we are not at liberty to symbolize the same idea by other modes which, as we have seen, fully meet the definition of baptism as it was then understood, though for reasons not assigned these other modes were not then used. But we do not make such an admission as that. It cannot be proved, that immersion was always practised. It has been affirmed, that the Mosaic Law did in no cases of purification require the entire immersion of the body; that as a matter of fact, under that law, no such immersions were practised; that the force of the words, to bathe and to wash, is fully met, without supposing any immersion at all.

But, passing this by as a point which we cannot now investigate, if, indeed, it can be certainly determined, it is enough to observe, that the question is open to grave doubt, whether immersion was practised in apostolic times, in any one instance. It is well known, that nothing whatever is proved by the propositions, going down "into" the water, coming up "out of" the water. The preposition rendered "into" is more commonly translated "to," "at," or "by," as in John xx. 4, where, in giving an account of the disciples going to the sepulchre of Christ, we read, the other disciple did outrun Peter and came first "to" the sepulchre; yet, as it is added, went not "in." It shows the care with which this whole subject has been studied, to observe, that one writer has ascertained, that the preposition rendered "out of" is so translated only one hundred and nineteen times, while it is rendered "from" three hundred and thirty-seven times. The balance of use, then, in the prepositions, is strongly against the supposition, that the baptized went into the water at all. But what if they did go down *into* the water? It is a wholly gratuitous supposition, that they were, after all, immersed. The Saviour might have been there consecrated by the pouring or sprinkling of water. This would have been entirely agreeable to the prevailing ideas of setting one apart to a sacred calling, and far more agreeable than immersion to the mode by which the *Levitical* Priests were consecrated, which, as we have seen, was by sprinkling. But admit, that the peculiarity of John's baptism was plunging. The apostles might have adopted another mode, equally expressive of the idea of setting one apart to God, equally agreeable to their previous customs and habits of thought, and far more convenient of administration. That this was done in the cases of the baptism of the three thousand, of the jailer, and of Paul, seems, to say the least, in the absence of all positive evidence, the most probable and reasonable supposition that can be made.

There is an expression used by St. Paul in two several instances, which, as is thought by some, determines conclusively what the apostolic mode of baptism was, and on this account it deserves to be particularly noticed in this connexion. It occurs in Romans vi. 4, and in Colossians ii. 12; in both of which places the Apostle uses the phrase *buried with Christ* "by baptism into his death," as it reads in the former passage, "in baptism," as it reads in the latter. It has been said, that

these words have done more than any other to lead many to think, that immersion was the apostolic mode. But it is by no means certain, that these words have any allusion whatever to the mode. A simple inspection of the connexion, in which these two texts stand, renders it probable, that the apostle used the word *buried* in a figurative sense. Thus he speaks in the passage referred to in Romans of the believer, as being *crucified* with Christ, *buried* with Christ, and *raised* with Christ. In the passage referred to in Colossians, he speaks of the believer as being circumcised with Christ, buried with Christ, and raised with Christ. This allusion to Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection, was after the favorite and universal style of this apostle, who seems to have delighted in tracing correspondences between certain spiritual states of the believer, and the literal facts of Christ's life. But the greater part, at least, of this language, every one sees, is figurative. If any one asks how we can be buried with Christ in baptism, if we are not immersed; we answer; Christ's death and burial are not the only things we are baptized into. We are baptized into his crucifixion, and into his resurrection, as the apostle says, we are crucified with Christ, we are raised with Christ. We ask, then, in our turn, how are we crucified with Christ? Or, to take the case in Colossians, how are we circumcised with Christ? If, in Paul's use of language, our crucifixion and our resurrection are figurative, is it not reasonable to conclude, that the burial spoken of in the same connexion is figurative also? To suppose, that an allusion is made to "an actual burial in water, is wholly gratuitous. It is out of keeping with the rest of the apostle's language. It is attaching an idea to baptism, which is not once hinted at in any other text in the Scriptures, — the idea of its being typical of Christ's burial; and an idea, let us add, totally foreign to the notion universally entertained of it, as a purifying rite.

We find nothing, then, in apostolic usage or language, which necessarily limits the words of Christ to one particular mode. That in the age succeeding the apostles, and for the first two or three centuries, during the prevalence of that tendency to formalism, which corrupted everything connected with religion, baptism was administered altogether by immersion, must certainly be allowed. This was, doubtless, regarded as the most thorough and orthodox mode. It was connected with many superstitious observances, which encumbered, and perverted, and dis-

graced the rite. Such was the baptism of men and women, naked, to denote their entire nakedness, before putting on Christ, — the assumption of white robes after baptism to symbolize purity, — the anointing the eyes and ears, to denote the sanctification of the senses, — the eating of honey and milk, — the sign of the cross, — breathing upon the baptized, as a sign of imparting the Holy Ghost, the practice of “*trine immersion*,” — dipping the body entirely in at the mention of each name in the Trinity, and attributing miraculous influence to the holy water, by which it was efficacious of itself to cleanse from every moral pollution. No chapter in the annals of the church is so revolting as that which describes the history of its positive institutions. It shows how much more apt men are to attach themselves to what is outward, formal, to the letter which killeth, than to the interior principle, the essence, the spirit which giveth life. It deserves to be considered how much the preservation of Christianity itself is owing to the fewness and simplicity of its ordinances.

When we come down to the early part of the third century, we find that Christians had begun to experience the great inconvenience of the mode of baptism, to which the superstition of the age had confined them. In cases of sickness and infirmity they began to depart from the practice of immersion. The weak-minded and timid applied to their spiritual teachers to know if *sprinkling* in such cases was equally valid. We have the reply which was given in one memorable instance to that inquiry, which, for the enlightened and liberal spirit that it breathes, deserves to be quoted. It was given by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who flourished A. D. 240, a man of learning and influence, a martyr to his religion, and whose decision deserves more consideration from the fact, that it was confirmed and proclaimed by several ecclesiastical councils, not long afterwards. “You ask me, my dear son, what I think of those who have become subjects of divine grace in a state of languor and sickness, viz. whether they are to be regarded as lawful Christians when they have not been bathed by sacred water, but are bedewed, sprinkled. In regard to this, let not our diffidence and modesty hinder any one to think according to his own^o opinion, and practise as he thinks. So far as my own humble opinion goes, I think the divine benefits [of the ordinance] are in no degree diminished or cut short [by any mode], nor that anything of the divine bounty is at all dimin-

ished, where it [the ordinance] is received by the full faith of him who receives, and him who administers it. Nor do I think that the contagion of sin is washed away by this salutary ordinance (as the filth of the skin is by corporeal or secular bathing) so that there is need of soap and other means of a bathing-tub and pool, in which the body can be washed and cleansed. The [physical] breast of a believer is cleansed in one way; the mind [or soul] of man in another way, by the deserts of faith. In sacred rites performed as necessity dictates, through divine mercy, divine favor is bestowed on those who sincerely believe. Nor should any be troubled because sick persons be sprinkled, or affused, since they obtain the favor of God; for the Holy Spirit says, by Ezekiel the Prophet, 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean,' &c. So in the book of Numbers, 'The man who shall be unclean * * because the water of sprinkling is not sprinkled upon him.' And again, 'The Lord said the water of purification.' And again, 'the water of sprinkling is purification.' Hence it appears that sprinkling is of like value with the salutary bath; and when these things are done in the church, where the faith is sound of the giver and receiver, all is valid, and may be completed and effected agreeably to the authority of the Lord, and the truth of faith." — As quoted by Prof. Stuart, Bib. Repos., April, 1833, p. 318. It is a confirmation of the views before expressed, that this author did not feel, that the word baptize confined him to one mode through the native and original sense of the word. It is important, also, to observe that, even in that superstitious age, it was believed that the vital and essential idea of baptism did not lie in the particular *mode* of its administration. If this, the belief of modern times, was the opinion then cherished, it is inconceivable that such an answer as the above should have been given. After the time above named, the practice of sprinkling grew more and more common, until, in the Romish Church, it became at length the established usage. At the time of the Reformation it passed into the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Puritan Protestant Churches, through which it has come down to us. In the Lutheran Church the practice of pouring obtains. In the Oriental Churches the mode of immersion has always been observed, and exists to this day.

We have now seen that there is nothing in the original force of the word *baptize*, nothing in the prevailing ideas of the

Jews in the time of Christ, and nothing in the examples of baptism in apostolic times, to limit the words of our Saviour in Matthew xxviii. 19, to one particular mode of administering the ordinance. We now add, that there is nothing in the general spirit of our religion to require this. That spirit, as we all know, lays but little stress upon outward forms and rites. He, who insists upon one method of administering a rite as in itself essential, is far, far behind that converted Jew, who affirmed, "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." When Christ said, even of the Sabbath, that "it was made for man, and not man for it," how unreasonable to believe that in respect to the ceremony of admission into his Church, he intended that all considerations of convenience, prudence, and safety even, should give place, and that but one particular form should be tolerated. If so much importance is to be attached to the mere adjuncts of a ceremony, to the costume of an ordinance, how is it that the mode, in which the Lord's Supper shall be celebrated, is not prescribed by formalists? In respect to this rite there seems to be much more to justify one in setting up one specific mode as the only valid one. For how precise, it might be pleaded, are the Saviour's words. "This do in remembrance of me." It does not say, do something *like* this. But "*this do.*" We have no choice left us. If we do not perform the precise thing, we do not obey the command. We must recline at table as Christ did; we must use the same kind of bread that he used; we must dip a sop as he did; we must have the same wine and the same vessels that he had, and so on without end. What should we say to one who should limit the words "this do" to such a literal construction as this? We should say, and justly, that he exalted the mere accidental circumstances of a rite above the grand spiritual signification and intent of the rite itself, and that he attributed a purpose to Christ which is formal, technical, ritual, Jewish, unworthy of the mind of that Teacher, and in dissonance with the whole spirit of his religion. But all this may be said with far more justice of one who insists upon immersion, as the only valid mode of baptism; for in instituting this ordinance our Saviour did not use phraseology so precise and determinate as that we have just noticed, but employed a term of wide and indefinite signification. We do not blame those for their choice who have a preference for immersion over sprinkling. They have the same right to

their preferences that we have to ours. A diversity of practice in regard to this ordinance may be the means of perpetuating a true idea of baptism, which would be more likely to be lost sight of, if but one mode had obtained. But when a denomination of Christians, however large and respectable, insist upon their mode as the indispensable one, when they affirm that without it there is no baptism at all, no entrance to Christ's Church, and no right to the table of his dying love, we hardly dare trust ourselves to express the feelings which these pretensions awaken in our breast. We can only mourn that, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, there should be such a poor and low comprehension of the essential spirit of the Christian faith. We can only go back and reiterate the words of the apostle, true baptism is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God. We can only hope better things from the intelligence and charity of a coming day.

We have now occupied so much time upon the meaning and mode of baptism, that we have but little space left to notice two other topics named in the beginning. One of these relates to the question, who are the proper subjects to receive this ordinance? In reply, we can do but little more than say, that the proper subjects are all believing adults, to whom the rite has not been administered, and the infant children of such parents, whether church members or not, who, we have reason to believe, religiously desire to have their children set apart, to be trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. By a portion of our fellow Christians the authority of infant baptism is denied. It is admitted that there is no particular text which commands us to extend the rite to this class of subjects. But the evidence seems hardly the less conclusive, on this account, that it was intended that the ordinance should be administered to them. Without an express word of limitation, the apostles would naturally conclude that the rite of initiation, in the new religion, would be coextensive with that in the old. The same devout feelings and habits which led the apostles, when Jews, to dedicate their male children to their religion by circumcision, would plead with them, when they had embraced the Christian faith, and lead them to extend to their offspring that rite to which circumcision had given place. To prevent the sure operation of this cause, not a word is said by Christ. On the contrary, the affectionate interest which he felt in little chil-

dren, inviting them to come to him, and laying his hands upon them, and blessing them, would certainly encourage the action of parental feeling in the direction here indicated. We have before seen what the evidence is to prove the existence of Jewish proselyte baptism in the time of Christ. It is certain that the children of converts to Judaism were baptized together with their believing parents. If this was the Jewish custom in the time of Christ, the evidence is very much strengthened, that to baptize children with their parents would also be the practice of the apostles, unless their Master gave specific direction to confine the rite to adults alone. Agreeably to this conclusion we read of Lydia, that "she was baptized and her household," Acts xvi. 15; of the Jailer, that he was baptized, "he and all his," Acts xvi. 33; and of Stephanas, that "his household" was baptized, 1 Corinthians i. 16. Now we are not told, it is true, that there were children in these households. But it is probable that there were. The expression "he and all his" seems to point to the head of a family and his children. Certainly a modern Baptist minister would not be likely to describe his immersion only of the adult heads of a family, by saying, I baptized such a one and all his family, or all his. In entire conformity with this view, we find the Christians of an early age practising infant baptism as an established usage. It appears as a custom which existed from the beginning. It occasioned no controversy, as it would probably have done had it been introduced as an innovation. The earliest controversy in relation to the whole subject, of which mention is made, was started about the time of Cyprian, to whom we have before referred; and that related to the question, whether infants should be baptized soon after their birth, or whether, in allusion to the rite of circumcision, it should be delayed until the eighth day. The question was referred to a council of fifty-six Bishops, who unanimously decided that the delay was not necessary. We allude to the fact merely as proof how universally established the custom of infant baptism must have been.

But for our observance of a rite so beautiful, appropriate, and full of meaning in itself, why need we be careful to seek any outward literal authority whereon to rest it? These are practices which carry their authority in themselves. As expressive of a parent's grateful emotions for the precious gift of a child, of his belief in the innocence and purity of the spirit,

which has come to him direct from the hands of God, and of his solemn purpose to set it apart to the Christian faith and a holy life, what act can be more significant, or can be rendered more valid by our holiest feelings, than this of infant baptism? When to this we add, that the rite has been handed down to us through long and distant ages, and that it brings to mind one of the most beautiful acts in the life of Christ, — his laying his hands upon little children and saying, “of such is the kingdom of heaven,” — we are sure we do not err when we say, that for this custom the *heart* does not ask for any other defence, or any other authority whatever.

We shall close with a few words upon the other topic alluded to, — the duties of Christians in relation to this ordinance. A sad day will it be for our churches, when rites, of no obscure origin, traced to the Founder of our religion himself, so venerable in their age, so impressive in their significance, so touching in their simplicity, so beautiful in their associations, shall be suffered to die through our neglect. With hardly rites enough to present the great truths of our faith at all to the imagination and the senses, we should hold on, with a firm and loving hand, to such as we have. Let the believer come, and mark by its appropriate act this, the highest fact in his experience, — his separation to a pure faith and a spotless life. Let him ever remember what the meaning of the ordinance itself is, and the meaning of the words used when it is observed, — that he is set apart to a religion which came from the Father, was revealed by his Son, and confirmed by the influences of his Holy Spirit. The three leading truths of our holy faith are linked together in this sacred rite, that he may be at once and forever separated by them from a world where there is error and sin. And to this sacred rite let the parent bring his child. It is the most solemn testimony he can give of his wishes in respect to it, — his prayers and everlasting hopes. These outward ordinances, as monuments of our duties and visible helps of the spirit, we all need. As ministers, we should enjoin a more careful and faithful observance of them; and the people cannot but be blessed by acts which they come forward to do for themselves.

DR. CHANNING.

A GREAT and good man has been removed from among us. A great light in our moral and religious firmament has set. With pain more than we can express, we write the words, Channing is dead! We cannot allow the event to pass without some immediate notice, however brief and imperfect; without some attempt to estimate the amount of the loss we have sustained, and measure the extent of our obligations to his life and labors. We cannot now do this fully, nor in the spirit of criticism. We intend not to delineate his character, or assign him his intellectual rank, his exact place among great men, nor analyze his powers of mind. That is a work for other hands, and for a later hour. It cannot be done worthily, till the mind is calmer, and can take a more dispassionate survey of the work he has done, and the way in which he did it. All that we now pretend to do is, to endeavor to feel ourselves, and make others feel, the debt that we owe to him, looking at what he has done for us from a single point of view, — a debt that not his private friends and his parishioners only owe him, but we, and all around and abroad, near and far, in the community. We owe him a great debt, which it is good for ourselves to appreciate and acknowledge. He has been the benefactor of our minds, more probably than we are well aware. Our slight tribute of acknowledgement could not have flattered him while he lived, nor can it avail him anything now that he is dead. But it is just, it is due, and therefore it avails us something to pay it.

Probably no man has lived among us, who has exerted so large an influence upon the tone of theology, the style of preaching, and the general tenor of religious thought and sentiment, upon our serious literature, as Dr. Channing. Those who knew of him only as an able and celebrated man, standing apart, as it seemed, on the tranquil heights of contemplation, aloof, as it were, from common life, apparently little engaged in the practical details even of his own profession, seldom preaching out of his own pulpit, and not there even regularly, at least of late years, — those who knew him only thus, and they are many, may wonder to hear him spoken of as having accomplished so much. He is one of the last men they would think of as having accomplished anything. But it

would be difficult to designate the man, who has accomplished so much in his day, in his sphere, and that a broad and most important one. Of the early part of his career we know nothing, except the current tradition of the interest and admiration he excited as an earnest, solemn, and effective preacher. Had he died thirty years ago, only this tradition would have remained of him, with perhaps a volume of good practical sermons; and the young would be asking of the old, as is usual with respect to volumes of sermons, how it was that they produced such an impression as they did in their day; and the old would reply, you must have heard him in order to solve that mystery. That is the way we ask and are answered respecting Buckminster, who died young. But Channing lived to furnish the fruit which the rich bloom of his youth promised.

Early in the present century, a division took place among the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, the Orthodox ministers renouncing all fellowship with the liberal ones, so called. The way had been preparing for this division long years before the crisis occurred, which disclosed, not created, its depth and extent. The separation was accompanied and followed by doctrinal controversies. In these Dr. Channing bore a conspicuous part on the liberal side, and did his share to define and settle the doctrinal theology of the liberal churches. But this was by no means the greatest service he rendered us. Other men could have done this, and did it, as well as he. He was not foremost in this work. He was most wanted after the controversy had subsided. In the doctrinal discussions of that time, the liberal party were of course much occupied in denying, refuting the points of the Calvinist and Trinitarian, reducing their arrogant pretensions, and rebuking their exclusive spirit. It was necessarily for a time, mainly a work of denial, and of pulling down. And when it was time to rest from this, their position being defined, and they came to consider more at leisure what was the state of their own theology, what was it? They had denied and put away a great deal, and what remained? Alas, but an unpromising aspect of things. They had, it is true, a system of morality, very beautiful and discriminating in its details of duty and virtue, and by the cultivated men of that day set forth richly with literary elegances, and the nice polish of the essay style, — but rather cold, not very vital, not based on the highest conception of God or of

man, not on the loftiest principles, and therefore, not the most quickening or elevating,—a system which both sides alike inherited from the old theology, and the old philosophy. And as for a creed, what was it? The old doctrines, trinity, total depravity, original sin, election, decrees, all that used to constitute *the* creed, or *any* creed, was swept away; what was left of which they could make strong points? It is said, we know not how truly, that the preaching of that time was singularly cold, dry, and barren,—preachers retaining the old phraseology in which they had been brought up, but the life of it gone out along with the Calvinistic faith, dull, common-place generalities, or a frigid, denying doctrinizing, and a not very soul-stirring moralizing. We should think it must have been so to a great extent, not at all from any peculiar defect in the intellect or characters of the men of that day, but from their position, from the nature of the case. It was a transition state from the old to the new, a transition which had been in progress for many years. It was like the Israelites going out of the bondage of Egypt, they were going to a fairer, freer land, flowing with milk and honey—but what a waste wilderness between. So with the men of the time we are speaking of. They were passing from an old theology to a new; or rather, from the errors which men had for ages been interweaving with Christianity, back to the simple, original, and genuine faith, once delivered to the saints; and it is not strange, if for a while they lingered with uncertain steps in the desert between. They had not yet fully discovered the inherent riches, the life-giving power of their renewed and purer Christianity. They wanted it, and they would arrive at it, but how? under what guidance? The name of Channing answers that question more fully than any other earthly name or word.

Here lay his true field,—the mission he was called to. He was the *man*, and here was his work. He took up the liberal creed—if creed it can be called, which has no more the form and systematic method of a creed, than the Gospel of John has, or the teachings of Christ—but such as it was, he took it into the embrace of his clear, capacious intellect, his elevated, ardent soul; he fixed upon it the heaven-beaming glance of his spirit's eye, and with his vigorous pen, and his simple, but glorious eloquence, he made it a creed indeed,—no, not a creed, but a religion, all one with the very Gospel of Christ. He unfolded the divinity that lay wrapped up in it; breathed into it the

breath of its original life, disclosed the hidden power that lay in it, and did more, we verily believe, to reproduce the original, unmixed Christianity on the earth, the knowledge and conception of what it really is, than any other man since the apostles' days.

The creed of the Unitarians, as they have since been called, — their creed, indeed ! it is so unlike what creeds have generally been made up of, that no one thinks of calling it a creed ; but whatever it is, — Channing, more than any other man or men, has been its modern restorer, the spiritual Moses, called and endowed in God's providence, to smite the rock in the parched wilderness, and draw from it the life-giving waters. The simple doctrines of Christ, which men were hardly able to regard as doctrines, they were so unlike trinity, depravity, election, and various metaphysical points, to which the word doctrines had long been appropriated, those simple doctrines of Christ, hard to be recognised as doctrines, because they were so simple, he made them doctrines, as Christ did, *the* doctrines, the essential ones, the Gospel, — God's paternal character, his love to man, — the love and service which man is capable of rendering to his Maker, man's spiritual nature and endowments, his power under God of unlimited improvement and self-elevation, the moral capabilities that are wrapt up in a human soul, the inexpressible worth of the soul, its pre-eminent and unapproached importance and dignity among all God's works ; — and then, moral principles, as viewed from this great height of such a religious faith, disinterestedness, self-sacrifice, justice, purity, progress in holiness, — these and such principles raised up from the low ground of expediency and casuistic calculation, and made principles indeed, absolute, unlimited, sublime, like the very Gospel ethics ; and then Christ, the Father's messenger, revealing God and his love, and man and his power, and duty and destiny, redeeming man by purifying, strengthening, elevating him, communicating his own spirit, and becoming to the disciple the way and the life, truth and inspiration, the helper, the comforter, the forerunner within the veil of the spiritual world, — all this wide, unlimited, undefined range of Christian doctrine, was the sphere of Channing. These doctrines so meagre and unsatisfying in the naked statement, what riches did he disclose in them ! What great and beautiful conceptions of them did he express and inspire and spread abroad ! What power he had to bring down the Father in

his glory and his love to man, and to raise man in faith and confidence, in humility and great aspirations to his God, to open immortality to view, and light up the soul with the thoughts and hopes that give the earnest of a deathless nature! What a character, what a spirit, what a teacher, pattern, redeemer, did he discern and disclose in Jesus! Men had called him God before, and made him one with Jehovah; but no man had ever before attained and conveyed so high a conception of Christ, — none had so truly exalted him above all other things, and all former ideas of him, as Channing. What a meaning and purpose he saw and brought out in the cross and the blood, in all the life and death of Jesus, more than it has been given to any other in these days to see. And who else before him had done such justice to man as he, to the religious element, and the moral power that is in him? Keenly alive to the degradation and misery which sin has wrought in the world, so deplorably defacing the divine image in man, feeling its enormity deeply as ever man did, — yet what a noble faith in man, springing from his faith in God, did he cherish and inspire. None before him ever presented views so fitted to animate his fellow creatures to high aims, and great endeavor, and religious strength, and thrilling hopes, — none had made Christianity so rational, so rich, so vital, so fit for God to give and man to take and rejoice in and live by, as Channing. We are not aware that we exaggerate. We mean as we said, that he first clothed the liberal theology with its appropriate light and beauty. He first showed distinctly its wealth of piety, its vast resources for power, comfort, and all spiritual sufficiency. He flourished just at the time, when just this work was wanted to be done, and he was just the man to do it, — to clothe the skeleton of our faith with flesh, and breathe the breath of Gospel life into it, to flush it with the hue of spiritual health, — to make a heart beat warm and gushing within, and present it to the intelligence of the world, as the freest, truest, best embodiment of Christianity, that the world had seen since Christ. We do not mean, of course, that he did this alone, or he wholly. But he first and foremost, he more than any other man. He had able cotemporaries who did their part in the work. There were several men, able and learned men, who did a great deal, far more than he to revive, encourage, and carry forward, the pursuits of biblical scholarship and criticism, and to establish our theology on the firm basis of sound learning. And there were men who

brought larger contributions than he, from the stores of general literature, and classic taste, to adorn our faith, and conciliate and charm the cultivated minds of the time. The names of Freeman, Kirkland; Buckminster, Thatcher, and others, among both the dead and the living, are no mean names in the annals of our theology. Yet they all leave that of Channing, first and brightest, unapproached in the special sphere which we have assigned to him.

And there were orators too in those days, whom to have surpassed or equalled in influence, is the pledge of a rare greatness in the man we are now contemplating, — men, the lustre of whose fame would lead us to think that an era, the brightest era of pulpit eloquence, has just now darkly closed with the fall of the last star in that brilliant constellation — the last, and in some respects the ascendant one. Very often do we hear the name of Holly, in some quarters, spoken with enthusiasm, — Holly, a splendid mind, a strong man, but not a whole man, and therefore of a brief and evanescent influence; a mighty thunderer at the gates of error, but never attaining settled repose on the heights of truth. A brilliant declaimer on this or that point that might arise, tossing about, Titan-like, in the regions of speculation and denial, but not fixed in his views, without a religious system, or any defined religious aim — he, of course, has left no mark upon the world, except a glowing admiration of his dazzling powers in the minds of his hearers, with a vague idea that he in some way scattered Orthodoxy to the winds by the untraceable torrent of his oratory. And above all, there was Buckminster — that reputed seraph of the pulpit, the fascinations of whose almost unearthly eloquence those who heard him can never find words to describe — the man, whom those of us, who never heard him, more wish to have heard, than any other man among us that ever preached the gospel, — one of the few things for which we could have wished to have been born sooner. He was the cotemporary, and, while he lived, the compeer of Channing; of more shining gifts, but by no means having, or fitted, if he had lived, to have the influence upon the age that Channing has had. Buckminster was the more accomplished scholar, but Channing the profounder thinker; Buckminster was the more classical and exquisite writer, Channing grasped the largest themes. Buckminster would win you most luringly to the particular sentiment or point of faith, piety, or duty, which he was immediately considering; he would rouse you from your lethargy, as

by celestial harpings, and make you weep, make you resolve, pray, repent, adore; he could do with you what he would; he would wrap you in the very elysium of holy meditation and feeling. Channing would lift you to an elevation, from which all things in heaven and earth would assume a new aspect, and would communicate a great thought or sentiment to your soul, that would affect all your views of religion, life, death, duty, and destiny, and open to you a whole new volume of the divine nature and your own. Buckminster, we can suppose, would be most satisfactory and edifying to the mass of any single congregation, from Sabbath to Sabbath, more various, more practical, more qualified to meet all the wants of a mixed assembly, through a continued ministry — in a word, the better minister to a congregation; while Channing had greater power to mould his age, to influence the world and posterity, and imprint his own mind permanently upon the mind of society. Channing, had not that ever-abounding variety of topic and thought, which could take up in detail every province of the wide kingdom of God, one by one, in ever diversified view and illustration, passing Sunday after Sunday, from one subject to another, to meet every case in turn, as is so desirable for a single congregation. He might have done this — perhaps he did it in his early and middle life, but latterly, in his sermons and religious tracts, his interest and his thoughts centered about a few leading principles, that lie at the foundation of religion and morality. His mind did not resemble a general *finding-store*, where everything you want is ready prepared to your hand, but rather one of those great warehouses of the richer merchant, where a few of the great staples of consumption lie ready for distribution over all the land, and across all seas.

Of the manner in which Dr. Channing in the last few years of his life devoted himself to the great social questions of the day, particularly to the subject of slavery, it is not our purpose to speak now, only to say, that in this he was consistent, and only took the direction that he must almost of necessity take, in accordance with some of his leading and most cherished views of morality, of man's nature, and rights, and duties. We are considering only his place and influence as a theologian. We have seen that he was the man to give to liberal Christianity its first, its noblest, its completest unfolding. He, more than any other, disclosed its identity with Gospel principles and piety, and its harmony with Christ and his teaching, and presented it to the world as the richest,

sublimest, happiest faith, that ever took hold of the convictions, or engaged the heart of man ; therefore he is in some sense the spiritual father of us all. We may never have heard him speak, we may never have read his works, and yet he has done more than any other to mould our religious views, and color our religious sentiments. His principles, his ideas and conceptions pervade our intellectual and religious atmosphere — we breathe a different air, as far as we can see, for his having lived. He has, by his immediate or his reflected influence, acted upon us all, whether we know it or not. He has taught the teachers. He has done more to form the present race of our preachers, than any other man among the dead or the living. The sermons and other religious literature of the day bear the impress of his mind, more than that of any other man. He would own himself of no sect. “He would not follow or lead any party,” so jealous was he for his own and others’ freedom ; but there never was a hierarch or heresiarch, who has more truly infused his own thought and spirit into a church or denomination, than Dr. Channing has with respect to us, and those who sympathize with us ; and that not of set purpose, by no love of sway, by no ambition of influence, but by the legitimate, free, untrammelled, and untrammelling influence of truth — truth spoken from deepest conviction, with earnest faith, and ardent love of it — truth, flowing freely as the air around us, investing, enlightening, invigorating all. We are not conscious of ever having borrowed a sentence, a sentiment, an image, or even an expression from Dr. Channing ; and yet we feel that, more than any other man, he has indirectly decided the turn and tone of our minds. He has shaped us without his intending it, or our knowing it. His mind pervades our denomination, like secret leaven, silent and unseen, and yet apparent, if we reflect and analyze.

Dr. Channing has been more printed, read, and appreciated in England than in our own country, because that country is beyond the reach of the local and sectarian prejudices and hostilities that naturally operate here. No American writer, unless we must except President Edwards, has had the celebrity there, which he has had ; and no American *ever* has had a tithe of his influence in moulding the thoughts and sentiments of Englishmen, from court to hovel. No American name, separate from warlike achievement or mere official consequence, is known as widely in the world as Dr. Channing’s. And this we will venture to say, though to the superficial observer it will sound paradoxical,

and to him who thinks the national character and condition is affected more by battles, treaties, tariffs, and this or that political measure or system, than by the moral and religious tone of the general mind, the heart that is in the people, the pervading thought that, unseen, underlies the character — though to such, the remark will seem absurd or insane, yet we will say, that since Washington, though we have had and still have men of far more powerful and brilliant intellect, there has not been the man whose influence has been, or is to be, so wide, so pervading, so effective for good and high ends, as the quiet, invisible, partially acknowledged influence of Dr. Channing.

And we, and those who go with us in religion, are the peculiar recipients and inheritors of his spirit and influence. He was one of us. He has had his legitimate access to our minds, unbarred by prejudice. His mind and spirit have mingled themselves in almost all the channels of religious instruction and influence among us for a quarter of a century, and will still flow there for the refreshing of unborn generations, who may not know even that he ever lived. Thank God, we have not been called by his name, nor by any name but Christ's; we have not borne his yoke; he had no yoke for himself or others. His love of freedom for himself and his race was his master passion. He has done more than any other man to save us from becoming a narrow sect, fenced in by creeds, and under human leaderships. But his influence, though free and undefined, has not been the less potent, and all the more real and benign for that. — He is gone. He turned his eyes to the setting sun, and with a countenance settled in sweet peace, and radiant with the immortal faith, which was to him in life and in death, even as vision, he resigned his spirit to his Father, and death fixed his seal on that noble brow.

As we looked upon the narrow coffin which contained the slender, fragile form, and scanty ashes, lately animate with so lofty a spirit, and a power that out-swayed the rule of kings, we could not but reflect that no great man could less need to live longer than he. His was an agency and a power that would not die with him. Though he lay silent and cold beneath the pulpit that had been his very throne, and under the arched roof that had echoed to his eloquence, we felt that, though dead, his mind was speaking, and would speak on, when that roof should have fallen in its decay to the ground, and when our children's children should be laid with him in the dust — speak on, and be echoed from unnumbered souls, repeated from unnumbered

tongues, and transfused through invisible channels into the thoroughfares and byways of human thought and feeling.

It is best, no doubt, that we should not fully recognise our true prophets while they live, lest we make them our masters; but it is good that a people should recognise them when dead, at least, and praise the God who has sent them to enlighten and elevate the soul of the world; and how good and needful it is, and urgently incumbent on us, to see to it, that God spread not his light through them in vain to us, that he sow not the seed of his word through their hands into our hearts in vain, but that by all his light we be enlightened, and by all his sowings we be made fruitful in righteousness.

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TENNYSON'S POEMS.

MR. TENNYSON'S poetical fortunes have been singularly various. Some six or seven years ago he first became known, partly by his own extraordinary demerits, and chiefly by a stringent review in the *London Quarterly*. It was supposed that he was, poetically speaking, dead; he certainly was, theatrically speaking, though not theologically, damned. Strange to say, his poems found their way across the Atlantic, and gained favor in the eyes of a peculiar class of sentimentalists. Young ladies were known to copy them entire, and learn them by heart. Stanzas of most melodious unmeaningness passed from mouth to mouth, and were praised to the very echo. The man who possessed a copy was the envy of more than twenty persons, counting women and children; until at length Mr. Tennyson came into possession of a very considerable amount of reputation. His ardent admirers sent to England for copies; but singularly enough, not one was to be had. The poet had bought them all up and committed them to the flames; but moved by the transatlantic resurrection of his poetical character, he set about convincing people that he was alive too at home. He broke upon the world in the twofold splendor of a pair of volumes, published in Mr. Moxon's finest style. His former writings were clipped of many puerilities, and brought nearer the confines of common sense; to them were added many poems, never before printed, some of which are marked by a delicate frost-work kind of beauty. The *London Quar-*

terly Journalists came out immediately with a long and highly laudatory critique, and ranked Mr. Tennyson among the foremost poets of the age, without an allusion to the homicidal attack they had made on him only a few short years before; and without the least apology for surrendering the doctrine of the infallibility of reviewers. The American reprint is page for page from the English, and in excellence of typography and luxury of paper, is not much inferior to the London edition. We understand also that the publishers have honorably agreed to let the author share in the profits, if any, of the American edition. This is as it should be. We hope the example may be imitated.

It does not require much depth to fathom Mr. Tennyson's genius. He certainly has genius. He looks on things with a poetical eye; but they are small things, and his eye is none of the largest. There is nothing wide and comprehensive in his intellectual range — nothing of

“the ample pinion
That the Theban eagle bare,
Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air,”

in his poetical flights. He has a remarkable alacrity at sinking. Quiet scenes, and soft characters, he delights to portray; and he portrays them with what the painters call a very soft touch. There is a very peculiar music in the flow of his lines and stanzas. It is generally pleasing, sometimes captivates the ear, but often overpowers us by its melting effeminacy. He is a dainty poet. We cannot help fancying him to be altogether finical in his personal habits. He is a sweet gentleman, and delights to gaze upon his image in a glass; his hair is probably long, and carefully curled; he writes in white kid gloves, on scented paper; perhaps he sleeps in yellow curl-papers. We are certain he lisps.

— ὥς ἡλιθίον ἐφθέγγετο
καὶ τοῖσι χεῖλεσιν διερχόμενος.

He is deficient in manly thought and strong expression; but he has fancy and feeling. Instead of uttering what he has to say in a direct, unambiguous, and plain fashion, as the older and better poets did, he surrounds it with a haze of pretty words, bedecks it with sparkling conceits, and sweetens it with sugary sentimentalities. He is fond of “airy, fairy women,” and has drawn a series of sketches, about as distinct and substantial as the forms on dying embers. He is a curious compound of the poet, the dandy, and the Della Cruscan. Affectation is his

prevailing intellectual vice ; and it is the badge of a numerous tribe. Sometimes he puts on the simple ; and then he outruns the simplicity of Mother Goose, or — but we must deal gingerly with the names of the living, for “caparisons are odorous.” He has certainly grown stronger during his disappearance from the world of letters. The trance he was thrown into by the Quarterly did him good. But something infinitely better than he has yet written is unquestionably within the range of his powers. We shall illustrate our view of his character most clearly by giving a few extracts. For the Mother Goose style, we take the second poem in volume first.

Airy, fairy Lilian,
Flitting, fairy Lilian,
When I ask her if she love me,
Claps her tiny hands above me,
Laughing all she can ;
She 'll not tell me if she love me,
Cruel little Lilian.

When my passion seeks
Pleasance in love-sighs
She, looking thro' and thro' me
Thoroughly to undo me,
Smiling, never speaks :

So innocent-arch, so cunning simple,
From beneath her gather'd wimple,
Glancing with black-beaded eyes,
Till the lightning laughs dimple
The baby-roses in her cheeks ;
Then away she flies.

Prythee weep, May Lilian !
Gaiety without eclipse
Wearieth me, May Lilian :
Thro' my very heart it thrilleth
When from crimson-threaded lips
Silver-treble laughter trilleth :
Prythee weep, May Lilian.

Praying all I can,
If prayers will not hush thee,
Airy Lilian,
Like a rose-leaf I will crush thee,
Fairy Lilian.

The “Song to the Owl” is another precious piece ; we do not wonder at that respectable bird for “complaining to the moon,” if his “ancient solitary reign” is often molested by such melodies.

Dora has been much praised ; but the concluding lines are not remarkably poetical.

So those four abode
Within one house together; and as years
Went forward, Mary took another mate;
But Dora lived unmarried till her death.

The "Talking Oak" is one of the best pieces in the book. The tree is a little *sappy*, to be sure, and discourses somewhat tenderly for an oak; but it was probably a very green one. We would give it, but it is too long for quotation. We have room only for the poem entitled "Locksley Hall."

Comrades, leave me here a little, while as yet 't is early morn:
Leave me here, and when you want me, sound upon the bugle horn.

'T is the place, and round the gables, as of old, the curlews call,
Dreary gleams about the moorland flying over Locksley Hall;
Locksley Hall, that in the distance overlooks the sandy tracts,
And the hollow ocean-ridges roaring into cataracts.

Many a night from yonder ivied casement, ere I went to rest,
Did I look on great Orion sloping slowly to the West.

Many a night I saw the Pleiads, rising thro' the mellow shade,
Glitter like a swarm of fire-flies tangled in a silver braid.

Here about the beach I wander'd, nourishing a youth sublime
With the fairy tales of science, and the long result of Time;

When the centuries behind me like a fruitful land reposed;
When I clung to all the present for the promise that it closed:

When I dipt into the future far as human eye could see;
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be. —

In the Spring a fuller crimson comes upon the Robin's breast;
In the Spring the wanton lapwing gets himself another crest;

In the Spring a livelier iris changes on the burnished dove;
In the Spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love.

Then her cheek was pale and thinner than should be for one so young,
And her eyes on all my motions with a mute observance hung,

And I said, "My cousin Amy, speak and speak the truth to me,
Trust me, cousin, all the current of my being sets to thee."

On her pallid cheek and forehead came a color and a light,
As I have seen the rosy red flushing in the northern night.

And she turn'd — her bosom shaken with a sudden storm of sighs —
All the spirit deeply dawning in the dark of hazel eyes —

Saying, "I have hid my feelings, fearing they should do me wrong;"
Saying, "Dost thou love me, cousin?" weeping, "I have loved thee
long."

Love took up the glass of Time, and turn'd it in his glowing hands;
Every moment, lightly shaken, ran itself in golden sands.

Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight.

Many a morning on the moorland did we hear the copses ring,
And her whisper throng'd my pulses with the fullness of the Spring.

Many an evening by the waters did we watch the stately ships,
And our spirits rush'd together at the touching of the lips.

O my cousin shallow-hearted! O my Amy mine no more!
O the dreary, dreary moorland! O the barren, barren shore!

Falser than all fancy fathoms, falser than all songs have sung,
Puppet to a father's threat, and servile to a shrewish tongue!

Is it well to wish thee happy? — having known me — to decline
On a range of lower feelings and a narrower heart than mine!

Yet it shall be: thou shalt lower to his level day by day,
What is fine within thee growing coarse to sympathise with clay.

As the husband is, the wife is: thou art mated with a clown,
And the grossness of his nature will have weight to drag thee down.

He will hold thee, when his passion shall have spent its novel force,
Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse.

What is this? his eyes are heavy: think not they are glazed with wine.
Go to him: it is thy duty: kiss him: take his hand in thine.

It may be my lord is weary, that his brain is overwrought:
Soothe him with thy finer fancies, touch him with thy lighter thought.

He will answer to the purpose, easy things to understand —
Better thou wert dead before me, tho' I slew thee with my hand!

Better thou and I were lying, hidden from the heart's disgrace,
Roll'd in one another's arms, and silent in a last embrace.

Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength of youth!
Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth!

Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest Nature's rule!
Cursed be the gold that gilds the straiten'd forehead of the fool!

Well — 't is well that I should bluster! — Hadst thou less unworthy
proved —

Would to God — for I had loved thee more than ever wife was loved.

Am I mad, that I should cherish that which bears but bitter fruit?
I will pluck it from my bosom, tho' my heart be at the root.

Never, tho' my mortal summers to such length of years should come
As the many-winter'd crow that leads the clanging rookery home.

Where is comfort? in division of the records of the mind?
Can I part her from herself, and love her, as I knew her, kind?

I remember one that perish'd: sweetly did she speak and move:
Such a one do I remember, whom to look at was to love.

Can I think of her as dead, and love her for the love she bore?
No — she never loved me truly: love is love for evermore.

Comfort? comfort scorn'd of devils! this is truth the poet sings,
That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.

Drug thy memories, lest thou learn it, lest thy heart be put to proof,
In the dead unhappy night, and when the rain is on the roof.

Like a dog, he hunts in dreams, and thou art staring at the wall,
Where the dying night-lamp flickers, and the shadows rise and fall.

Then a hand shall pass before thee, pointing to his drunken sleep,
To thy widow'd marriage-pillows, to the tears that thou wilt weep.

Thou shalt hear the "Never, never," whisper'd by phantom years,
And a song from out the distance in the ringing of thine ears;

And an eye shall vex thee, looking ancient kindness on thy pain.
Turn thee, turn thee on thy pillow: get thee to thy rest again.

Nay, but Nature brings thee solace; for a tender voice will cry.
'Tis a purer life than thine: a lip to drain thy trouble dry.

Baby lips will laugh me down: my latest rival brings thee rest.
Baby fingers, waxen touches, press me from the mother's breast.

O, the child too clothes the father with a dearness not his due.
Half is thine and half is his: it will be worthy of the two.

O, I see thee old and formal, fitted to thy petty part,
With a little hoard of maxims preaching down a daughter's heart.

"They were dangerous guides the feelings — she herself was not ex-
empt —

Truly, she herself had suffer'd " — Perish in thy self-contempt!

Overlive it — lower yet — be happy! wherefore should I care?
I myself must mix with action, lest I wither by despair.

What is that which I should turn to, lighting upon days like these?
Every door is barr'd with gold, and opens but to golden keys.

Every gate is throng'd with suitors, all the markets overflow.
I have but an angr'y fancy: what is that which I should do?

I had been content to perish, falling on the foeman's ground,
When the ranks are roll'd in vapor, and the winds are laid with sound.

But the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt that Honor feels,
And the nations do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels.

Can I but relieve in sadness? I will turn that earlier page.
Hide me from my deep emotion, O thou wondrous Mother-Age!

Make me feel the wild pulsation that I felt before the strife,
When I heard my days before me, and the tumult of my life;

Yearning for the large excitement that the coming years would yield,
Eager-hearted as a boy when first he leaves his father's field,

And at night along the dusky highway near and nearer drawn,
Sees in heaven the light of London flaring like a dreary dawn;

And his spirit leaps within him to be gone before him then,
Underneath the light he looks at, in among the throngs of men;

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new;
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

So I triumph'd, ere my passion sweeping thro' me left me dry,
Left me with the palsied heart, and left me with the jaundiced eye;

Eye, to which all order festers, all things here are out of joint,
Science moves, but slowly slowly, creeping on from point to point:

Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion, creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire.

Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.

What is that to him that reaps not harvest of his youthful joys,
Tho' the deep heart of existence beat for ever like a boy's?

Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers, and I linger on the shore,
And the individual withers, and the world is more and more.

Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers, and he bears a laden breast,
Full of sad experience moving toward the stillness of his rest.

Hark, my merry comrades call me, sounding on the bugle-horn,
They to whom my foolish passion were a target for their scorn:

Shall it not be scorn to me to harp on such a moulder'd string?
I am shamed thro' all my nature to have loved so slight a thing.

Weakness to be wroth with weakness! woman's pleasure, woman's pain—
Nature made them blinder motions bounded in a shallower brain:

Woman is the lesser man, and all thy passions, match'd with mine,
Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine—

Here at least, where nature sickens, nothing. Ah, for some retreat
Deep in yonder shining Orient, where my life began to beat;

Where in wild Mahratta-battle fell my father evil-starred;
I was left a trampled orphan, and a selfish uncle's ward.

Or to burst all links of habit — there to wander far away,
On from island unto island at the gateways of the day.

Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
Breadths of tropic shades and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise.

Never comes the trader, never floats an European flag,
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland, droops the trailer from the crag;

Droops the heavy-blossom'd bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree —
Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea.

There methinks would be enjoyment more than in this march of mind
In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind.

There the passions cramp'd no longer shall have scope and breathing-
space;

I will take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race.

Iron-jointed, supple-sinnew'd, they shall dive, and they shall run,
Catch the wild goat by the hair, and hurl their lances in the sun;

Whistle back the parrot's call, and leap the rainbows of the brooks,
Not with blinded eyesight pouring over miserable books —

Fool, again the dream, the fancy! but I *know* my words are wild,
But I count the gray barbarian lower than the Christian child.

I, to herd with narrow foreheads, vacant of our glorious gains,
Like a beast with lower pleasures, like a beast with lower pains!

Mated with a squalid savage — what to me were sun or clime?
I the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time —

I that rather held it better men should perish one by one,
Than that earth should stand at gaze like Joshua's moon in Ajalon!

Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range.
Let the peoples spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.

Thro' the shadow of the world we sweep into the younger day:
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

Mother-Age (for mine I knew not) help me as when life begun:
Rift the hills, and roll the waters, flash the lightnings, weigh the Sun —

O, I see the crescent promise of my spirit hath not set.
Ancient founts of inspiration well thro' all my fancy yet.

Howsoever these things be, a long farewell to Locksley Hall!
Now for me the woods may wither, now for me the roof-tree fall.

Comes a vapor from the margin, blackening over heath and holt,
Cramming all the blast before it, in its breast a thunder-bolt.

Let it fall on Locksley Hall, with rain or hail, or fire or snow;
For the mighty wind arises, roaring seaward, and I go.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Life of Jean Paul Frederic Richter. Compiled from various Sources. Together with his Autobiography. Translated from the German. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1842. 2 vols. 16mo.

THE two noble and priceless papers on the life, labors, sufferings, and writings of Jean Paul, which Mr. Carlyle has given us in his "Miscellanies," and which have been so long in all hands and hearts, leave us but little to say, and little courage to say anything on the subject, more than to recommend, which we do most warmly, this new Biography of the wonderful man, to all who may peruse our pages. Of all the German writers and men Richter is the one whom we are most eager that our countrymen should appreciate and understand, for we feel sure that when they do, they will love and admire and cherish him as a bosom friend, and find in him pure inspiration. He is to us by far the most suggestive, soul-stirring, improving of German minds. We profess to know him, and yet, for that very reason, in a case so peculiar as this, we should feel great distrust of ourselves in undertaking to make him known to such as have not conversed with him, that is to say, by attempting anything like a dissection or description of his genius. Carlyle has somewhere remarked, that the anatomist cannot operate till the subject is dead. But as the subject in this case happens to be a full-grown living man — a living soul, that is, big with the breath of life, large and free as nature, we should tremble before the task of having to analyze or delineate it to the world's eye. Moreover, although we have given a good deal of attention to Jean Paul's works, and have long wandered through their winding glades and over their bracing, magnificent mountain-heights, we have never yet reached the summit of summits, whence we could feel that we had such a command of the whole diversified surface, as to be able to give confidently an impression of its whole character. In other words, we feel ourselves too near the heart of this writer to make a critical survey of him for the public. Still we have such a deep love and reverence for the man, and admiration for the writer, that, even after the good and invaluable things that have been said of him, we feel moved to add our mite of impression and of praise.

If any one should ask us to characterize Richter, we should

reply, characterize nature, and then we will comply with your wish. Richter is nature, if ever man could so be called. Nor do we mean that he is a man of no character. We mean to say, that, in our view and feelings, he is the Shakspeare of Germany. We, too, have in our own mind, often been led, as Mrs. Lec does at some length in the book before us, to contrast Jean Paul with another, who is perhaps more generally considered amongst us the great man of German authors, namely, Goethe. We, however, are inclined to make the contrast much more favorable to Richter, or less so to Goethe, than she does. *This* has always seemed to us the difference between the two men, that Jean Paul's heart embraced everything, while Goethe's held everything at a distance. We mean to say, that what is called Goethe's *all-sidedness* has always seemed to us to be a cold indifference of heart to the many forms of humanity, which passed only as a curious phenomenon before his dry vision, while Richter seems to us, with his large and glowing bosom, to meet all the aspects of human life and lot with a profound and tender and immortal interest.

It may sound singularly to many, when we confess that we have often of late been tempted to illustrate to our countrymen what Richter is as a writer, by calling him the German Dickens. Of course this comparison holds only in respect to the exquisite blending of humor and pathos, of the droll and the tender, and to that keen sense of the difference between what is truly great and what is only disguised littleness in human life, in which the English writer and the German do certainly bear a striking likeness to each other. Superadd to Dickens a more wide and elevated acquaintance with life in all its circles and conditions, —enrich his mind immensely with stores of the most heterogeneous and significant facts and images from all ages and all departments of knowledge, —quicken his already lively sense of the beauty of outward nature into an all-animating and boundless glow of devotion and love; let his mind be filled with all knowledge of metaphysical systems, without enslaving in the least his own power of thought, —and you will have something like a Jean Paul. We mean to say, that in “wit and fun and fire,” in the union of tender sensibility to what is most true and beautiful, with moral indignation at what is base, —in short, in some of those characteristics which make Jean Paul most peculiarly dear to us, he may well be called the Boz of Germany. We do not think we could better *begin* to recommend him to American readers than by such a parallel as this.

Whether Richter was a Christian in his creed, or what sort

of a Christian, we know not, but we know that he had the catholic spirit of Christian charity. As to peculiarities of religious belief, he seems to lay much stress, directly and indirectly, upon the principle, that "he who doeth the will of God shall know of the doctrine." A pure moral purpose reigns, a true religious aspiration breathes through the pages of Jean Paul. Heartily and confidently do we respond to his declaration respecting himself; — "In the coldest hour of existence, in the last hour, oh, ye who have so often misunderstood me, I can lift up my hand and swear, that I have never at my writing-table sought anything else than the good and beautiful, so far as my circumstances and powers permitted me in any measure to attain it, and that I have often erred, perhaps, but seldom sinned. Have you, like me, withstood the ten-years'-siege of a poverty-stricken, unbefriended existence, uncheered by a single smile of approbation or sympathy, and have you, when neglect and helplessness were warring against you, as they have against me, remained true to the beauty which you recognised as such?" Yes, no one can read Richter long without feeling that, amidst all and in all his eccentricities, he has a great, high, religious object. We do not wish to do injustice to it by a formula of words. Every calm and candid reader must feel and own it. He has been, with great injustice we think, characterized of late in one of our principal Reviews as being at the head of the Bedlam School. We should say to those who complain of Jean Paul's want of method, that he aspires to imitate Nature's plan. This may seem presumption to some, to us it does not.

Among the exquisite sayings, that are scattered along the pages of Richter's voluminous works, is this. "Herder and Schiller both proposed to be surgeons in their youth. But Providence said, no; there are deeper wounds than those of the body, and both became authors." Richter expresses here that sense of the greatness and worth of his calling as a writer, which was always before him, above him, and within him. He seems to us a physician of the mind and soul. He can

"Minister to the mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow."

In the work before us we have some, would we had more, specimens of his singular and so often effectual correspondence with those of his countrymen and countrywomen, who wrote to him as their spiritual comforter and counsellor.

Death arrested the busy hand and heart of this extraordinary man, in the midst of the preparation of a work on the immor-

tality of the soul. There is a passage in the preface to this work (Selina) which has peculiarly impressed us. "It may be asked (he says) why is there no humor in Selina? I answer, not because the subject did not admit of it, — for see my *Campanian vale*, — (a former work on the same subject); not because I was too old, — for see my next work, — (a great comic work which he had planned out); the simple reason is, that I had no inclination for it."

It has been our purpose in what we have said simply to give our prominent impressions of an extraordinary man and writer, in such a way as should induce others to possess themselves of Mrs. Lee's beautiful Biography, in which he speaks largely for himself, and thereby to wish to read still more of Jean Paul's works. As to the execution of the work before us, we can only express our sincere sympathy and gratitude for the deep and true appreciation, with which the author has approached her subject, and the felicity with which she has developed it amidst a peculiarly perplexing quantity of rich materials, which we only regret that the publishers or the public would not permit her to present to us entire.

The Concessions of Trinitarians. Being a Selection of Extracts from the Writings of the most eminent Biblical Critics and Commentators. By JOHN WILSON, Author of Scriptural Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism. Manchester. 1842. 8vo. pp. 614.

WE cannot conceive of a trinitarian looking this book in the face, without a decided sinking of the heart, without a sense of the ground, which he had taken to be so solid, sinking from under him, without the involuntary ejaculation, Save me from my friends. For here are six hundred pages of refutation of trinitarianism, by trinitarians themselves, drawn from over two hundred eminent writers of that denomination. In other words, it is a volume of extracts from celebrated Orthodox writers of all ages of the church, in which they have given Unitarian expositions of Trinitarian proof-texts. And it appears from examining the work, what indeed has often been loosely asserted, that there is not one out of all the passages in the Bible brought forward in support of the doctrine of the Trinity, which, by one or more trinitarian writers, has not been given up to their opponents, as admitting or requiring a unitarian interpretation. Here, therefore, we have a perfect armory of weapons for the destruction of the Great Error furnished by the believers and defenders

of the error themselves. That here and there, by the advocates of any particular theological doctrine, an argument, or a text, should be surrendered to the enemy as unavailable, were natural enough ; but that every such argument and text should by one or another be surrendered, is certainly strange, — so strange, that no other example of the same thing exists in the whole history of opinion, — and in a fair mind must give rise to at least uneasy doubts of the truth of a doctrine, all the pillars of whose support have, one after another, been thrown down by its believers. In truth, this volume of “Concessions” strikes us as the most remarkable volume in the history of controversy, — alike happy in its conception and successful in its execution. The author thus describes his own purpose in preparing the work.

“In the present work, the author’s chief aim has been to put forth what he conceives to be strong presumptive evidence for the great Biblical truth, that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the Sole and Supreme Deity, on whom every other person or being is dependent, and from whom they have derived their existence and their powers. This presumptive evidence is involved in the extraordinary fact of the most distinguished Trinitarians either having distinctly acknowledged, that, apart from each other, the texts commonly adduced in support of a Triune God, and of the Deity of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as a third hypostasis in the Godhead, do not prove these doctrines ; or having rendered and interpreted them in such a manner as to show their invalidity for the purpose for which they are brought forward ; thus unintentionally and indirectly, but not the less conclusively, betraying the insufficiency of the foundation on which it is attempted to erect the fabric of Trinitarianism.

“That the kind of argument here employed to support the doctrine of the simple unity of the Divine Being is of no inconsiderable weight, will be evinced by the fact, that “orthodox” Christians, as well as others, most readily and gladly wield it, when, in combatting with unbelievers, they adduce from the most eminent Deists testimonies favorable to the supreme excellence of Christ’s character, to the special divinity of his mission, or to the unrivalled holiness and beneficial influences of his religion.” — *Preface*, p. vi.

The volume is divided into three parts ; first, an introduction ; then the authorities on the texts found in the Old Testament, in the order of the books ; then, lastly, those on texts in the New, also in the order of the books ; — an arrangement as it is the most natural and simple, so it is the best that could have been adopted. A copious index, and an alphabetical catalogue of the Trinitarian writers quoted, close the volume.

To show the *working* of this curious volume, let us suppose a trinitarian inquirer to have occasion to refer to his authorities on the text 1 John v. 7. He turns to such works as are nearest at hand. He finds on his own shelves the Lectures on the

Trinity by the learned Dr. Wallis of the English Church, a sound divine. Turning to the passage he finds it written thus ;

"The word *person* is not applied in Scripture to *these three* so called : it is not there said, 'These three *persons* are one,' but only 'These three are one.' It is but the church's usage that gives to these *three somewhat* the name of *persons*." — p 559.

But this will not do, so he turns to Le Clerc, who says ;

"Dr. Hammond does but wrangle with all the most learned interpreters, who interpret *are one* of consent. And the reason why they understand these words of consent is, first, because they are so taken in John x. 30, and xvii. 21 ; secondly, because here the discourse is about a unity of testimony, and not about a unity of nature." — p. 559.

This is worse yet. He applies to the Catholic Church, and consults Father Simon, who says ;

"The most learned writers of the New Testament do not expound it with reference to the Trinity. The ancient ecclesiastical writers, who applied it to that mystery, followed the custom of that time, which was to give to Scripture such a theological sense, as was accommodated to the faith then received in the church. . . . These three, says Father Amelote, are one in their testimony. The Father bare record of Christ at the river Jordan, the Word by his discourses and actions, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and by his miraculous gifts. — p. 559.

Father Simon is as far from the purpose as the others. Somewhat startled by this agreement among Trinitarians against the Trinitarian sense of this first rate proof-text, as he had always supposed it, he opens Bishop Middleton on the Greek article. The Bishop is more heterodox than the rest.

"I suppose," he says, "*ἐν εἶναι*, in ver. 7, to be expressive only of *consent* or *unanimity*, and not of the consubstantiality of the Divine Persons ; for otherwise *το ἐν*, of ver. 8, could not be imagined to have any reference to *ἐν* in ver. 7 ; I mean . . . on the assumption of the authenticity of that verse. Now that *ἐν εἶναι* in the supposed verse 7 would not bear any other sense, has been admitted by very zealous Trinitarians ; of which number was the late Bishop Horsley. But, not to argue from authority, let it be considered how the phrase *ἐν εἶναι* is elsewhere used in the New Testament. In I Cor. iii. 8, *ἐν εἶναι* is affirmed of him that planteth, and him that watereth ; where nothing more than unity of purpose is conceivable. With St. John, *ἐν εἶναι* was, as we have seen, a favorite phrase : in John xvii. 22, Christ prays to the Father, that the disciples *ἐν ὧσιν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν ἐσμεν*. These passages, I think, decide the import of the expression in John x. 30, and wherever else it occurs in the New Testament." — p. 560.

Having now exhausted the authorities in his own library, he applies elsewhere, and happens to light upon Porson, (Letters

to Archdeacon Travis,) Davidson, (Lectures on Biblical Criticism,) Calvin, Beza, McKnight, Rosenmüller, Lücke, Bloomfield, Erasmus, Schleusner, Bishop Burgess, and Dr. J. P. Smith, — by all of whom, learned Trinitarians, to his amazement, a Unitarian sense is given to this celebrated text. Our inquirer is now fairly awake. Remembering that Bishop Middleton expressed a doubt, — new to him, — as to the authenticity of the verse, he resolves to know the whole truth, and to look up this question also. He turns to the most Orthodox authorities; first to Bishop Lowth, who says;

“We have some wranglers in theology, sworn to follow their master, who are prepared to defend anything, however absurd, should there be occasion. But I believe there is no one among us, in the least degree conversant with sacred criticism, and having the use of his understanding, who would be willing to contend for the genuineness of the verse, 1 John v. 7.” — p. 561.

This seems decisive enough, but he looks into Michaelis also, who speaks more positively still on the same side.

“We have no reason to suppose, that the celebrated passage in the first Epistle of St. John (v. 7), which is universally omitted in the old Greek manuscripts, was erased by the fraud of the Arians. . . . That great reformer of our religion [Luther] being persuaded that the well-known passage in the first Epistle of St. John (chap. v. 7) was not authentic, refused it a place in his translation of the Bible, and in the preface to his last edition, protested solemnly against it; requesting those who were of a different opinion to leave his writings uncorrupted, and rather to make a new translation, than obtrude on the old what he denied to be genuine. But, guided by mistaken zeal in support of orthodox opinions, the divines of Germany, long after the death of Luther, inserted this spurious passage, and yet retained the name of ‘Luther’s version’ on the title. — One should suppose, that no critic, especially if a Protestant, would hesitate a moment to condemn, as spurious, a passage which is contained in no ancient Greek manuscript; is quoted by no Greek Father; was unknown to the Alogi in the second century; is wanting in both Syriac versions, in both Arabic versions, in the Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Slavonian versions; is contained only in the Latin, and is wanting in many manuscripts even of this version; was quoted by none of the Latin Fathers of the four first centuries, and to some of them, who lived so late as the sixth century, was either wholly unknown, or was not received by them as genuine.” — p. 562.

He looks further, into the *Quarterly Review*, January 1822, and finds this high Church Orthodox Journal discoursing thus;

“We have the most sincere respect for the Bishop of St. David’s; but we cannot peruse the declaration [of his belief in the genuineness of the passage] without astonishment. . . . The doctrine of the Trinity . . . is capable of being satisfactorily maintained from many other

passages of Scripture ; passages less open and direct, indeed, than this before us, but, &c." — p. 563.

But determining to make thorough work of his investigation, he consults successively all the writers to whom he chances to have access, such as, Grotius, Adam Clarke, Rosenmüller, Father Simon, Le Clerc, Bishop Tomline, Bishop Marsh, Professor Porson, Dr. Wardlaw, Coleridge, Bishop Bloomfield, &c. &c., but by all these great men, as by those first referred to, he finds the verse in question rejected as spurious. What *must* he think?

It is evidently quite within the limits of possibility, that the case we have supposed should actually happen. If our imaginary inquirer should carry his investigations into all the other proof-texts, and should chance to light upon such authorities as are gathered together in the volume by Mr. Wilson, which is a possible thing, one cannot easily conceive his astonishment at finding the whole Trinitarian ground abandoned by Trinitarians themselves, to their opponents. And though he should be told that other Trinitarian writers, equally learned, would tell a very different story, still, he cannot conceal it from himself, that the fact, at a knowledge of which he has thus accidentally arrived, is a very strong presumption, to say the least, against the scriptural foundation of the great doctrine which he has been accustomed to regard, as imbedded not more deeply in men's faith and affections than in the very substance of the Bible.

The public, the Unitarian public, that is, are under great obligations to Mr. Wilson for the great work he has so well accomplished. As one portion of that public, we offer him our hearty thanks. We consider him to have produced one of the most powerful Unitarian tracts ever published, and we hope to see it widely circulated among us, if not through an American edition, at least through a large number of imported copies.

Human Life ; or Practical Ethics. From the German of De Wette. By SAMUEL OSGOOD. Boston : James Munroe and Co. 1842. 2 vols. 12mo. Ripley's Specimens, Vol. 12th.

NOT having room, at present, to take this book up as an "Examiner" and discuss it thoroughly, nor even to present, as we could wish, the results of our private examination, we must content ourselves with expressing the high satisfaction it has given us, in the hope of persuading others to enjoy the same. We should not, indeed, had we room, think we were doing any sort of justice to a work, which so well deserves its title of

"Human *Life*, or *Practical Ethics*," by undertaking to give an abstract or skeleton of its contents, in the shape of headings of chapters and beginnings of paragraphs; — such a skeleton would convey but a poor idea of the living man, with all his blood and muscle, with the glow of health and beauty on his cheek, and the soul beaming from his eye; — nor should we presume to hand round separate bricks as specimens of the noble edifice, as we cannot convey the whole living work to our pages, nor forestall the author by reproducing him in our own words, we would only and can only invite our readers to enter the beautiful and august temple he has erected, and assure them that, if they truly converse with the spirit of the Architect, (to speak of nothing higher,) they will come back wiser and nobler beings.

In plain prose, we cordially greet this work as an admirable companion and successor to "Jouffroy's Survey of Ethical Systems," which appeared in former volumes of Mr. Ripley's Series. De Wette manifests many of the qualifications for an Ethical writer, which charmed us in the French Philosopher. He has the same "clearness of spirit," to use the name which he himself assigns to one of the cardinal virtues in his plan, and the same glow of goodness, or, to use another of his designations, the same "moral earnestness, or inspiration." Perhaps, indeed, De Wette's classification of moral qualities is not always strictly philosophical; perhaps in certain cases, some of the nicer and more fastidious spiritual chemists might think they could analyze what he calls one quality into two or more; and phrenologists, of course, would not agree to his division of the moral manifestations. It must be remembered, however, (waiving the phrenological question,) that the classification and nomenclature of the faculties and feelings are in a great measure arbitrary, and dependent upon the individual genius of the systematizer; it must be considered, too, that this is a work of *practical* ethics; and this considered, we feel sure that any reader of good sense will find our author philosophical enough for all practical purposes. Any one, who merely glanced at the headings of the pages, might be disposed to charge the author with having loosely mixed up elementary principles and manifestations of character together; but upon examination he will find that De Wette recognises but very few fundamental principles of morality, and that *all* those particular titles, "Clearness of mind," "Patience," "Temperance," &c. express only different modes or manifestations of (perhaps we should say *one*) elementary principle. "Thus (he says) everything that concerns human duty is an effluence from pure respect and love for

man; and the various precepts and obligations are like the prismatic colors into which the pure light is divided." We have seldom conversed with a writer, who so well exemplifies a remark of Mr. Dewey in his Phi Beta Oration, (we quote from memory,) that "where there is strong thinking there will always be strong feeling, and the reverse." To use Coleridge's illustration, he resembles not a close stove, giving out heat darkly; nor the moon, giving light coldly; but the sun, pouring at once light and warmth. We wondered, at first, that Mr. Osgood did not translate "*geistesklarheit*" literally, "clearness of spirit;" but upon the whole we prefer it as he has it, "clearness of mind," because the importance of seeing things clearly as they are seems to us to have been too little considered in moral culture, and many a man becomes a sinner merely or mainly from seeing things in a mist, who, if clearness of mind had been cultivated in him, might have been a man of eminent virtue. We like the author's placing this quality in the foreground. We think it an originality in his system.

On the whole, this is one of the best works, if not the best, of the class, we have seen. We assure those of our readers, who have been accustomed to associate with the word *Ethics* an idea of something dry and dull, that they will find no dryness or dulness here. They will find ample refreshment along the road, in the details and execution of the work, while they are won upward and onward by the great idea which is its end and goal.

We call De Wette an original thinker. He seems to us to take hold of his great subject in a master-like manner. We were very much struck with his picture of the wise man, which, by the way, made us think vividly of one who was a bosom friend of the author, the late Dr. Follen.

"Would that I could portray the ideal of the wise man in strong, grand traits, worthy his elevation and greatness, and, at the same time, with the gentle power of sweetness and amiability which belongs to him! Would that I could open the view into his lofty, clear mind, into his large, pure heart, and show how life, like a grand landscape, which is viewed from a mountain, lies before him in comprehensive, sunny prospect, with all its varied paths,—with gentle, lovely vales, where quiet shepherds have settled,—with tumultuous, bustling cities, in which manifold business throngs,—with the great highways, which connect the people with each other; how nothing appears strange and insignificant to him, and he accepts and values everything in its own place; how he contemplates with kindly regard the playing child, the striving youth, the struggling man, the hoary sage, and assigns to each his place in life; how he has sympathy with the glad some animal spirits of youth, and the earnest striving and judgment of age; how he

values and honors, each according to its proportion, the industry of the quiet citizen, the rational activity of the official, the ready courage of the warrior, the calm reflection of the scholar, the religious contemplation of the clergyman, the shaping power of the artist, the inspiration of the poet, and recognises and vindicates every good faculty and gift; how, with his clear mind, he is able to remove every discord of life, every entanglement and misunderstanding, and to bring every jarring note into accordance with the universal harmony; how his heart beats for all that is great and sublime, and, at the same time, for all that is fair and lovely; how the trumpet of war, the flute of the shepherd, and the organ notes of sacred devotion, touch kindred chords in his own bosom; how he takes part in the cheerful throng of the multitude, and, also, as holy priest, cherishes the flames of inspiration and devotion upon the altar of his heart; and how, discharging his duty, a cheerful citizen of the earth, satisfied with his lot, and filling the sphere allotted to him, he longingly lifts his gaze up to the everlasting home! Could I present this picture truly, vitally, strikingly, then I should solve a great problem, and give utterance to what has filled and moved my mind.

“But if I can succeed at all in this, it can be only by gradual development. Gradually I must unfold to your eyes the wise man’s plan of life, and from separate traits compose the whole picture. Science cannot, like art, crowd the whole fulness of ideas into a single figure, which, with instantaneous power of representation, seizes upon the heart and mind, and excites its inmost depths. It has not at its command the glow and brilliancy of coloring, nor the marvellous power of tones; it may not, with the poet, trust to the wings of imagination; but it must quietly, discreetly, and steadily wend its way, and guide the thinking mind, by the thread of ideas, to the goal of truth. But it may turn to the heart, and appeal to its inmost, holiest feelings; to the heart it should appeal, since only in harmony with the heart can the mind comprehend the highest, and penetrate the sacred deep. Would that I could awaken in your minds and hearts the lofty thought, the sublime sentiment, in which the idea of wisdom consists! As every thing great is extremely simple, so also is wisdom. However much may be said upon it, all things return to a single one; we must contemplate the different sides, but all converge in a centre; all the richness of life, with its tendencies and efforts, enters into the life-plan of the wise man; and yet there is but one law of life, one direction, in which all unites. Should I succeed in making this one thought clear, in awakening this single feeling, then should I properly have done more than poets and artists have been able to do by their creations. In this elementary thought and elementary feeling a creative power lies hid; all which human life has of grand, majestic, beautiful, is enfolded within it, as in a germ. To him who bears within himself this thought and this feeling, all the mysteries and wonders of the world reveal themselves; all buds spring forth before him, and display their fulness of beauty; all mists fall away from his consecrated vision, and the world stands in sunshine before him; all fragmentary and distorted features are arranged into a living form of beauty; all discordant notes melt into wonderful harmony. As the creative fiat called forth from dark chaos the radiant order of the world; the primeval waters

separated themselves; heaven, with its lights, stretched itself over the earth, clothed as it was in plants and flowers, and peopled with living creatures; and, at last, man appeared, the lord of creation, the image of God; — so the wise man, communing with God, and godlike by his understanding of the divine law, possesses the power to create anew, with the free spirit of divine wisdom, the world, so misunderstood by man, and life, so dismembered and distorted by errors, to behold, with the open vision of a seer, the eternal harmony and beauty of creation — to interpret all enigmas — to remove all perplexity. If artist and poet present single traits of sublimity and beauty, the wise man is the poet, who forms in himself, with comprehensive mind, the infinite figure of the universe, and carries within himself all the archetypes of beauty. He stands at the fountain from which all spiritual life flows, and quaffs the drink of immortality, eternal youth and beauty.” — Vol. I. p. 57.

We cannot resist the temptation (notwithstanding what we said above about showing a brick as a specimen of the building) to quote one more passage among a hundred that take strong hold of us, which may give, too, some idea of the author's “stand-point.”

“There is a wide distinction between the faults and weaknesses of a truly virtuous man, and the transgressions and vices of him who has in himself certain good qualities as natural gifts, or mere habits. The light of genuine virtue beams in its own peculiar splendor, even while spots appear upon it; and it shines far differently from the faint, obscured lustre of the virtue that springs from native temperament, or from mere habit. Even if a tree has some defect, — even if, on the side where it lacks light and air, the growth is retarded, — yet the other branches are green and blooming, fresh and flourishing. It is thus with human virtue. If it is only living as a whole, — if it springs from inward power and fulness, — it may be imperfect by a defect or weakness; yet this imperfection, although blameworthy, does not take away its peculiar essence.

“True virtue is a whole, cast from a single piece, solid and pure; not a mixed mass, molten from different ores, nor carefully soldered together from various pieces. It is a living body, with a living soul; not a puppet, which is hung with drapery to make it counterfeit the human form; and its actions are living motions, springing from inward impulse and life, not produced by force and artificial calculation. This truth should be recognised, in order to avoid all delusion from the deceptions of hypocrisy, and from the anxious efforts of those who are studious merely of a refined outward good breeding; and in order, even in sincere endeavors after virtue, to escape the error of acting as if it depended upon this or that particular, or this or that excellence — an error which frustrates all sincere endeavor, since the energies are thereby turned towards scattered particulars, and thus dismembered. They who covet virtue should know, that they ought to strive after complete virtue with the whole soul, and that they have to gain the whole or none; they ought, therefore, before they apply themselves to this or that dutiful deed, and appropriate this or that good moral, to be

roused to perform, before all things, the elementary and original act of turning the mind towards virtue, and make a beginning of all morality, by determining to be moral from the inmost heart, with all the energy of the soul, with all love and all zeal." — Vol. I. pp. 102, 103.

De Wette's morality is eminently Scriptural and Christian; correct, as it seems to us, and catholic, a beautiful spirit of piety breathes through the book. But we should have said as much, had we simply said that it is the work of a true, unexaggerated, undistorted German.

We close, as we began, with a warm welcome and recommendation of the volumes before us, fully sensible how coldly and feebly we have spoken of their merits. We have as yet said nothing of the Translator and his work. He has shown here, what we already well knew him to possess, a fine command of his own language, as well as knowledge of the German; and has very purely and beautifully represented his author in good, sound, manly English.

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1. *The Common School Grammar. A Concise and Comprehensive Manual of English Grammar.* By JOHN GOLDSBURY, A. M., Teacher of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1842.
 2. *A Sequel to the Common School Grammar; containing, in addition to other Materials and Illustrations, Notes and Critical Remarks on the Philosophy of the English Language; and Explaining some of its most difficult Idiomatic Phrases. Designed for the Use of the First Class in Common Schools.* By JOHN GOLDSBURY, A. M. Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1842.

THE first of these little books comes before the public so highly recommended by some of our most distinguished scholars, that nothing need be added on our part. The testimony of Professor Noyes is of a very decided character. He says,

"I have given your Grammar as careful an examination as my leisure will permit; and am of opinion, that, for clearness, brevity, happy arrangement, abundance of instructive illustrations, and exclusion of useless or unimportant matter in a treatise for the young, your book deserves a very high rank among the manuals which are in use. If it should displace some of them, the public will be a gainer in several respects." — p. 1.

The "Sequel" to the Common School Grammar appears to be well worthy of a place by the side of its predecessor.

Whether there are any better books than this of the same kind, now in use, we are too ignorant of school manuals to declare; but of this we are sure, that the Sequel is in itself a good book, and cannot be introduced into any school without the most decided advantage. A great deal of information of a very necessary kind, not often found in school compends, — or formerly was not, — is conveyed in an intelligible and agreeable manner. Of his purpose in preparing this volume Mr. Goldsbury says, "It is merely what its title expresses, a sequel to that (the first) work, containing such further materials and illustrations as have been thought necessary to give a clear and full view of the subject. Consequently, it will be necessary for the learner to acquaint himself with that work, or some other like it, previously to his entering, to advantage, upon the study of this." We are glad to observe that Mr. Goldsbury's attention has been turned to prevailing vulgarisms, and that he has not thought a few pages wasted upon them. A much larger list of errors, not quite so gross as those he has collected, might be added to the present catalogue with excellent effect. The common school teacher has an immense power for good or evil, over the common speech of the country. He comes next to the mother and the fire-side school; and although he cannot be expected to undo all the mischief that has been done there in the way of vulgarisms, bad grammar, and worse pronunciation, yet if he should sufficiently feel the importance of the work, he can repair a part of the evil, and by his lectures in the school-house send home the children every day with one or two faults corrected. A lesson on the subject should be an every-day lesson, till our language is purged of its impurities, and even till the nasal twang, the needless shame of New England, shall be heard only on the stage, by some future Hill, entertaining posterity with traditionary imitations of their tuneful ancestors.

An Oration delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1842. By HORACE MANN.

THIS, we do not doubt for a moment, is the most valuable discourse ever delivered on a fourth of July. We do not believe that on any other day, or on any other occasion, a discourse has been delivered in this country which it was so important, that the people of the country, one and all, should hear, or read, then inwardly digest, and then set to work and apply, as this of Mr. Mann. It abounds in wise counsel, useful instruction, terrific warning. Fearless, honest truth, spoken in earnest tones, are its characteristics. He strips off all mas-

querading disguises, and reveals the people to themselves,—shows them as they are, with all their faults and vices hanging thick about them. Here are no soft touches of the flattering artist, skilful to conceal blemishes and heighten beauties, but the strong bold strokes, the deep, black shades of a *Salvator Rosa*, too much a lover of truth, and too independent, and too much absorbed by the greatness of his subject, to either cater for the smiles or deprecate the judgments of those whose portrait he was to draw and hold up to their view. This is no holiday discourse, but an earnest, solemn appeal to the people of the whole country, in behalf of their free institutions, which, unless soon placed upon a better foundation than they now rest upon, viz. upon intelligence and virtue, his prophetic eye beholds them crumbled and fallen into the irretrievable ruin, prepared for them by the suicidal neglect and abuse of us of the present generation. All that he says is true and obviously true; he plays with no paradoxes, he utters no dark sayings, toys with no metaphysical abstractions; he deals all through with the simplest and plainest, almost self-evident, propositions; he urges nothing more than the admitted doctrine, that except republics stand upon virtue and intelligence, they cannot stand at all. But the special advantage of his discourse is, that he sets forth his doctrine in such glowing colors, with such power of argument and fulness of illustration, with so evident a conviction on his own part of the truth and importance of what he says, as to compel the attention of the most dull, to take the mind of the hearer or reader by storm. The same rapid and fiery style, crowded with images, yet always significant, not always, perhaps, approving itself to the fastidious critic, but always to him who sets truth before rhetoric, which Mr. Mann has used with such success in his addresses on common school education, giving the interest of romance to that once heaviest of themes, he has now carried into the morals of our politics; and we cannot doubt that wherever this oration shall be read, the reader will rise from its perusal a new man, in the deep and living impression he will have of the absolute dependence of our governments upon intelligence and virtue in the masses of the people, of the absolute certainty of their subversion, and that at no distant day, if dishonesty, corruption, and selfish party principle is either to sit at the helm of affairs and guide the state, or to prompt the action of those, who, through their votes at the ballot box, annually say who the helmsmen shall be. We consider this oration, we repeat it, a more valuable document for the people to know, and read, and ponder, and apply, than any or all the speeches made in Congress for the last twenty years. Had we

the power, as the will, not a family in the country should be without its copy, — the teacher of the common school should read and expound it to his pupils; the minister of religion should intermit his usual service, and proclaim it to his people from the pulpit; towns should print or purchase it for free distribution within their boundaries, every newspaper carry an edition of it to its hundreds or thousands of subscribers, and committees of public safety scatter it over the length and breadth of the land. It is simply, and in a single word, a demonstrative argument for the *immediate universal education of the people* — if we would see our country survive. This is the great cause — the cause of causes — it is greater than temperance, greater than peace, greater than abolitionism — separately or all together. It comprises them all; carry this, and they are all carried. But carry all the others, and as many more, but leave this out, and while you are working at them, your eyes looking at a single little point, and blind to all else, the country itself, with its institutions, perishes through its corruptions, falls, and buries you in its ruins. *The immediate universal education* of the people, not twenty years hence, but their education now, while our population is so sparse, and there are so many natural safety-valves open, that there is time and opportunity for the work to be done — this is the cause that should unite all hearts and hands, towns, counties, and states, and above all, or certainly equally with all, the Central Government itself.

Strange indeed that a great empire like this should, as an empire, never stir a finger to strengthen the foundation on which it rests. Despotic powers are in their generation wiser than the children of light. What they know they depend upon for their existence, that they take care, first of all, to secure, — armies and navies are their prime concern. In some instances such governments have not only secured the establishment of their huge standing armies, but have even begun, so highly have they prized the good, to educate the people, even at the hazard of their own existence, for with intelligence will ever spring up a nicer appreciation of, and craving for freedom. But we, to whom this intelligence is the very breath of our life, not only our honor and our beauty, but our political salvation, we, as a nation, as a government, spend upon it not a dollar, nor hardly a thought. This seems strange even to madness. It might not be easy to say, in what manner the nation should exert itself and use its boundless means in such a cause, but it is impossible not to think that it should, at least, make such a subject a topic of concern and of discussion — to know what its duty is, and how it may best be done.

We have, in few words, expressed our admiration of this discourse of Mr. Mann, and our sense of its value to the people. It has already passed through many editions; we think it is destined to pass through many more. We are late in expressing our opinion concerning it; but we yield to none in our sense of its excellence and fitness to make an impression upon the moral feelings of the people. If such appeals will not be listened to or noted, there can be no hope in any word of man. The present signs are that it will be read at least; whether heeded or not time must show.

We have space but for a single extract — the peroration.

“Are there any here, who would counsel us to save the people from themselves, by wresting from their hands this formidable right of ballot? Better for the man who would propose this remedy to an infuriate multitude, that he should stand in the lightning's path as it descends from heaven to earth. And, answer me this question; you! who would reconquer for the few the power which has been won by the many; — you! who would disfranchise the common mass of mankind, and recondemn them to become Helots, and bond-men, and feudal serfs! — tell me, were they again in the power of your castes, would you not again neglect them, again oppress them, again make them the slaves to your voluptuousness, and the panders or the victims of your vices? Tell me, you royalists and hierarchs, or advocates of royalty and hierarchy! were the poor and the ignorant again in your power, to be tasked and tithed at your pleasure, would you not turn another Ireland into paupers, and colonize another Botany Bay with criminals? Would you not brutify the men of other provinces into the ‘*Dogs of Vendee*,’ and debase the noble and refined nature of woman, in other cities, into the ‘*Poissardes of Paris*?’ O! better, far better, that the atheist and the blasphemist, and he who, since the last setting sun, has dyed his hands in parricide, or his soul in sacrilege, should challenge equal political power with the wisest and best; — better, that these blind Samsons, in the wantonness of their gigantic strength, should tear down the pillars of the Republic, than that the great lesson which Heaven, for six thousand years, has been teaching to the world, should be lost upon it; — the lesson that the intellectual and moral nature of man is the one thing precious in the sight of God; and therefore, until this nature is cultivated, and enlightened, and purified, neither opulence, nor power, nor learning, nor genius, nor domestic sanctity, nor the holiness of God's altars, can ever be safe. Until the immortal and godlike capacities of every being that comes into the world are deemed more worthy, are watched more tenderly, than any other thing, no dynasty of men, or form of government, can stand, or shall stand, upon the face of the earth; and the force or the fraud, which would seek to uphold them, shall be but ‘as fetters of flax to bind the flame.’

“In all that company of felons and caitiffs, who prowl over the land, is there one man, who did not bring with him into life, the divine germ of conscience, a sensibility to right, and capacities which might have been nurtured and trained into the fear of God, and the love of man? In all this company of ignorance, which, in its insane surgery, dissects eye and brain and heart, and maims every limb of the body politic,

to find the disease, which honestly, though blindly, it wishes to cure; — in all this company, is there one, who did not bring with him into life noble faculties of thought — capabilities of judgment, and prudence, and skill that might have been cultivated into a knowledge, an appreciation, and a wise and loving guardianship, of all human interests and human rights? The wickedness and blindness of the subject are the judgments of heaven for the neglect of the sovereign; — for, to this end, and to no other, was superiority given to a few, and the souls of all men preadapted to pay spontaneous homage to strength and talent and exalted station, that, through the benignant and attractive influence of their possessors, the whole race might be won to wisdom and virtue.

“Let those, then, whose wealth is lost or jeopardized by fraud or misgovernment; let those who quake with apprehension for the fate of all they hold dear; let those who behold and lament the desecration of all that is holy; let rulers whose counsels are perplexed, whose plans are baffled, whose laws defied or evaded; — let them all know, that whatever ills they feel or fear, are but the just retributions of a righteous heaven for neglected childhood.

“Remember, then, the child whose voice first lisps to-day, before that voice shall whisper sedition in secret, or thunder treason at the head of an armed band. Remember the child whose hand, to-day, first lifts its tiny bauble, before that hand shall scatter firebrands, arrows, and death. Remember those sportive groups of youth in whose halcyon bosoms there sleeps an ocean, as yet scarcely ruffled by the passions, which soon shall heave it as with the tempest's strength. Remember, that whatever station in life you may fill, these mortals — these immortals, are your care. Devote, expend, consecrate yourselves to the holy work of their improvement. Pour out light and truth, as God pours sunshine and rain. No longer seek knowledge as the luxury of a few, but dispense it amongst all as the bread of life. Learn only how the ignorant may learn; how the innocent may be preserved; the vicious reclaimed. Call down the astronomer from the skies; call up the geologist from his subterranean explorations; summon, if need be, the mightiest intellects from the Council Chamber of the nation; enter cloistered halls, where the scholiast muses over superfluous annotations; dissolve conclave and synod, where subtle polemics are vainly discussing their barren dogmas; — collect whatever of talent, or erudition, or eloquence, or authority, the broad land can supply, *and go forth, AND TEACH THIS PEOPLE.* For, in the name of the living God, it must be proclaimed, that licentiousness shall be the liberty; and violence and chicanery shall be the law; and superstition and craft shall be the religion; and the self-destructive indulgence of all sensual and unhallowed passions shall be the only happiness of that people, who neglect the education of their children.” — pp. 23, 24.

Half Century Sermon, delivered on Sunday Morning, April 24, 1842, at Jamaica Plain. By THOMAS GRAY, D. D. Minister of the Congregational Church there. Boston: 1842.

SUCH ministries as this of Dr. Gray are nowadays rare enough. In proportion to their rarity they strike the mind and excite our ready sympathies. We cannot help offering our

congratulations to both a pastor and a parish, who have remained in faithful, harmonious union for so long a period. Most honorable testimony is borne by this simple fact to the character of both. There must have been many of the best virtues of the Christian character in their best exercise, on the part of both minister and people, for a connexion involving so many chances of alienation and discord, to have lasted so peaceably through so many years. The quiet beauty of this protracted Christian friendship agrees with the quiet beauty of the lovely spot, that has been the scene of its duties and enjoyments. We utter a common sentiment when we express a hope that the present venerable incumbent — by so sudden a providence deprived, a few months since, of his colleague — may again be associated with one, who shall have the happiness to bind to himself the hearts of a united people in a bond not soon to be broken.

The present discourse is chiefly historical in its interest, the greater part being devoted to a narrative of events from the first formation of the society — a sketch of great value to the antiquarian and the historian. The preacher, however, in addition to this describes at length the kind of intercourse, which for so many years has subsisted between him and his people, and the character of the preaching to which they have listened; presenting to the reader one of the most agreeable pictures we know of, the life and labors of the village pastor.

Dr. Gray's description of the manners prevailing at the time he took up his residence at Jamaica Plain possesses a very pleasant interest.

“What traces of change in society, likewise, have the past fifty years left behind them!

“When I first came amongst you, this was a quiet, retired, moral little village, and there was not a single allurements, either to physical, moral, or religious intemperance or excess to be found within its limits. The simplicity of manners, too, reminds me of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, —

‘Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain,
Where health and *virtue* cheered the laboring train.’

“Fashionable manners, in all their endless forms and fickleness, were unknown here then. The good dames' visits were made at an early hour in the afternoon, (sometimes by two o'clock,) each with her ‘knitting work’ still going on, while engaged in social converse; and at dusk rolling up their work, and returning home, refreshed from their social intercourse, to their domestic enjoyments and duties, which they wisely and justly considered as paramount to all others. *Their* firesides never tired them, nor did they wish or want any other winter evenings' entertainments, than they found around their own happy

hearths. Sweet homes, indeed! filled with well behaved, rosy, industrious boys, and lively, healthy, blooming girls, as full of godly sincerity as they were of godly simplicity, all of whom more than supplied the want of any other amusement. There was godliness with contentment, which is great gain; and there was more, too, of true happiness in those humble dwellings, than all the modern refinement of art, of wealth, or fashion combined, can now boast, or ever impart. Sweet days, indeed, in the recollection as they were in the enjoyment! But these happy hours must return no more. They are numbered with the years before the flood.

‘These were thy charms, sweet village, joys like these,
With sweet succession, taught e’en toil to please;
These round thy bowers their cheerful influence shed,
These were thy charms, but all these charms are fled.’”

The character of Dr. Gray’s preaching and of his general ministrations may be readily inferred from the principles affirmed in the following paragraph.

“The design of true religion is to repress the *passions*, not to excite them; for excited passions are by thousands often mistaken for solid *principles*, and mere *animal* impulse for sacred *truth*; and under their blinding and bewildering influence you find men setting up for teachers where they ought only to be learners. And it requires no prophetic eye to see, and no prophetic tongue to foretell, that everything in science, or religion, or politics, carried to excess, must ere long produce reaction, and finally give way to the very opposite extreme; and then the marble insensibility of death succeeds. Whatever is got up in excess, (be it what it may,) reason and common sense, whenever they return, will finally put down. Mere animal excitement in everything must soon exhaust itself; and, if there be not strong principle behind it, the end will be worse than the beginning. These are truths which every observing man must often have witnessed; and when you who are now young shall see these things come to pass, as you all certainly sooner or later will, then will you understand ‘that a prophet has been among you.’

“We serve God as truly in the virtues of a good life, — in correct morals, exemplary manners, and honest, honorable, upright conduct in our transactions with our fellow-men, as when we bow in God’s temple. Fidelity to our trusts, and punctuality in our engagements, industry in our business, from motives of Christian faith and obedience, domestic economy, an old-fashioned virtue, indeed, (but not the less valuable for that,) the punctual discharge of our *debts*, and guarding men from the miseries and delusions of wild fanaticism, and teaching them a *truly* Christian rational faith, and a holy practice, these are genuine religion. And whoever would separate these duties, would sever in sunder what God and Christ, reason and virtue, have joined together. He lives most in accordance with his immortal destination, and is after all the best Christian, who has proved himself the most virtuous man; who lives the best life of piety to God, and of truth, and justice, and honesty to men.”

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JANUARY, 1843.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN PARIS.*

THE religious history of France, during the last half century, furnishes matter of much profound meditation. Or, not to go back so far, the change which, within the few years last past, has come over the spirit of the nation; the character of its reigning philosophy, much misunderstood by some; the movement of the old religious party — the representative of Catholicism — present inquiries on which our thoughts might be long busy, without perhaps being able to arrive at anything more than the most vague conjectures, as to what is to be the result of the present activity of the French mind and present chaos of opinions.

The field is too broad to be at present entered upon by us. Whatever comes to us from the religious philosophical party, as we suppose it claims to be called, is read with no little interest by many among us. Nor are the steps taken by the old religious party, and the condition of theological science in it, destitute of all claim to the attention, whether of the devout or the curious mind.

The Catholics profited greatly by the reformation under Luther, and it would have been strange if they had not profited by more recent events so disastrous, in many respects, to the old

* Lettre Pastorale de Monseigneur L'Archevêque de Paris sur les Études Ecclésiastiques, à L'Occasion du Rétablissement des conférences et de la Faculté de Théologie. [Paris, 1841. pp. 104.]

faith. They must meet the demands of the age ; they must revise their systems of theological education and discipline ; they must infuse new life into their ancient forms ; or they must forever abandon the field of the world. Of this none are more fully convinced than they are, especially the Gallic branch of the church.

The latest information of any particular value, which has fallen under our notice, relating to the affairs of this branch of the church, is contained in the Pastoral Letter of the archbishop of Paris on ecclesiastical studies, issued on occasion of the reëstablishment of the Conferences, and of the Faculty of Theology, in the Diocese of Paris. The Letter, which bears date, the eighth of April, 1841, is altogether a noteworthy document.

It is interesting in more respects than one ; interesting for the many sound views and very just trains of thought, which we find scattered over its pages ; interesting also as showing what the French Catholic party is meditating and doing, and the measures it is taking to combat the errors and counteract the sinister influences of the times, as they are deemed, and to reëstablish the reign of piety and virtue in the hearts of the community, chiefly by elevating the standard of character and theological attainments in the clergy. We do not assent to all the views contained in the Letter. They necessarily take a coloring from the writer's position and the communion to which he belongs. They contain many hints, however, by which Protestants may profit ; many which, in spirit, though not perhaps in letter, are applicable to other meridians than that of Paris. And we are compelled to acknowledge that the whole performance breathes an earnest and pure spirit, full of Christian love and devotion, worthy of the Fenelons of former days, and the Matignons and Cheveruses of more recent times.

Taken altogether, the Letter is quite a manly production, and is no less creditable to the talents and discernment of the archbishop, than to his piety. It would too far extend our article to stop to point out every minute particular in which we differ from the writer, nor does our present purpose require it. Leaving the reader, therefore, to discriminate and judge for himself, we beg leave to say, once for all, that in what follows to the end of the article, we give the views of the Archbishop, and not our own. We enter at present into no discussion, no refutation, no panegyric. The views of the writer we shall

sometimes present in an abridged form ; we shall sometimes give the author's language, so far as it can be retained in a version more or less free, as may happen ; much we must necessarily omit ; we shall condense much. We hold ourselves responsible only to avoid misrepresentation and misstatement.

After a few reflections on the serious occupations of the clergy, and the general influence of their studies on the mind and character, the Archbishop proceeds to speak of the objects of these studies, under the threefold division of dogmas, morality, and discipline. We shall pass over this portion of the Letter as containing little in which our readers would be likely to take any particular interest. We will quote only a single remark, which is, that " the history of morality explains the history of the world, which without it must remain a sealed book."

To the Theologian, as distinguished from the Preacher and the Pastor, (though an eminent preacher must necessarily be somewhat of a theologian,) the Archbishop assigns an almost boundless field of labor and research. He must be intimately acquainted with the three great departments of study just mentioned. He must know, along with the history, also the reason of every dogma, or principle of morality, of each law, each rite — all the facts more or less intimately connected with them, and the particular causes which have produced, or which explain these facts, or are necessary to their recurrence. He must go deep into these subjects, trace them through different ages, in which they have given rise to so much meditation and study, so many controversies and decisions ; have connected themselves with all that has been elevated in thought or faith, in devotion or charity ; have penetrated manners, laws, civil and political institutions. On all these subjects he must possess not merely superficial and second-hand notions, but a knowledge resulting from conscientious examination, and personal study. All this knowledge is of difficult acquisition, and it is no less difficult to communicate it with success, since for this, it is necessary to penetrate the dispositions of men, in itself no easy matter, and to select always appropriate sentiments, thoughts, facts, and the proofs best suited to enlighten, move, and convince. He must understand principles and their application. Of the errors of the past, now vanished and forgotten, it will be sufficient for him to know the history. But he must carefully study and refute the errors of the times — living error, error which writes, which speaks, which powerfully agitates the

public mind, and leads to destructive consequences. To accomplish all this, a long and patient exercise of all the faculties of the intellect is necessary. The fathers, the great theologians of former days, all our great masters in the faith, became lights of the church only by such exercise. We must study with order and method, with a pure and holy zeal, with a soul filled with love to God and man, remembering the rule of St. Bernard, "to have only light is vain, to have only warmth is insufficient; both united make perfect."

Serious study is also necessary to the Preacher. It is not necessary that he should have all the science of the theologian, but he must possess a good deal of preparatory knowledge. This knowledge is to be developed, pursued, and applied in all its infinite ramifications and results. The object of the preacher is to combat the errors of the understanding and the heart, or to explain and establish truth. In other words, the end of every discourse from the pulpit is to secure the triumph of truth and virtue. Besides having a knowledge of the exact boundaries of truth and error, then, the preacher must meditate profoundly on them, particularly the former, seeking it in all its hidden recesses. He must, on the one hand, study the dispositions of his hearers, and on the other, he must reflect deeply on his subject, and incorporate with it not the dead letter, but the spirit, the substance of the evangelical doctrine. He must cast keen and searching glances into human society as it exists around him. He must make himself acquainted with the ever changing forms of delusion which seize the mind, varying with interest, education, and habit. If he must study the past, he must the present still more profoundly. He must know the prejudices of the day, whether philosophical or popular, and he must be able to point out results, particularly to show the fallacious promises of innovators.

Without an acquaintance with prevailing states of mind, and dominant passions and interests, the words of the preacher will produce little effect. Nothing more powerfully subdues an audience than a clear and vivid delineation of errors, which ordinarily lie confused in their minds. It is thus, that the eloquent speaker elevates himself above the mere vulgar declaimer. If at the same time he have the power to impart the knowledge and love of truth, which always supposes an acquaintance with the dispositions of his hearers; if to these advantages he add brilliancy of imagination, and a warmth of

soul profoundly penetrated with his subject, he will possess all the resources of genius, and it will be easy for him, with labor and patience, to secure the noblest triumphs.

We cannot follow the writer in his further reflections on the subject of preaching, in the course of which he introduces some remarks on the subject of language, on the departure from old models, and the introduction of novelties of expression.

The great preacher moves by his simplicity, by his profound convictions, by throwing his whole soul into his discourse. Style, action, thought, are all spontaneous and natural with him. If he announce the great truths of religion, he elevates himself with his subject, and transports the understandings of his hearers by the sole force of his thoughts. It is only the preacher whose mind and soul are void of sentiment and thought, it is only he who is obscure, who has a depraved taste and an ill regulated imagination, it is only he, who attempts to cover his indigence or his faults, by terms, the novelty of which is never without attraction for men always numerous, who are little capable of relishing what is true and simple.

The archbishop has no patience with this sort of preachers, whose artifices he describes at some length. The degenerate Romans crowded to the forum, and pressed around the rhetoricians of Greece, to hear a beautiful discourse on morality, and thence ran to cruel and licentious spectacles. Christians, after having heard these admired preachers, return to their pleasures and business with a faith less firm, and a conscience less accessible to remorse, and some, perhaps, will resort to the theatres, where modesty is outraged, and religion and piety cruelly imolated.

We have but imperfectly developed the writer's views of the proper qualifications of the theologian and the preacher, for we are compelled to study the utmost brevity. We pass over his three next topics, the studies suited to the pastor, the catechist, and the confessor.

In view of the large attainments necessary to these various ministrations of religion, may we not exclaim, asks the archbishop, in the language of Gregory of Nazianzen, "who shall dare to invade the sanctuary and the pulpit without preparation and without study? What! The dispenser of the mysteries of God, the depositary, the defender of truth, shall he, like a vile statue, be fashioned in haste? A man whose ministry is so elevated, who, fulfilling, as he ought, his vocation, unites his

voice with that of angels, who glorifies with them the eternal majesty ; a man who is associated with the priesthood of Jesus Christ, who exercises with him sublime functions, causing sacrifices to rise from the visible altar of earth to the invisible altar in the heavens ; who repairs the ruins which sin has caused in the fairest work of the Creator ; who retraces in souls the bright image of God, disfigured by sin ; who builds for eternity ; who raises immortal edifices in the heavens ; shall a man of this character be formed in a day ? perchance be the work of an hour, or a moment ?”

The necessity of profound study and science in the priesthood, the archbishop adds, was never greater than at present, on account of the amount of prejudice, pretension, doubt, and indifference, the result of the long efforts of irreligion, to be counteracted. Light must penetrate the souls of the clergy, the holy fire must be rekindled in their breasts by profound meditation and study ; then will its rays warm and enlighten other souls now darkened or frozen by the effects of impiety.

Besides the studies more strictly professional, however, others must be taken up and pursued to a certain extent. Ecclesiastical science must by no means exclusively occupy the attention of those engaged in the sacred offices of religion. They must possess a knowledge of languages, literature, and the physical sciences ; of profane history and the arts. A knowledge of all these will be of use to them, in the education of the young, and in various other ways. A minister is not expected to exhaust subjects of this kind. The study of them must be regarded as auxiliary to the study of sacred science, and not be made the principal object, except in a few cases of persons who possess rare endowments, and have a decided taste for intellectual pursuits, or historical or physical researches. Such may engage in them, and by attaining to excellence in them will reflect honor on their profession, and perform a service acceptable to humanity. For ourselves, says the archbishop, we ardently desire for the priesthood the honor of furnishing men eminent in all the sciences, and we sigh for the moment, when, having repaired its losses, it shall occupy an honorable place in learned societies, and regain the crown which the tempest at the end of the last century violently tore from its brow. Still, the objects of the ministry are not to be lost sight of, nor the claims of religion to be made subordinate to those of science. Religion is necessary to explain the enigma of the universe. It

lends aid to the physical sciences ; it does more for the moral, which are united with it by the most intimate ties. Without it duties lose their sanction, and become themselves problems. To discard religion, is to put darkness in the place of light, and banish light to the regions of darkness.

In the section which follows, on the method and style suited to discourses from the pulpit, and to ecclesiastical and religious writings, many valuable thoughts occur. The writer insists on the most thorough discipline of the faculties, and most rigid attention to the laws of mind, and laws of just reasoning. He distinguishes between the method adapted to the schools, and that adapted to a public address. The former is more severe, more slow, and cautious. When the mind has been once trained to this process, and has been well exercised in it, it may depart from it not only with safety, but with advantage. Familiar with the true signification of words, it has no need, or rarely, to recur to definitions. Habituated to correct ideas, or to deduce them one from another, the aid of a middle term becomes less necessary, and the progress of the discussion becomes more rapid, without being less sure. The mind is only occupied in choosing always the most proper expression, in following in the exposition and classification of thoughts the most natural order, endeavoring to be concise without ceasing to be clear, and ornamented and eloquent without losing anything of precision.

This is the only method proper for the pulpit, and even in works composed for the clergy exercising the ministry, or destined to the defence of religion, the most useful, or at least those the most frequently consulted, are such as are written in a method less severe than that of the schools. It is that followed by the Fathers, by Bossuet, Fenelon, La Luzerne, Bergier, and all the more distinguished apologists of religion for the last three hundred years. Still, method is necessary. The laws of mind are always the same. Always the natural connection of ideas and proofs results in light. Always the forcing together of ideas, which have no connection with each other, however ingenious, although imagination may clothe them in her most brilliant hues, produces feeble and indeterminate convictions, or what is more deplorable, dangerous errors. By neologisms, capricious contrasts, and extravagant thoughts, one is astonished, and not instructed ; while by means of principles clearly explained, and the natural order of ideas, that is, the logical order, one is enlightened himself, and instructs others.

The judgment is improved. This is essential, and if the other faculties are developed in the same proportion ; if proofs under the pen take a form the most original, if the love of the good, the beautiful, and the true, inflame the heart ; if a vigorous imagination seize on new contrasts between error always varying and truth always immutable ; if the memory is enriched with facts ; if by the aid of a sure judgment and an exquisite tact, one is able to cull from exhaustless materials, to add the imposing authority of experience to the authority of reason, it will need only persevering labor to enable him to elevate himself to a level with the greatest intellects which have ever adorned the church, or reflected honor on humanity.

Let us, says the archbishop, endeavor to acquire this solid and profound instruction. It is that possessed by all the great masters. They arrived at it through severe labors. Let us disdain the glory which is easily acquired ; it is not durable.

What has been said of method is equally true of style, the rules of which the archbishop does not stop to develop. He shall content himself, he says, with merely indicating them in describing the errors of a literary heresy, known under the name of *Romanticism*. Several pages then follow on the bad taste, bad logic, the confused medley of all sorts of styles, vague assertions without proof, frigid thoughts, pompous puerilities, bombast and extravagance, of this new and fantastic school — these demagogues of literature, who set at defiance all the laws of good writing and all the principles of common sense. Genius, it is added, must impose on itself certain laws, and not proceed at hap-hazard. Submission to these laws does not necessarily impair its originality, nor repress its sublime inspirations. The eagle mounts upward by the same physical laws as the humble sparrow, but rises on a more vigorous wing, takes a loftier flight, and enjoys a broader field of vision.

The two measures, on which the archbishop chiefly relies for the remedy of existing evils, are the conferences, that is, meetings of the clergy at stated times, for the discussion of particular subjects of interest and importance to the welfare of religion ; and the reëstablishment, on a new basis, of the Faculty of Theology. The first of these we shall pass over, and proceed to speak of the New Faculty of Theology.

This is an object which the archbishop regards with the most lively solicitude. The knowledge acquired in the seminaries, he says, is not sufficient to authorize the priest to dis-

pense with severe study during the exercise of his ministry. Experience but too clearly proves that with whatever success he commence his career, he may remain for the rest of his life undistinguished, or even fall below mediocrity, if he deliver himself over to idleness, or is destitute of the knowledge which is acquired by choice reading, united with careful meditation. In the acquisition of this knowledge the conferences will be a great help. But a more extended course of Theological study is indispensable, and to promote this, the Faculty of Theology is established on a new and improved footing

The archbishop takes a rapid glance at the character of the ecclesiastical instruction given during the last forty years. During that term, he says, the Lectures from the chairs of the Faculty have been useless; and the reason is given. He compares them with the instruction given in the seminaries or religious houses.

From the time of the Concordat in 1801, it appears that the exercises in the seminaries have been conducted with a good deal of freedom, and in a familiar form. The old masters of conference permitted questions to be asked, as do the professors now, sometimes asking them themselves. They were not scrupulous to avoid repetition when they thought it would be useful, and they neglected no means of making themselves fully understood. Confining themselves generally to the scholastic method, they yet allowed themselves to depart from it at times, because the subject required developments, illustrations, and applications to which it was not adapted.

This method was entirely successful, because the divinity students found it useful. They were interested in it; they prepared themselves for the exercise; they listened; they took a summary of the argument. But this method could not be pursued by the public chair. The consequence was the Lectures were completely useless. The pupils had not time to prepare themselves for the two courses, and listen with advantage; and as that of the seminaries was better adapted to their wants, they of course neglected the other. The *élèves* of the numerous seminaries of Paris went every day and occupied the class seats with scrupulous assiduity, but it was with the determination not to listen to the learned Lectures which were given. These circumstances explain why the distinguished men, who have composed the Faculty of Theology since 1808, have been no more successful than their predecessors.

The instructions of the new Faculty are to take a different form. A more free method is to be adopted, but still there is to be method, and very rigid method. In every discussion the question must be distinctly stated, there must be a plan marked out, the divisions must be natural, the connection of ideas rigorous, and the laws of sound reasoning must be strictly adhered to. The proofs to be developed will be chiefly of a historical character, since the Catholic religion is founded essentially on facts. They who profess to disregard tradition still attribute as much importance as others to facts. How is it at the present day? Deists, naturalists, and others, who reject the authority of tradition, cease not to recur to it; they interrogate all oriental literatures, theogonies, cosmogonies, the philosophical and theological books of all countries, where the primitive inhabitants of the globe fixed their habitations. Wherefore a zeal so contrary to their principles? Because their principles are contrary to the nature of man, and respect for facts is conformable with it.

The teaching of the Faculty will be dogmatical as well as historical. Still, in all, light will be sought in the experience of the past. The rise and progress of opinions, and the reasons of them, will be searched out; and carefully examined, for a doctrine, as also a rule of duty, is best understood by being traced back to its source.

It will be the duty of the Professor of Hebrew, after having duly explained the language of the Old Testament, so necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures, to direct his attention to the erroneous or too hardy interpretations which come from over the Rhine, which are not so much the fruit of a profound knowledge of language, as the result of the influence exercised over the philology of that country by an audacious rationalism.

The professor of Sacred Literature will adopt the free method pursued in the seminaries, already described. He will treat, among other things, of the authority, integrity, and divinity of the sacred books, having due reference to the doubts and objections of the Deists of the latter part of the 18th century, and of the German naturalists. He will find some knowledge of natural science and of chronology necessary, as also a degree of familiarity with the manners, laws, arts, and theology of the Pagans, and with the annals of ancient nations, whose history so often blends with that of the Hebrews. Relieved by the Hebrew professor from the task of grammatical criticism, and

by the professor of pulpit eloquence from examining the use which the Fathers made of the Scriptures, and that which the Christian orator should make of them, the Professor of Sacred Literature will nevertheless explain the different senses of the inspired books, and offer remarks on their style, and especially their poetry, viewed in reference to a literary standard.

The Professor of Ecclesiastical History has a grand career before him. Limiting himself to the reëstablishment of numerous facts which have been perverted or misrepresented, he will perform a work of immense importance. There is needed a preservative against the influence of a multitude of works, in which Christianity, and the spirit and character of the church are misapprehended or calumniated. If a good professor cannot himself bring a remedy to the evil, he may prepare the way for its correction by forming future historians well-informed on all the facts of religion. What darkness has been spread over the science of history, which has equally enveloped that of religion. At the present day more than ever the former is made use of, if not to render the other odious, at least to confound it with institutions purely human, or sometimes with such as are false and pernicious.

In placing facts in their true light, in tracing the effects of ambition, intolerance, and other vices, the professor will remark what in the transactions, which are objected to us, is censurable, but is to be ascribed to the passions of men, or the misfortune of the times; what is just, but has been unjustly condemned by irreligious prejudices; and what contains in itself a blended mass of good and evil, religion and error.

He will not confine himself to partial refutations. He will expose the radical vice of those systems in which all sorts of facts are constrained to lie, to establish some puerile or senseless paradox, which is sufficient nevertheless to give celebrity to its inventors. If, for example, one of them is pleased to find in a nation the principle of *immobility*, *permanency*, and *identity*, he will find priests, magistrates, people, *tenacious*, *obstinate*, and *opinionated*, in all their acts. Unfortunately for the author this people will be one which is remarkably yielding, which has never been reproached with the fault ascribed to it by the historian.—He does not acknowledge a revelation. Hence the idea of the Divinity, found among the ancient Gauls, must have been a *conquest of the human intellect*. He maintains, with the German visionary Herder, that from the worship of material objects

man rose to a deification of the agents of nature ; and at a later period, to that of the general laws which regulate its phenomena. History tells quite a different story ; for it shows us that these errors are the consequence of forgetfulness of God, the Creator, Preserver, and Judge of men, and Lord of the Universe. But where would be the glory of a historian, if he were found in harmony with the most ancient and authentic annals of the race ?

The Professor of Ecclesiastical History will labor to render such glory ephemeral, and by monuments not to be contradicted, will prove the error. He will demonstrate — the thing is easy — that not only the obscure historians of our epoch, but the most celebrated, must, before the examination of monuments, be read with distrust, because they advance the most contradictory assertions on the same facts, and seem to be animated by a foolish emulation to color, distort, and invert the past for the benefit of their sympathies, their antipathies, and their reveries. To make truth triumph by the same means employed of late to establish error, will be the labor at once honorable and useful of the professor of ecclesiastical history.

The Professor of Pulpit Eloquence, after illustrating the rules of the art, will speak of the more eloquent of the Fathers, and their successful or feeble imitators. He will remark upon their simplicity of expression, their style abounding in images and similitudes, and tinctured with a scriptural phraseology. He will comment on their eloquent passages, and the circumstances which inspired them, not forgetting, however, to take notice of their ordinary manner, when in their instructions and homilies they address artisans and laborers.

After the Fathers came preachers, who were too much enslaved to the scholastic method, or who were in other respects faulty. A criticism on this kind of preaching will not be without its interest and utility. It will be sufficient to institute a comparison between preachers of this kind and their successors, who, retaining only so much of this dry method as was necessary to regularity of plan, filled up their discourse with solid and just thought, altogether scriptural in its general tone and coloring, and expressed with dignity, with simplicity, and with inimitable clearness. Such were the Bossuets, the Bourdaloues, and the Massillons. The professor will note their feeble and frigid copyists. These have been succeeded by a different race — some animated with a pure zeal — others ranking in the class of in-

novators, who are worse than useless to the church, who will be cited by some future professor of eloquence as models of a false and depraved taste, which cannot be too soon banished from the pulpit. The professor, as he cannot deliver a *critique* on contemporary orators, will labor by rules and examples of a just eloquence to form preachers, who shall render this *critique* less severe, when the time for writing it shall arrive.

The canon law, its history, principles, and application, too, are to be taught and illustrated by a member of the Faculty. This topic is treated at some length, but has little interest for us.

Such is a general idea of the plan and of the spirit in which it is to be pursued. The professors have been selected with care, and the whole arrangement has received the sanction of the minister of public instruction.

The Archbishop points out a distinction between the eloquence suited to a choir of the Faculty, and that suited to the pulpit, or the political tribune, and concludes with an animated address to his clergy, in which he recalls to their minds some of the motives to faithful and serious study, — as the state of the other sciences, the example of their fathers in the faith, the success of their ministry, and the consolations attending a life of so much labor and usefulness.

He gives a melancholy picture of the state of the other sciences, which he thinks are menaced with a sad decline, from the irreligious spirit in which they are cultivated. In the physical and natural sciences vast progress has been made, but in accumulating observations almost to infinity, the learned have arrived at results so minute that they become as dust in their hands. In seeking the highest reason, the last word, the general law and common tie of being, yet excluding God and religion, which can alone supply it, they engage in a vain search; and after a commencement, full of enthusiasm, we are in danger of witnessing a profound indifference in regard to the study of nature.

In psychology and metaphysics, disgust and lassitude are already visible. Literature is debased by the most reprehensible passions. History is transmuted into a cramped and contradictory philosophy. Poetry has become a sort of delirium, or has exchanged its enchanting strains for savage cries, or a wearisome monotony. Political science has become a tower of Babel, with this difference, that unlike the sons of Noah, the contending parties are now more inclined to fatal strife than to a pacific separation.

Yet amid all, the ministers of religion should be sustained and animated in their studies by faith in the final triumph of truth over the wanderings of human genius, and principles of a corrupt taste. This faith sustained and animated the great teachers who, in former ages, reflected honor on the church. Amid oppressive labors, amid distracting cares, they still studied. They studied before the voice of the people summoned them abroad, and required to be pressed to leave their studious solitude; and they still persevered in study, when it seemed impossible from the multitude of onerous duties imposed on them.

The Gregories of Nazianzen, the Basils, placed in the great sees of the East, were not less studious than Jerome in his grot at Bethlehem. St. Ambrose read and studied amid hourly interruptions. St. John Chrysostom composed his chief works under the pressure of the heavy cares of his ministry, and amid the dissensions and intrigues, which agitated the degenerate Greeks of the lower Empire. Yet how few the facilities of study then enjoyed, compared with those which exist at the present day.

When in the fifth century, the barbarians invaded or threatened all the provinces of the West, — when the energies of their savage hearts were occupied in obliterating all monuments of civilization, and spreading over the universe the veil of a profound night, — at a time so full of evil, the learned bishops — amid a thousand solitudes, the labor of instructing their flocks, of succoring the poor, and pleading the cause of the oppressed, — amid schism and strife — still studied. In a life so occupied they pleaded not want of time. Amid the noise of falling Rome, which resounded through the Universe, Jerome and Augustine still studied. Amid the catastrophes which covered the earth with ruins, they were not disheartened, and the monuments of their labors still remain.

The Fathers combatted the adversaries of truth; they vanquished ancient errors. They studied and triumphed over the philosophers and sectaries most exercised in the use of the voice and the pen. The Fathers of the third century defended by their writings the faith they were called to seal with their blood. The night consecrated to study might be followed by the day of their martyrdom, and still they studied. The times were often unpropitious, but the ardor of study still survived. The priest indeed studied little when every town and village resounded with the din of arms, but still he studied. In the

time of St. Bernard and St. Thomas, he studied much. In the age of Gerson, he studied with zeal in the universities. Bossuet studied. A bishop, the preceptor of Kings, once a missionary, in the midst of the pomp of a court, the most brilliant in the universe, he still studied, as did Fleury and Fenelon after him. The history of the church is full of the monuments of studious labor, and the call for study is still undiminished, for the errors to be combatted are not fewer now than in former times.

Here we must break off. We have given an imperfect sketch of the views and sentiments which pervade the letter. We leave the reader to make his own reflections.

A. L.

RELIGION AND GOODNESS.

IN asserting that religion and goodness are one and the same thing in the character, there is danger of giving low views of religion to those who have low views of goodness. Indeed, the origin of all the opposition, which the church has shown to the identification of morality and piety, is to be found in the low morality which has prevailed, and which usurps that sacred and spotless name. If we say that the morality of the exchange, of the shop, of the social circle, is piety, we slander religion beyond endurance. If we encourage the notion, that the amount and kind of virtue, which passes current in the world, is the religion of God and Christ, it needs excite no surprise, if the really good, and Christian, style the doctrine rank heresy. It is so.

There has never been too high a standard of duty and excellence in the church, or the world. The objection to the exclusive claims of religion, to be considered as something differing from, and beyond goodness, as the only and peculiar saving principle in the soul, is not that it demands an impracticable and exaggerated purity and holiness from man, but that it puts

men off the track of excellence, by a confusion of language and of principles ; and so instead of requiring too much, tends to content them with too little. To identify true goodness with true religion is necessary, not so much in vindication of man, as of God ; it is not so much a plea for man's weakness, as a plea for God's law. The great heresy in the world is a want of goodness. The grand and only objection to the prevailing views of religion is, that they do not promote virtue. It is to elevate the name of religion, not to exalt the dignity of virtue, that this union is declared. Virtue in her real character cannot be magnified. But it has been the perpetual loss and degradation of religion, that she dissociated herself from the protection and reputation of virtue. What pure and holy hearts now call practical religion, is only virtue — called by a new name, because her old one has been so greatly dishonored ; but religion, alas ! with the mass now applies to principles and dispositions, to which goodness will not lend her name. If virtue, to protect her sanctity, now claims the title of religion, religion, to escape popular desecration, must claim the name of *goodness*. Thus the low character of popular religion and popular virtue obliges true religion and true virtue to claim first one name and then the other, to escape alliance with either.

When goodness and virtue are exalted as the only saving possessions, it becomes very important that we should have clear and definite ideas about them. There is much mischievous confusion existing in most minds as to the meaning of these terms. Virtue is always goodness — but goodness is not always virtue. Virtue promotes the highest happiness — but happiness does not always arise from virtue. Goodness is a common thing ; virtue a rarity. Happiness is very general — but genuine and lasting felicity very infrequent.

There is a goodness belonging to our common nature, which is the source of a large part of human happiness. It surely is not an accidental or insignificant coincidence, that the only word descriptive of our nature, *humanity*, is also expressive of the sweetest charities we know. There are fountains of pity and benevolence in the great common heart of man. Children universally manifest abhorrence of cruelty, the utmost compassion for suffering, and easily learn to love any human being. Nay ! there is a kindly feeling in all hearts. All men take delight in acts of courtesy, and of substantial service. The worst men find it hard to keep their hearts from melting toward their fel-

low creatures. There is little malevolence, hatred, or spite in the world ; injury and violence are the fruits of sudden passion, not of malice. The groundwork of man is better than he thinks. We are always agreeably disappointed in the acquaintance of those who suffer, however justly, a bad reputation. There are more amiable traits about them than we anticipated. We are unprepared for many of their demonstrations of kindness. We are disposed to think them very hardly judged. Should we visit the prisons and penitentiaries of the world, we should find much less malignity and blackness of heart than we expected, or rather much less unmixed evil. If there be as much *bad* in the world as we think, there is vastly more *good*. And the good and the bad are found most intimately woven together. The dispositions of very bad men are often affectionate and sympathizing. You may sometimes find a husband and a father, whom the world suspect, or despise, and justly too, to be tenderly beloved and cherished beneath his own roof — nay, almost respected, as incapable of the sins with which the world charge him — and all through the sweetness of his temper, the tenderness of his affections. So too, we read of pirates and highwaymen, possessed of chivalrous and gentle bearing, of merciful hearts, of almost disinterested generosity — men towards whom our own affections yearn. We are apt to style these portraits inconsistent, unnatural, and injurious. On the contrary, they are the most natural and faithful delineations. They are injurious only because the good which is in them is made a matter of merit, instead of being set down to the account of our nature. It is the essential goodness of the native human heart — which thus breaks through the most reckless, abandoned character, and attracts our sympathy.

Now there has doubtless been a tendency originating in theological systems, or else in a laudable but mistaken moral sensitiveness to underrate the importance and worth of this native goodness. Because sweet dispositions, impulsive benevolence, generous sympathy, are often found in unprincipled and immoral men, because there is confessedly no virtue, or merit in them, being the spontaneous growth of our nature, it has been argued that they are of no value whatever. But this is a most hasty and wild conclusion. Our whole nature is no creation of ours, but of God's. To his honor and goodness speaks every noble or beautiful impulse of the human heart. The spontaneous goodness of our kind is more descriptive of

God's character than man's. But because man can claim no credit for his native dispositions, that does not change their essential character. Is not the eye a beautiful and useful organ, though man did not make it for himself? Are the affections less cheering, supporting and blessed, because man did not plant, and does little to sustain them in his own heart; springing as they do with irresistible life and beauty from the common soil of humanity? Is paternal love and tenderness less interesting, less beneficent, less real, because exhibited in a rude and reckless man, toward the children who are soon to learn that the Father that begot and cherishes them is an outlaw and a ruffian? When a creature of vice and crime risks life or limb from a sudden impulse of generosity in defence or rescue of a drowning child, or an assaulted woman, does the act lose its beauty, or its worth, because its author is base and degraded? Nay, is it not more shining for the very shadows out of which this heavenly beam leaps forth? Ah! the spontaneous, native goodness of man is the origin of more of his happiness, than virtue herself. How few virtuous, that is, principled characters there are! And what would the world come to, were our only reliance upon meritorious goodness! Could we expect no sympathy, no love, no kindness, but that which originates in a sense of duty, we should perish of hunger. But we rely, and safely, upon that great fund of humanity which is treasured up by heaven in the common heart; in our nature. Most, beyond comparison most of the affectionate, disinterested, serviceable actions of men spring from impulse. They are independent of character. Bad men have good natures. Unprincipled characters have kindly dispositions. There is very little merit, but nevertheless much absolute worth in the run of men; very little virtue, but great native goodness. This point ought to be distinctly seen and confessed. We must not diminish the real amount of native goodness in men; for the divine credit is concerned in it. God himself is the originator and owner of this goodness, and it is disallowing his claims to disown or discredit it. Nor must we underrate the amount of happiness that flows from these spontaneous and common graces of the human heart. It is undeniable that a vast sum of happiness exists in the world; and if we deny the power of these native impulses to bless, we leave men to infer that they are as virtuous and meritorious as they are happy. What an opiate to the conscience it is, to tell men there is no source of

happiness but virtue ; or that men are miserable in precise proportion to their deserts ! Nothing is so true, as that virtue is the highest and only certain source of blessedness ; nothing is more true than that every departure from virtue is attended by inevitable consequences, either of pain, or loss ; the pain of self-accusation, the loss of self-respect, the pain of remorse, the loss of spiritual strength and advancement. But aside from these lofty satisfactions, these great spiritual joys of our nature, there are sources of pleasure and comfort, arising in that part of our being, which is independent of our character. Thus, want of moral principle does not destroy the natural appetites, nor the pleasure which attends their gratification. It does not eradicate the domestic affections, nor blunt curiosity, nor hinder the grateful exercise of the understanding, nor pervert the beneficent tendency of man's various passions and faculties. Even while the unscrupulous tradesman is driving an iniquitous bargain, his immorality does not prevent him from deriving pleasure from the exercise of his shrewdness. There is no way of entirely defeating the benevolence of God toward his children. Such an irresistible proclivity, such a God-given inclination toward happiness, is there contrived in our very nature, that no degree of unfaithfulness utterly resists, or frustrates it.

A fatal mistake in religious instruction has been made, in attempting to persuade men, in the face and eyes of their own consciousness, that they are very miserable — and that all their wretchedness is to be ascribed to their irreligion. Practically, men answer, let it be so. If we are now suffering the consequences of our sins ; if our present degree of contentment and enjoyment is in the eye of religion *wretchedness*, we are not greatly disturbed, or anxious to change. In the eye of a discriminating observation, the amount of human happiness and contentment, springing from the native constitution of man, is so great and so satisfactory, that it is difficult to inspire men with a thirst for something better and greater. Religion and virtue find more puissant foes in the general happiness of men, than in their wretchedness. When men are wretched and forsaken, when their natural spirits, their domestic ties, their enterprise and activity fail them — then it is, that they begin to reflect upon the unsubstantial nature of that happiness, which, resulting in circumstances, can be overthrown by circumstances. Then it is, and not much before, that they perceive the destitution which has followed self-neglect — then

it is that the higher nature, which they have all along offended without much remorse, renders in its account in full; not perhaps with accusations and sharp upbraidings; but in a sense of spent resources, in oppressive languor and ennui, in a felt incapacity for happiness, in weariness of spirit. It is very possible, that while property, youth, constitution last, many men of the loosest principles and habits can smile at that list of demons of self-reproach, remorse, discontent, with which moralists tell them they are haunted. They know nothing of them. Life flows merrily with them. They sleep soundly, wake peacefully, eat heartily, and look with unfurrowed brow and unshamed faces into the eyes of their fellow men. It is no great wonder if they think morality and religion a pretence and a nonentity. Yes, none are more skeptical of the dreadful consequences of vice, than the vicious themselves. Perhaps none know them so well, as the most virtuous, since vice punishes itself more, by the blessings it forfeits, than by the miseries it invokes. But this does not last always. Worldliness and religion are both right, for both speak from experience. Vice, youthful, lusty, and thoughtless, disowns the hell, in which morality declares that it perpetually dwells. And no wonder. Youthful vice is like the sun of a southern climate, which with magical rapidity calls out a luxuriant verdure. The fields are gay and odorous with flowers, the airs intoxicating to the sense of life and happiness; woods skirt and conceal every morass, and universal beauty clothes the landscape with glory, and man with delight. But the sun that creates and nourishes this beauty does not abate his fires, when nature has attained her perfection. Under its intense rays, the vegetation ripens to rapid decay; the tranquil waters that nourished its life steam up in pestilential vapors. The grove-skirted and flower-sprinkled morass blasts with its poisonous breath the trees on its banks, the cattle at its sides; the men within the reach of its atmosphere. Parched fields, a blighted harvest, a landscape of horror and ruin, starved, or thirsting herds, and death in every habitation, attest the progress of this smiling, treacherous orb! And such is vice — so fascinating and beautiful at first, and so fatal and horrible at last.

We have endeavored to do justice to the spontaneous and universal goodness, there is in men, and to take an honest view of the amount of happiness enjoyed by those who do not seek it in virtue, or give special heed to the dictates of religion. It must be confessed that whatever the ultimate consequences of

self-neglect and impiety may be, the immediate effects are not commonly such as to banish peace, or create misery. If the majority of men are sinners, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that the majority are well enough contented with their condition, and make shift to be cheerful. We are likely to draw very false conclusions, from this fact. It would seem as if there were very little essential difference in characters; as if virtue and vice had little to do with making men happy or unhappy. But, let us specially notice, that the universal happiness of men, to the degree in which it exists, springs not from what is bad, but from what is good in them; from their divinely-created nature and divinely-ordered relations and circumstances, not from their private characters. The majority of all human actions are neither good nor bad, but indifferent; the majority of all human feelings are neither moral nor immoral, but innocent. The conscience is called on for its judgment only now and then, and of course no man can be offending his conscience, when he is not using it. We are using and enjoying our nature continually, but we are exercising or exhibiting our personal character only occasionally. This is the whole account of the prevailing peace and felicity of indifferent, or bad characters. Their happiness springs from their nature, which is in constant use — their unhappiness from their conscience, which is only in occasional activity — and the relative proportions of their moral emotions, to all their other emotions, is the small ratio of their discontent. The moralist might perhaps hastily wish that none, who disobey the great principles of virtue, should be happy at all. But God be thanked, that human virtue is not the measure of human felicity. God is not niggard of his blessings, but pours them out upon the just and the unjust, the evil and the good. But let us not fail to observe, that he does this without a particle of injustice to any, and without a moment's forgetfulness of the everlasting difference between the claims of virtue and vice. There is a vast sum of happiness, shared equally between the good and the bad, entirely irrespective of character, just as there is a vast deal of good in all men, vicious and virtuous, independent of their own efforts or will. But the happiness of virtue is peculiar to virtue, the misery of vice, peculiar to vice — vice never for an instant enjoyed the rewards of virtue, and virtue never momentarily suffered the punishment of vice. Men can do without virtue for a time without great distress — because they live meanwhile upon the

great common fund of happiness, treasured in their nature. Nay, what is still more, vice can keep up a pretty good heart, while youthful spirits and health and good fellowship last. But it is not the *vice* that laughs in the hilarity of the youthful sinner. It is the health and strength in his body, the wit in his head, the gayety in his heart. These are for the time strong enough to create a soul beneath the ribs of death. So that vice herself wears an appearance, which she had no power to *assume*, from the mere circumstances in which she stands, a bare and horrid skeleton, accidentally wreathed and buried in flowers.

But in addition to the happiness common to our nature, and which in early life, nay, for the most part, through life, prevails, there is a happiness belonging to our character, which in the end is destined to be the chief source of human felicity; the want or perversion of which is to be the principal occasion of human misery. This moral element within us, this sense of responsibility, this capacity of virtue, which plays so small a part in our early life, gradually acquires strength and importance. As the other and temporary sources of pleasure dry up; as the senses grow less acute and the passions less active; as the understanding develops itself, or experience does her work; as reflection and self-consciousness obtain their ascendancy; so does this moral nature occupy every vacancy made in the soul of man, grow into importance with the diminished importance of other things, assume whatever authority the other faculties relinquish, gradually gather to itself the power, at first dissipated through the system, and from an humble and tributary vassal becomes the rightful lord and monarch of the soul. In its hands, thenceforward, dwells the sole power to bless. It becomes the arbiter of peace and war, of joy or grief, in the heart of man. The natural, necessary tendency of human growth is moral. The moral element is perpetually becoming more essential in every man; more important to his happiness, more instrumental in his misery. In youth the *character* may have little to do with cheerfulness. In middle life it does not positively control the happiness of man, in all cases and respects, although it greatly influences it. In age it has, with an occasional exception, almost absolute determination of the misery, or felicity of men. A careless boy may be a merry one, an unprincipled adult may carry an unwrinkled brow, though there are some scars in his heart; but a wicked old man — what a hell does his hoary-head cover!

The reason why the majority of irreligious and worldly men do not experience those pangs of conscience, that remorse, which the gospel ascribes to vice, is because they are *not vicious*. They are merely not virtuous. Now vice is positive and not negative — just as virtue is something of itself, and not merely the absence of vice. God, by his eternal law, does not affix to sloth, to carelessness, to selfishness, to worldliness, the punishment that belongs to malignity, to violence, to guilty passions, to crime. Consequently the mass of men, inactive and not virtuous, suffer only the gradual decay of inward resources, lose the capacity of elevated happiness, and dwindle without anguish into moral nothingness. They perish by moral consumption, and not by violent spasms and convulsions. For the great retribution attached to the neglect of virtue is the absence of virtue's own rewards. Just as he, who will not plough and sow and labor, can have no harvest, which is the only direct consequence of his sloth, so he, who will not be virtuous, must lose the crown and joy of virtue.

Mere indifferency of character, which is the prevailing species of character, is a kind of gradual extinction of being, which it requires much hopefulness to believe may be stopped or remedied in some future sphere of action.

The moral element alone confers immortality. It is the sole principle of permanent growth and worth in the soul. Beyond a certain point there is no education possible, except moral discipline. The preparatory education of life is but the necessary foundation of this, the great education of eternity. The only happiness worthy of God to confer upon full grown men is moral happiness. He will confer none other. If not capable of receiving this, we must have nothing till we are. The *character*, which receives such partial attention from most men here, is the engrossing object of attention in a proper and ultimate state of being. The virtue, which confers so small a portion of the general happiness on earth, is the sole dispenser of felicity in Heaven.

It is for this reason alone, that religion is not content to let men be happy in their own way, because it is a temporary and perishing way. This is the occasion of all the moralizing and sermonizing against the pleasures of life, not that they are bad or wrong in themselves, but they engage and monopolize the attention which is needed for higher and truer enjoyments.

THE DYING FLOWER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF RÜCKERT, BY THE REV. N. L. FROTHINGHAM.

HOPE! thou yet shalt live to see
Vernal sun and vernal air;
Such the hope of every tree
Stripped by autumn's tempests bare.
Hidden in their quiet strength,
Winter-long their germs repose,
Till the sap starts fresh at length,
And the new-born verdure grows.

“ Ah! no mighty tree am I,
That a thousand summers lives,
And, its winter dream gone by,
Spring-like green and gladness gives.
I am but an humble flower
Wakened by the kiss of May;
There is left no trace of power,
As, shrouded white, I drop away.”

Since thou, then, a floweret art,
Modest child, of gentle kin,
Hear thou this, and so take heart: —
Every plant has seed within.
Be it that the wind of death
Scatters thee with blast and cold,
Still thou'lt breathe in others' breath,
Thus renewed a hundred fold.

“ Yes, as I shall but have been,
Others like me soon shall be;
Endless is the general green, —
Single leaves die presently.

Be they all I used to show ;
I can be myself no more ;
All my being lives in now,
Nought behind and nought before.

“ Though the sun, that warms me yet,
Dart through them his glances bright,
That soothes not the fate that’s set,
Dooming me to endless night.
Sun, already them that follow
Followest thou with glowing eye ;
Mock me not with that dim, hollow,
Frosty glance from clouded sky.

“ Woe’s me, that I felt thy blaze
Kindling me to my short day !
That I met thy ardent gaze
Till it stole my life away !
What of that poor life remains
From thy pity I’ll withhold ;
I’ll avoid thee, and my pains
Close in my closed self uphold.

“ Yet these icy thoughts relent,
Melted by thee to a tear ; —
Take, O take my breath that’s spent,
Everlasting, to thy sphere.
Yes, thou sunnest all the sorrow
Out from my dark heart at last ;
Dying, all I had to borrow
I thank thee for ; — now all is past.

“For every gentle note of spring ;
Each summer’s gale I trembled to ;
Each golden insect’s dancing wing,
That gaily round my leaflets flew ;
For eyes that sparkled at my hues ;
For hearts that blessed my fragrancy,
Made but of tints and odorous dews, —
Maker, I still give thanks to thee.

“Of thy world an ornament,
Though a trifling and a poor,
I to grace the fields was sent,
As stars bedeck the higher floor.
One gasp have I left me still,
And no sigh shall that be found ;
One look yet to heaven’s high hill,
And the beauteous world around.

“Let me towards thee pour my soul,
Fire-heart of this this lower sphere ;
Heaven, thine azure tent unroll ; —
Mine, once green, hangs wrinkled here.
Hail, O Spring, thy beaming eye !
Hail, O Morn, thy wooing breath !
Without complaint in death I lie,
If without hope to rise from death.”

NOTICE OF THE PROGRESS OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

Our attention has recently been attracted by symptoms of fresh life in the movement of peace. A new impulse has evidently been imparted to it. An activity seems to be beginning, which promises to fulfil the hopes of its friends, and scatter the apathy and unbelief of the indifferent.

It seems to belong to the history of moral progress, that it shall have stages; shall pass through alternations; be marked by eras; now go forward, now backward, now be stationary; linger sometimes slowly, like a fire that slackens for a period as if about to die away, but which is in fact only pausing, to refresh its strength, and then burst out with fresh fury. The project of laboring for permanent and universal peace was first agitated in 1815. It took immediate hold of many minds and made rapid advancement; then it languished for a time, made no apparent progress, and not only failed to command a general interest at all proportionable to its importance and promise, but was in danger of being absolutely smothered by a universal apathy, upon which the zealous fidelity of a few was able to make no impression. Now, at length, there are signs of awakening which give ground to believe that all that seeming lethargy, so like death in appearance, was only a pause of deliberation, during which a great preparation was silently made in a multitude of souls. The seeds, which had been sown and had apparently perished, were only reposing in the fattening furrow, till their natural period should be fulfilled for springing up in a thick growth of vigorous plants, to overshadow and bless the soil. They were thoughtless, faint-hearted, unbelieving souls, which imagined the sowing to be lost, because the ground looked so long barren, and no corn answered the inquiring eye of the impatient sower. They should have known better. They should have taken a lesson from the husbandman, who is not at all troubled that the ground remains barren for a while, because a long-hidden work beneath the surface is an essential preliminary to the glorious springing of the green herb above, and the final burden of an ample harvest. The seed is not quickened, except it die. The small band of believing and resolute men, (resolute, because believing,) who watched with undaunted hope the apparent deadness of the

church and the world—ridiculed by the latter, as visionary enthusiasts hoping against hope, and neglected or “damned with faint praise” by the former, as well-meaning but weak-minded,—these men are now beginning to reap their reward. They had faith that in due time it would be so, if they did not faint. That faith is now beginning to be sight. While they were saying it is yet four months to harvest, they looked up and beheld the fields already white unto the harvest. In a word, the signs of progress are so many and so manifest, that the accomplishment of the great project is to be no longer accounted a matter of hope, but of reasonable certainty; the “beginning of the end” has come. The friends of man, who have so long sustained each other by the promise that some future age shall behold what their eyes should not see, may now congratulate one another, and praise God, and take fresh courage. Certainly *we* cannot observe what is now brought to our view, without congratulatory words to them and to our race.

If any are disposed to say, that these congratulations are too early, we ought to wait, we speak prematurely; we reply, by asking them to look at the symptoms to which we refer; have they turned their eyes in this direction? have they taken any note of the premonitory signs? Let not those, who stand obstinately with their back upon the East, think themselves qualified to deny that the first rosy streaks of the dawn are on the misty horizon. Let them not insist that there is no life or sound abroad, because in their deep slumbers they have not themselves heard the early cock crowing. Let them believe those who have been awake and watching through the night, whose senses have been quickened by their vigilance, whose straining eyes and anxious ears have become so sensitive, that they catch certainty from amid the dinness which is still impenetrable by other senses, and who are now ready to shout over Christendom the tidings of the approaching morn. They are sure the day is about to break, and would fain awaken the world to rejoice.

And why should not men be ready to receive the tidings? It is nothing new, that a cause makes a long progress in profound silence; that its principles lie working in the minds of men, unobserved and unsuspected, shaping, moulding, changing their ideas, and then bursts forth at once in sudden activity and universal change. So the principles of the Reformation

long moved secretly about, and became at last thoroughly wrought into the public mind; but the outer order of society gave no signs of change till Luther arose, and then it was simultaneous and universal. So in the French Revolutions — the first and the second; the antecedent preparation was silent and long; the catastrophe was sudden and overwhelming. So in the Temperance Reformation of the last fifteen years, which offers an illustration perfectly parallel to the case before us. The friends of that reform began hopefully more than thirty years ago; they made an impression; they spread the alarm, awakened attention to facts, infused the elementary principles; but there was only a slight advance, and then a pause — indifference — apathy; the friends of the undertaking were in a fair way to become altogether discouraged. But, meantime, the thing was working in the depths of men's minds, thoughts were maturing in the bosom of society, and by and bye, at the right time, they came forth in action, and a great revolution was rapidly accomplished. The field, on which so much labor seemed to have been unprofitably wasted, became green in one night; the seeds so long despaired of shot up everywhere, they grew steadily, rapidly, till the early planters were lost in amazement at the almost incredible harvest. It requires no extraordinary faith, no unreasonable stretch of credulity, to think that this may be the process by which the prevalence of Peace principles shall be secured, and the reign of War demolished. Why improbable, that beneath the indifference which has so long mocked the entreaties and prayers of disinterested philanthropy, there has been going on a process of preparation, which is, ere long, to surprise the inattentive world with sudden manifestations of a wide-spread change of opinion, and a resolute agreement among the nations to banish war from the world?

In order to see how far the present position of affairs gives hope, we must recollect what has been the history of the past. It must first of all be remembered, that the time has never been when some far-sighted and benevolent men have not — we do not say deplored and declaimed against the follies and wickedness of war, — but have seen the possibility of abolishing it, and have entertained the hope that it would be done. Three centuries ago Erasmus published his *Complaint of Peace*, a treatise that may well compare with any that have been written in the present century. But it seems to have produced no

effect on the opinion or action of the age; and all, who afterward from time to time echoed his voice, received no response but the hollow echo of their own words, like the empty reverberation of a trumpet among the hills, that dies away in the air and leaves no mark. Christendom still remained thoroughly unpurged of its pagan mind. Even the eloquent and soul-stirring orations of the two great preachers of their day in Britain, Chalmers and Robert Hall, seem to have made no impression beyond that of admiration for their eloquence. And Neckar, in France, by his urgent arguments and glowing expostulations, instinct with wisdom and eloquent with truth and feeling, effected nothing. All other individual efforts in like manner failed; they cast a momentary light which attracted the attention of a few, who looked and wondered for the instant, then turned away, and the darkness closed in as before.

Is there not an impressive lesson to be extracted from this fruitlessness of such powerful efforts? Do we not discover in the discouraging fact, the wisdom and divinity of the modern system of associated action? Do we not find in it a refutation of all the theoretic arguments that are sometimes broached for the superior efficiency of individual effort? No efforts more true and powerful than those of the eminent men just referred to. How happened it then that they came to nought? How happened it that Erasmus made no impression, and that for three hundred years the world went on sinning and suffering in spite of his appeal, which seemed as if it might waken and change the universe? He was alone,—that is the answer. It was the mind of an individual that reasoned; it was the voice of an individual that spoke. If Erasmus had known the force which lies in combination, and had gathered into a society the good men who felt as he did, and if that society had given itself to the work of changing the sentiment of men and bringing about the pacification of the world, with the resolute and onward spirit which characterizes all true Christian action on a great scale,—the result would have been—how different! What an alleviation of the horrors of the subsequent three hundred years! What a different condition of the world at the present time! The ultimate object might, ere this, have been very nearly, if not quite accomplished;—and the long enjoyment of universal peace would have already produced effects on the character, condition, civilization of society, whose magnitude it is difficult to conjecture. What

might not have resulted from the steady propagation of peace principles for three hundred years ! But because it was the solitary voice of one man and not the acclamation of a multitude, it was overpowered by the dissonances of the world. After a brief hour nobody remembered that he had spoken. For the same reason all who lifted up the cry from time to time afterward, spoke to the winds. It was in every instance the shout of a single voice ; — one voice ! to balance the noise of all the captains and their shouting, the acclamations of victory, and the *Te Deums* of the church ! And when Noah Worcester, in 1815, uttered his grieved and indignant cry, it must in the same way have died upon the air, and before this have been forgotten, if he had not taken care to *give it the power of increase and perpetuity*, by banding together a company whose office should be to repeat it with perpetual iteration, and take care that it should not fade from the audience of mankind. His book was perishable ; like the “ Complaint of Peace,” it was the natural, and probable destiny of the “ Solenn Review ” to be read and praised in its day by a few, then be shoved aside by other more practical topics, and at length be known only to the scholars and antiquarians, who should find it on the mouldy upper shelf of the public libraries ; while the spirit of the world and the practices of society should remain just what they would have been if the tract had never been written. But happily, the times had changed. It had become known that united action is strength ; that a great thought, born of one mind in solitude, is to be nursed and matured by the union of many in society. Therefore the principles and faith of this one man, who alone could do nothing and must soon die, were embodied in an association of brethren which could do much, and need not die ; which might descend with an unquenchable and ever more vigorous action from generation to generation, might extend itself from land to land, and by degrees enlist in its ranks the great majority of Christian men ; — until these principles, thus enthroned in the mind of the majority, should sway the action of society and determine the condition of the world. Happily there were good men and brave, who were ready to attempt this magnanimous design. They could not be daunted, as long as they remembered that eleven humble men, banded together in an upper room, once formed an association which has overturned the world. They organized the Massachusetts Peace Society in

the month of December, 1815; by auspicious coincidence, on a day of the very week, in which the treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent. Thus the solitary voice of the "Solemn Review" became the outcry of many, and insisted on being heard. As the procession passed on, another and another joined the band, till the earnest outcry swelled louder and louder on the breeze, and rolled on from state to state, across the wide seas, and over the Eastern continent, penetrating the palaces of kings, alarming the garrisons of war, and everywhere, from every class of men, calling out to join the philanthropic anthem; till statesmen in their robes of office gave assent, and warriors laid down their trappings and their armor to join this new crusade of the Prince of Peace.

The great hope of success, then, rests, under God, upon the principle of association; and in proportion as we witness the activity of the Peace Society, we behold the approach of the predicted and longed-for day of universal peace. The action of the Massachusetts Peace Society was never intermitted, though sometimes it evidently felt the benumbing influence of the general apathy. The unconcern, with which even the most Christian portion of the community regarded its movements, could not be other than disheartening. Yet it manfully kept on its way. It held its anniversary on the evening of the 25th of December, and then, to small audiences, were addressed Oration that were fit to move the world, and yet could make small apparent impression on the skeptical mass. Even the Reports of the active Committee of Inquiry — the result of great labor, and the depositories of astounding facts and equally astounding calculations, — seemed to be heard by the multitude with a sort of self-complacent incredulity, which seemed to say, "such things cannot be in so good a world as this; or if they are, it is no concern of ours; none but fanatics would meddle with them." The society, however, persevered. Dr. Worcester, gentle, serene, undoubting, sat in his sick man's chair, and pondered, and prayed, and hoped, and sent out from his retirement the quarterly *Friend of Peace*; — not wholly in vain; — it arrested the attention of many, and gave conviction to some, and excited an active zeal in a few. We cannot name that publication without a passing expression of our admiration, that for so long a period one man should have carried it on, almost unaided, with so perpetual a variety of argument and illustration, with a spirit never extravagant, and a zeal that never flagged, undismayed and undisheartened to the end.

Meantime he had been the instrument of bringing into the field another laborer, of devotedness equal to his own, and of physical strength unspeakably greater. His own infirmities forbad him all public activity; he could address his fellow men only from his closet and through the press. Mr. Ladd was a man of great bodily vigor, and habitual activity of life, as well as of ardent philanthropy of heart, and strong moral energy. He carried the cause into the pulpit and the lecture room. He travelled with it from town to town and from state to state. It thus reached many who could not have been affected by the press, and extended far and wide the knowledge and influence of the truth. He became the life and patron of the cause; he founded the American Peace Society which took place of the Massachusetts; living he spent upon it his time, his strength, and his money, and dying he bequeathed to it a great part of his estate, as well as the encouragement of his example. It falls to few enterprizes to possess two such devoted friends as Worcester and Ladd.

The favorite project of Mr. Ladd, to which he gave such preëminence, and which he prosecuted with such ability and resolution, that it has become the main operation of the Peace Society, both here and in Europe — was the establishment of a Court of Arbitration, whereby public controversies among civilized nations, should be decided like private controversies among civilized individuals, without appeal to arms. In efforts for the promotion of this object, he not only preached and talked and wrote and printed, but it was chiefly through his agency and influence, that a large premium was offered for a dissertation on the subject, and that a large octavo volume was published, containing several of the best papers which had been called forth by the competition for the prize. The volume may possibly be too large; but it contains a great amount of interesting and valuable discussion. Its publication has already produced distinguished consequences; directly and indirectly it has been the means of extending indefinitely the principles and the influence of the Society. It has found its way to the cabinets of ministers and to the chambers of princes; it has gained access to the tables of all the potentates and chief magistrates of America and Europe; and while it has not, that we are aware, been rejected by any, it has been received by some with expressions of strong approbation and decided concurrence. It cannot be altogether without effect, that the minds of those,

to whom belongs the practical decision in the last resort, have been addressed by so powerful representations, and have manifested a willingness to listen.

While America has thus steadily moved onward, Europe has not been slow to do her share. A "Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace" was formed in London, in June, 1816, only six months after that in Boston, and is still laboring zealously and effectually. Its principal operations have been by the press. The "Herald of Peace" has been conducted with great spirit, and has the merit, not always belonging to such journals, of increasing in value as it grows older. A number of admirable Tracts has been published and circulated, distinguished especially by copious and powerful illustrations from history. And recently there has been brought out, by the offer of a premium of one hundred pounds, a fine Essay on War and Peace, with a special argument in favor of a Congress of Nations.*

On the Continent of Europe, a beginning has been made at Geneva. That remarkable little city at the foot of the Alps — famous through centuries for its intellectual culture and its eminent men — has been first to sound this cry of reform, and advocate the great cause of human rights. The Count de Selon founded a Peace Society many years ago, and devoted himself, much in the way and the spirit of our own countryman, Ladd, to extend and establish its philanthropic principles. And now, from recent accounts, it appears, that the well-known "Society for Christian Morals," in Paris, has taken up the cause with all the enthusiasm that characterizes the French people; and with a promise of perseverance which the past history of that society warrants us in believing will not be forfeited.†

* This Essay has been handsomely printed under the following title: "*Peace, Permanent and Universal: its Practicability, Value, and Consistency with Divine Revelation. A Prize Essay, by H. T. J. Macnamara.*" It is dedicated to Viscount Palmerston. The subject is distributed as follows: — Part I. War, under all circumstances, inconsistent with the precepts and the spirit of Christianity. Part II. The Duties of Magistrates and Peace Officers in cases of tumults, insurrections, and invasions, &c. Part III. The best means of settling all disputes between nations, without recourse to arms. The Essay is written with clearness and vigor; its statements on all the most important points are strong and satisfactory, and it well merits a place among the many good treatises which the cause has called forth.

† We refer our readers to the late numbers of the London *Herald of Peace*, and the Boston *Advocate of Peace*, for spirited notices of the

America, England, Switzerland, France, ; when the philanthropy of four such nations, — situated as these are, and having such relations to the world, — is awakened to make common cause in such an enterprise as this, there is truly ground for hope. The beacons lighted on four such hill-tops cannot fail to cover Christendom with a universal illumination, whose searching blaze shall expose the enormities of blood and crime, which have lain concealed in the dark places of the half-civilized world. When fairly exposed, they will not long be suffered to exist. Society is now so far advanced, that men only need to be *enlightened*, and they will act. Let those four peoples faithfully watch and trim the lights they have set up in the world, and, in the new day which they kindle, men will turn to a new work and raise up in society a new life. What may not rationally be hoped from the urgent coöperation of four such central powers? Let them send forth their agents — let them prompt the exhortations of the pulpit — let them enlist the activity of the press — and what effect may not be wrought on opinion before the century closes? The slave-trade, — slavery, intemperance, giant-tyrants, ruling with wide despotism — have been put under the bann of opinion, and their power has been shaken by the indignant sentiment of the world ; a sentiment called forth, animated, directed, by a Christian zeal, which acted through the press, the pulpit, and the earnest address to assemblies of listening men. War has no more power than they to withstand the assaults of Divine truth and human love. Assail it in the same way, with the same spirit, and with equal perseverance, — it can no more stand, than the impregnable Bastile could stand before the determined siege of the excited multitudes of Paris.

The great instruments of attack, as we have said, are three : — living agents to address the listening ear, — the press, and the pulpit. Much less has thus far been done by the agency of the first than is desirable and wise. A larger number of men of powerful speech must be employed to move among the masses, and awaken the general mind. They might find their way where a book never goes, and get access to ears that never hear a preacher. We may not hope from their labors such results as

mission of M. Rigaud to Paris, the animated meeting of the Society for Christian Morals, and the eagerness with which it was resolved to secure, by offer of a large premium, a powerful dissertation on the great topic. They will find the whole well worth their attention, and full of encouragement.

were witnessed in former days, when the address to the ear was almost the only method by which men could be reached, and when hearers were less distracted by appeals on a variety of subjects; when Peter the Hermit waked the enthusiasm of Europe, or even in the later days of Whitefield and Wesley, who worked out their great plans by the voice. Yet even now, we have daily demonstration of the power of speech and the necessity of employing it, whenever anything of moment is to be done in behalf of extensive interests. What would be the fortune of the great movements in politics, or the great enterprises in philanthropy, without the systematic, persevering use of this agency — this summoning together the people to be informed, excited, wrought upon, and made to take part in the operations proposed? It is thus, that the mass is moved and carried forward. The inconsideration and apathy, which have done so much to baffle the purposes of the friends of peace, are in no way so likely to be removed, as by the fiery assaults of the eloquent speaker. Thousands will be attracted and won by an orator, who would see the shower of books and tracts pass over them, without so much as asking what it meant, even though it grew to a storm like the deluge. Pains ought to be taken to enlist men of powerful utterance, and send them through the world, to lecture, to harangue, to argue, expostulate, exhort; —eloquent men, who can *compel* men to hear. When the four central depositories of this spirit shall have filled their several countries with such men, having compelled men to listen, they are sure of their end; for, if men will but listen, they will know the truth, and truth will make them free.

This mission of speakers and lecturers is a very different thing from the action of the pulpit. The pulpit is limited to the setting forth of the religious argument, and appealing to men as Christians. Much wider ground may be occupied by the other agents, who may use a variety of materials which must be excluded from the range of the Sabbath ministry. Yet there is an opportunity and an authority belonging to the sacred desk, which it would be suicidal not to employ to the utmost extent. It is the moral and religious abomination of war, —its opposition to Christianity, its deadly hostility to all the glorious purposes which Christ came to effect, — it is these, which make war the master curse of the world. That Institution, then, which was placed in the world for the very purpose of defending and promoting the designs of Christ, is im-

peratively bound to seek the destruction of this its most powerful foe. That pulpit, which never discharges the anathema of God against this proud opponent of Heaven, is false to its trust, and fails of its legitimate influence. But that, which speaks faithfully and in season, rears up a congregation of men, which will neither fight, nor tolerate fighting. The American Peace Society has discovered the wisdom and duty of seizing on this instrument. It has engaged some hundreds of ministers to preach an annual sermon on this subject, and is seeking to multiply the number until every American pulpit shall once a year at least resound with the loud battle-cry of peace. When this shall be done, who does not see that the communities of the next generation will have been trained under influences so devotedly opposed to war, that no more soldiers could be enlisted from among them than pirates? And when all the preachers of the Christian world shall be engaged in this duty, it is plain that war between nations, all whose separate congregations have thus become virtually Peace Societies, would be impossible. How long would it take to effect this, if it were seriously undertaken? Perhaps no project is better worth pursuing. "Opinion is Queen of the world;" change the opinion of the world, and war ceases, of course. The Christian pulpit might change the opinion of so large a part of the world in fifty years, that an army could not be enlisted, and war would cease for want of soldiers to fight.

We may be told that in this we talk extravagantly. It may be; but we are disposed to ask, on the other hand, whether the influence of the pulpit is not greatly underrated. Is it considered to what an extent it possesses, and must inevitably exercise, the power of forming the opinions of the vast multitudes who sit under its instructions during childhood and youth? The majority would unavoidably imbibe their tone of thought and sentiment on this subject, from the venerated voice of the pastor under whom they are educated. And with a truth so obvious as this — with means of effecting a grand result so simple, so powerful, so near at hand — with this ability to bestow the most inestimable boon on the world — how can we witness, without impatience, the almost universal apathy and silence of the pulpit; how observe, without shame, that this tremendous assemblage of crimes and sufferings has been, for eighteen centuries, opposing itself to Christianity and happiness, while the public messengers of the Prince of Peace have but

rarely been heard in expostulation, and even very generally been perverted into allies and auxiliaries of the insatiable destroyer! If the Peace Society should do nothing more, it would bestow an indescribable benefit by calling attention to this inconsistency. No one hereafter can be found so thoughtless as to desecrate the holy place with a flourish of pagan blasphemy, like that, with which Robert Hall closed his sermon to the volunteers. When the whole company of preachers shall have withdrawn their patronage from the military spirit, and steadfastly taught that the servants of Jesus cannot fight, the church will exercise, unostentatiously but righteously, as decided a power over the kingdoms of the world, as it did in the dark days of its unhallowed despotism; it then proudly trod upon the neck of governments for its own aggrandisement; but now, by its gentle words of truth and love, its doctrines of brotherhood and equal rights, it would so move the hearts of society, as quietly to wrest from the civil arm its long-possessed power to demoralize where it ought to elevate, and destroy where it ought to bless.

The other agency, to be added to the two just referred to, is that of the press. It is unnecessary to say much about it. Its use, "its omnipotence," is sufficiently understood, and the friends of peace have been faithful to avail themselves of it. We only would say, that they should "abound therein more and more;" as indeed they show themselves not backward to do. To their valuable collections of essays, tracts, and periodical journals, and their contributions to the newspapers, both religious and secular, they are making daily additions. The Literature of Peace has become quite voluminous; and, simply as literature, it deserves attention, and is entitled to commendation. Indeed it is rich. It has great variety, copiousness, and energy. It possesses a great deal of vigorous argumentation, overflows with historical illustration, and burns with frequent eloquence alike of logic and pathos, description and persuasion. That department in literature has no mean claims, which possesses Discourses from the three masters of the modern pulpit, Chalmers, Hall, and Channing; the Treatises of Dymond and Upham; the Letters of Captain Thrush; the Essays of Worcester and Ladd; the Tracts of the London Society, and the American Prize Essays. These have been for a long time published, and are some of them extensively known. Other works have been more recently issued, of not inferior interest. The Prize Essay of Mr. Macnamara, lately published

in London, we have already remarked upon. Another work of great value is that of Judge Jay, of New York.*

In this treatise the author, with great clearness and conclusiveness, without the slightest approach to declamation or passion, in the style of a judicial statement, sets forth the wickedness and folly of war, and its utter inefficiency to the accomplishment of its boasted aim ; illustrates the argument by a rapid and bold survey of the history of modern Europe ; and replies briefly to the most plausible arguments on the other side. He then turns to the other part of his subject, and sets forth his "Plan" for preserving Peace. This embraces what is peculiar and characteristic in the publication. It is seemingly a dissent from the favorite project of the Peace Societies, that, namely, of attempting to persuade the Christian nations to agree simultaneously to the creation of a Tribunal for the adjustment of all future differences, without appeal to arms. He thinks that they are aiming at too much in this attempt ; that such a plan must probably fail from its very magnitude ; that so vast a scheme can only be brought about step by step ; it must begin between some two nations, and through their example and influence spread to a third and fourth, until, in the course of time, it shall embrace all.

"It is not surprising that those who suppose such a tribunal can only be established by a simultaneous movement among the nations, who are to continue warring with each other till the signal is given for universal peace, should be startled at the boldness and absurdity of the project. Of such a project *we* are wholly guiltless. We have no hope or expectation, in the present state of the world, of a general and simultaneous negotiation throughout Christendom, in behalf of a tribunal for the decision of national differences and the suppression of war. Such a movement can only be expected *after* an extensive, although partial abandonment of the military policy ; and must be demanded and effected by the pacific sentiments of mankind. We have no hesitation, therefore, in avowing our belief, that, under existing circumstances, the idea of a Congress of Nations for the extinction of war, is utterly chimerical. But both reason and experience warrant the hope, that some one nation may set an example, which, through the blessing of Providence, may be made instrumental in ushering in the reign of universal peace." —pp. 38, 39.

* "WAR AND PEACE; the Evils of the First and a Plan for preserving the Last. By William Jay." 8vo. pp. 48. The copy before us is of a London edition, of 1842.

We are not sure that the author's understanding of the project, which he seems to oppose, is entirely correct, or that its "absurdity" is such as he describes it to be. We do not apprehend that the Peace Societies, more than he himself, have any expectation, "in the present state of the world," of effecting a "general and simultaneous negotiation" on this question. They anticipate a very gradual advance toward such an event; probably by one step at a time; and, if they should distinctly describe the steps to be trodden, it is not unlikely that they would be found identical with those proposed by our author. For they, too, are doubtless fully aware, that, "under existing circumstances," and before it is "demanded by the pacific sentiments of mankind," the project cannot possibly be executed. The only actual question, then, is, What is the best way of making preparation for the ultimate result? Even on this point we are not clear that any difference of opinion exists; for it has already been the policy of the society, in advocating the great measure of a Congress of Nations, to attempt precisely what Judge Jay recommends—that is, to induce the government to submit the decision of difficult questions, as they arise, to friendly arbitration; and, in one instance at least, if we mistake not, it has endeavored to procure a special provision to be inserted in a Treaty, that in *all cases, hereafter arising*, of misunderstanding between the two powers, recourse shall be had to arbitration, and not to the sword. Now, this is certainly making as rational and practical a beginning as can be desired; and, as we quite agree with Judge Jay, that this all-important revolution in state policy can only be accomplished gradually, we are glad to know that they, who have actively under their charge the efforts to promote it, are not destroying their chance of success by chimerical and absurd notions. Excepting that they keep expressly in view, prominently and boldly, the consummation at which they aim, we see no observable difference between their plans and that of this author.

This Plan is developed in a very satisfactory manner; and we have no doubt that its publication will materially conciliate favor to the entire design. He first seeks to show that no nation is so favorably situated for making the beginning as the United States; he describes in what manner the experiment should be first made; "until, at last, a union might be formed of every Christian nation, for guaranteeing the peace of Christendom, by establishing a tribunal for the adjustment of national

differences, and by preventing all forcible resistance to its decrees." The following passages will be found sufficiently to explain the project, and to show how far it agrees with, and in what respects it differs from, and to what extent it is more practicable and hopeful than the common scheme, a Congress of Nations. We should be glad, if its length permitted us, to copy the whole statement, as we are sensible that very incomplete justice is done to it by our abbreviation. Our hope is, however, that our readers will be induced to refer to the Essay and study the entire work.

"Let us then inquire whether a mode for preserving peace may not be devised that will shock no prejudice, and excite no reasonable alarm. * * *

"Suppose, in our next treaty with France, an article were inserted of the following import: — 'It is agreed between the contracting parties, that if, unhappily, any controversy shall arise between them in respect to the true meaning and stipulation in this present treaty, or in respect to any other subject, which controversy cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation, neither party shall resort to hostilities against the other; but the matter in dispute shall, by a special convention, be submitted to the arbitrament of one or more friendly powers; and the parties hereby agree to abide by the award which may be given in pursuance of such submission.'

"To what well founded objection could such a stipulation be subject? It is true, treaties of this kind have been but of rare occurrence, but all experience is in their favor." * * *

* * "We can scarcely anticipate any future national difference, which it would not be more safe and prudent to submit to arbitration than to the chance of war. However just may be our cause, however united our people, we cannot foresee the issue of the conflict, nor tell what new enemies we may be called to encounter, what concessions to make. We have already partially commenced the experiment of arbitration, by referring three of our disputes to as many European sovereigns."

* * * "Once assured by such permanent treaties with France and Britain, we should find our alliance courted by the other powers of Europe, who would not readily consent that these two nations should alone have guaranteed to them continued peace, and commerce with the United States. Hence there can be no doubt that they would cheerfully enter into similar treaties with us. Under such circumstances we might offer to our South American neighbors the same stipulations, with full confidence of their cordial acceptance." * * *

* * “Before long, minor States would commence the experiment, and the example would be followed by others. In time these treaties would be merged in more extensive alliances, and a greater number of umpires would be selected; nor is it the vain hope of idle credulity, that at last a union might be formed of every Christian nation, for guaranteeing the peace of Christendom, by establishing a Tribunal for the adjustment of national differences, and by preventing all forcible resistance to its decrees.”— pp. 40 – 46.

We must not omit, among the recent publications to which we have alluded above, the address of the President of the American Peace Society, at the anniversary in May last.* Such addresses are usually and unavoidably of an ephemeral character, which answer their immediate purpose and are forgotten. This is one of those, which may be made useful in a protracted existence, and whose circulation among the tracts of the Society would do good service. It is full of right thoughts expressed with strength and feeling; very decided, fair, and Christian, with occasional passages of singular pithiness and some originality. The appearance of such pamphlets confirms all that we venture to expect from the auxiliary agency of the press.

Here we pause for the present — abruptly; much remains unsaid. Many auspicious signs of growing zeal, activity, and progress, remain to be noticed on some future occasion. Meantime let the friends of religion and humanity, “thank God and take courage.” The history of the past, the omens of the present, and the predictions of Providence and revelation concerning the future, are all eloquent with promise. The day for doubt and hesitation has gone by. Hope has become assurance. From every quarter, as the world advances, it is testified to, with stronger emphasis every day, that nothing so essentially irrational as war, so intrinsically barbarous, so inimical to the true interests of an advancing civilization, and to the doctrines and laws, the spirit, purposes, and promises of Christianity, can hold its place against the well-concerted, persevering assaults of reason, humanity, and faith.

H. W., jr.

* “WAR AND CHRISTIANITY: An Address before the American Peace Society, on the fourteenth anniversary in Boston, Massachusetts, May 23, 1842. By Samuel E. Coues: Published by request of the Society, at the Depository, No. 22, Court Street. 8vo. pp. 26.”

THE WIDOW'S SON.

During the last season I was called to visit an interesting young man at that time dangerously ill. He had been a seaman, and was on board the *Barque Burlington*, during her last voyage. This ship being loaded with cotton, and having a crew of fourteen hands, on March 10th, 1840, while in the Gulf Stream, was struck by lightning. The events stated in the following lines are literally true. I have in my possession the crucifix, and the journal kept by the young man.

THE swallow skims the meadow ground,
The bloom is on the hawthorn spray,
The sky is fair, and all around
Seems fitting the sweet month of May.

The violet lifts its modest head,
The snow-drops their white buds unfold,
The clover shines like ruby red,
And butter-cups like stars of gold.

Nature hath now a magic spell,
To nerve the mind and soothe the heart ;
But what of this know they, who dwell
Within the city's crowded mart ?

Yet, even here, the softened air
Goes with a milder influence by,
To smooth the furrowed brow of care,
And change to joy sad sorrow's sigh.

Thus comes the breeze to one, who now
 Watches beside her dying son ;
She sees the death-dew on his brow,
 She knows his course is well-nigh run.

Long has she felt a mother's love,
 Has watched him from his earliest day ;
And here she leans in grief above,
 To see life's current ebb away.

That manly brow, that noble form,
 Which nothing now from death can save,
Has met the fury of the storm
 On land and on the ocean's wave.

“ How often,” did the mother say —
 “ When he was on the stormy sea,
Did I kneel down to God, and pray
 That he might be restored to me.”

“ And then I felt if he were near,
 Where I could rest upon his arm,
I should have nothing more to fear,
 And he would be secure from harm.”

“ Yet now, that he no more doth roam
 Mid strangers 'neath a foreign sky,
But rests within his humble home,
 'T is but to lay him down — and die !”

“ But God, He knoweth what is best,
 And should he take my only son,
I know his spirit will be blest,
 And therefore may God's will be done.”

Here, as to give her heart relief,
She stooped and kissed her darling child,
She struggled with her inward grief,
Then raised her eyes to heaven — and smiled.

She felt the power of Holy Trust,
Of Christian Hopes that in her dwell,
Which, when a loved one rests in dust,
Can bow, and feel that all is well.

She would not cherish idle fears,
Nor yield her heart to anguish wild ;
But smiling oft amid her tears,
She calmly talked about her child.

She said that even while a boy,
Though poor, his feelings were refined,
And that he asked no greater joy,
Than he from his pure thoughts could find ; —

And often in his boyish dream,
With simple feelings bright and free,
He floated down the inland stream,
And fancied it the heaving sea ;

And he would read of those who sail,
With fearless heart and daring high,
Mid howling storm, — and rushing gale, —
And tempests darkly sweeping by ;

Of vessels cutting through the brine,
Parting the waves with iron keel,
While heaven's hot lightnings round them shine,
And bursting thunders o'er them peal.

Yet tales like these but stirred him more,
And as he felt each passing breeze,
He panted to push off from shore,
And rock upon the stormy seas.

He loved indeed his mother well ;
Yet when he walked in woody glen, —
Even there his thoughts would often dwell
On ships, and on sea-faring men.

Until at length his mother gave
To his fond wishes her consent,
And then, with heart free as the wave,
A mariner to sea he went.

He cherished feelings pure and high,
As on each distant soil he trod ;
And was, beneath whatever sky,
True to himself and to his God.

He was as cheerful as the light,
And therefore was beloved by all ;
Strong in the power of inward might,
And ever prompt at Duty's call.

Thrice did he foreign countries roam, —
And thrice of perils past did tell, —
Thrice was he welcomed back to home, —
And thrice he heard the sad farewell.

Yet once again his native land
Grows dim before his backward gaze, —
And seas by foreign breezes fanned
Are flashing in the noon-tide blaze.

A tropic sun above them pours
Its stifling heat ; and as they reach,
Ghastly and wan, those distant shores,
A pestilence has swept the beach.

Feeble and sick he lies ; the while
A stranger watches by his bed ;
Dark eyes gaze o'er him with a smile,
And cool hands press his aching head.

Sweet was the voice and kind the look,
That gently watched above him there ;
And, with her crucifix and book,
She often knelt in earnest prayer.

And when, restored, he left that land,
Their eyes with parting tears were dim,
And when in his he clasped her hand,
She gave the crucifix to him.

And while he sailed upon the deep,
The crucifix was with him there ;
And ere he closed his eyes in sleep,
Her name was murmured in his prayer.

Upon his home-bound voyage at night,
When blackness veiled each earthly form,
The dark clouds gathered in their might,
And burst in fury and in storm.

The surf is o'er the top-mast borne, —
Through heaven the hissing thunders fly, —
The sails are into ribbons torn, —
And blazing fire-bolts blanch the eye.

Hark ! — the stout main-mast now is rent
In splinters by the tempest's ire, —
Her iron spikes like straws are bent, —
Oh, heavens ! the vessel is on fire !

See ! See ! — the forked flames burst out ! —
Make fast each plank beneath your feet !
Oh, dash the briny waves about,
And stifle the consuming heat !

The morning sun its splendor throws
Upon the storm-tossed floating wreck ;
The crew, still struggling mid their woes,
Are toiling on the burning deck.

Five lingering days they toil, to keep
The flame from bursting round them there,
Five lingering nights upon the deep
They float, as if in dumb despair.

Their aching sight is stretched in vain,
From morning's prime to evening late ;
No distant ship upon the main
Draws near, to snatch them from their fate.

They gaze and toil, — they toil and gaze, —
Mid famine dire and raging heat ; —
The deck, crisped by the hidden blaze,
Can scarcely now support their feet : —

But look ! a vessel heaves in sight !
Bravely that gallant ship draws near ;
The boats are lowered ; each heart beats light ;
Thank God ! there is no more to fear !

They all are safe : but still was turned
The gaze of that exhausted crew
To where the blackened hulk still burned,
Blazing within their dizzy view.

Swift the fire gains : — and now outflash
Those flames by precious fuel fed,
And the burnt wreck, with one wild crash,
Through the black water sinks like lead ! —

A month goes by, and then once more
Their wanderings are at end ;
They tread upon their native shore,
And greet each old familiar friend ;

And one who lands with right good-will,
Gratefully looks to heaven above ;
The crucifix is with him still,
And still he shares a mother's love.

Oh, never more he'll mount the mast,
Or sail before the ocean breeze ;
His strength has gone, his power has past,
He sinks beneath a slow disease : —

Slowly he sinks, and day by day,
He feels his race is nearly run,
And, as he gently fades away,
The mother watches o'er her son.

Humble their home, and poor their fare,
But holy joy within them burns ; —
She watches with a mother's care,
And he a mother's love returns.

It is her arm supports his head,
He is her son, her joy, her pride :
A bible rests upon his bed ;
A crucifix is by his side.

Not long will he know sorrow now ;
Short are the throbs that heave his breast ;
The death-dew gathers on his brow,
Softly he sinks in peaceful rest.

Oh long has lived that mother's love !
Him she has watched from life's first day !
And here she sadly leans above,
To see life's current ebb away !

She pressed his hand, — " Oh now," she said,
" What can I ever know of joy ?
The last hope of my life has fled ! —
Oh speak once more, my darling boy !"

Then, ere he closed his eyes in rest,
He sought her sorrow to beguile ;
And as her hand in his he prest,
Calm was his look and sweet his smile.

As if a message from the sky
Had come to sanctify her will ;
It seemed as if that kindling eye
Her heart with heavenly power did fill.

The struggle's o'er : — closed are those eyes ;
The soul hath gently passed away ; —
See ! as in sleep before us lies
His manly form — but cold as clay !

And now that form, that braved so well
The thousand perils of the wave,
Is borne, — while tolls the solemn bell, —
To rest within a church-yard grave.

The swallow skims the meadow ground,
The bloom is on the hawthorn spray,
Tho sky is fair, and all around
Seems fitting the sweet month of May.

But often shall this scene impart,
When spring shall its brief course have run,
A joy to this sad mother's heart,
As she reflects upon her son.

Oh, holy are the links that bind
The living to the dead in love ;
For while they linger here, the mind
Communes with them in realms above !

R. C. W.

CICERO ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

[From the Tusculan Questions,—continued from page 150.]

XXV. **WHAT** then is the drift of this discourse? What that power (of memory) is, and whence, I think may be understood. Certainly it is not of the heart, of the blood, of the brain, nor of atoms. Whether it is breath or fire I know not; nor am I ashamed, as they are,* to confess my ignorance of what I do not know. If I might affirm anything upon a subject so obscure, be the soul breath or fire, I would swear that it is divine. What? Pray tell me, does this so great power of memory seem to you to be sprung from, or formed of earth, or of this cloudy and misty heaven? If you see not what this thing is, yet you see of what sort it is; if not even that, yet certainly you see how great a thing it is. What then? Is it a capacity in the soul into which, as into a vessel, all that we remember is poured? That, indeed, is absurd; for how can we understand a vessel, or any such figure of the soul; how understand, at all, so great a power of holding? Do we think the soul to be impressed like wax, and memory to be the traces of things stamped on the mind? But what traces can there be of words, what of things themselves? Besides, what space would be great enough to contain so many impressions? What, then, is that power which investigates hidden things, which is called invention and reasoning? Does it seem to you to be formed of this earthy, mortal, and perishable nature? Or, who first gave names to all things? which seemed to Pythagoras to indicate the highest wisdom; or, who collected men, scattered here and there, and united them in society? who reduced the sounds of the voice which seemed infinite, within the few marks of the letters? who traced the courses of the wandering stars, their progressions, their pauses? All these were great men; and they greater who discovered the arts of agriculture, of clothing, of architecture, the means of preserving life, of security against wild beasts, by which, being softened and refined, we have advanced from these useful sciences to the more elegant accomplishments. For we receive great delight through the medium of the ear, the nature and variety of sounds being discovered

* Certain philosophers before alluded to.

and reduced to rules ; and have gazed upon the stars, those fixed in certain places, and others wandering, in name, not in fact. He, who first saw into these revolutions and all their motions, proved that his own soul was like his, who had framed them in the heavens. For, when Archimedes connected the motions of the moon, the sun, and the five planets, in a sphere, so that one revolution might govern motions the most unlike in slowness and velocity, he did the same thing as the God of Plato, who, according to the *Timæus*, built the world. Because, if such a result could not take place in the universe, without the power of a God, neither could Archimedes imitate with his sphere those motions, without a divine genius.

XXVI. Nor do those better known and more tasteful arts seem destitute of this divine power ; so that, I think, the poet pours forth his deep and full song, not without the aid of a celestial impulse to his mind ; and eloquence, abounding in sonorous words and rich thoughts, flows not except by this higher faculty. But, philosophy herself, the mother of all the arts, what is it Plato asks but a gift ? But, I say, what is it but an invention of the Gods ? It is this which has trained us to the worship of the Gods, then to human justice which has its place in the intercourse of mankind, then to modesty and magnanimity. This, too, has dispelled darkness from the soul, as from the eyes, so that we might see all things, above and beneath, first, last, and midst. Certainly, that seems to me a divine power, which effects so many and so great things. For, what is the memory of things and words ? what, too, is invention ? Certainly that, than which nothing greater can be comprehended in a God. For, I do not suppose the Gods rejoice in ambrosia, in nectar, and in wine poured out by Hebe ; nor do I listen to Homer, who says that Ganymede was stolen by the Gods on account of his beauty, that he might become the cup-bearer of Jupiter. There was no just cause why so great a wrong should be done to Laomedon. Homer invented these fables and transferred human attributes to the Gods ; I would rather he had transferred divine attributes to us. And what are divine attributes ? To be strong, to be wise, to invent, to remember. Therefore, as I say, the soul is divine ; as Euripides dared to say, is a God. And, indeed, if God is breath or fire, the same is the soul of man. For, as that celestial nature is free from earth and moisture, so is the human soul free from both these things. But, if there be a certain fifth nature, as first inferred by Aristotle, this then is common both to Gods and souls.

XXVII. Following out this opinion, I have in my work, entitled "*Consolation*," expressed these thoughts in the following words: "No origin of souls can be found on earth. For, there is nothing in them of a mixed and compound nature, or which might seem to be born and to be formed from the earth; for, they have nothing of a moist, airy, or fiery nature; for, there is nothing in these natures which can possess the power of memory, of judgment, or reflection, which can hold in mind past events, foresee the future, or embrace the present — which attributes are divine; nor will there ever be found a source whence they can come to man, except from God. Therefore, the nature and power of the soul is peculiar; quite separate from these common and well-known natures. Hence, whatever that is, which perceives, which knows, lives, and flourishes, it is celestial and divine, and for that reason is necessarily immortal. Nor, indeed, can God himself, understood by us as a being perceiving and moving all things, be comprehended in any other way, than by a mind unfettered and free, separated from all mortal composition, and itself endowed with eternal motion." Of this kind, and of the same nature, is the human mind.

XXVIII. But where is this mind, and what is it? Where is yours, or what is its nature? Can you tell? If I have not all the means I might wish to have of understanding this question, with your leave may I not use those which I have? The soul has not the power of seeing itself. But like the eye, the soul, not seeing itself, sees other things.

A. But it cannot see, which is of least consequence, its own form.

M. Perhaps so; and yet it may; — but let us leave that question — force certainly, power, sagacity, memory, motion, and swiftness, it sees; these are great, these divine, these eternal. What its appearance may be, or where it dwells, we are not even to inquire. When we behold the form and brightness of the heaven and the velocity of its revolution, so great that we cannot conceive it; the vicissitudes of day and night; the changes of the seasons, divided into four parts, fitted to the ripening of fruits and the proper tempering of bodies, and the sun, the leader and moderator of all; and the moon, by the gradual increase and diminution of its light, marking the days, as if by signs of the calendar; and, then, the whole circle of the heavens, divided into twelve parts, in which the five stars are borne around, preserving constantly the same courses, though with

motions widely different ; the nightly form of the sky, adorned on every side with stars ; the ball of the earth rising out of the sea, fixed in the midst of the universe, habitable and cultivated in its two remote extremities, one of which we inhabit — placed under the pole toward the seven stars, “ whence the storm-bearing winds of the north heap up the freezing snows,” the other southern extremity, unknown to us, which the Greeks call *ἀντιχθονα* (opposite land) ; the other parts of the earth being uncultivated, either frozen up with the cold or parched with heat ; while here, where we dwell, “ the heaven does not fail at the proper time to shine, the trees to put forth their leaves, the joyful vines to put out their tender shoots, the boughs to bend with the weight of the fruit, the seed to repay largely in harvest, all things to flourish — the fountains to gush out and the meadows to be covered with flowers ;” then the multitude of animals, some suitable for food, others for cultivating the earth, some for bearing burdens, and some for furnishing clothing for the body ; man, himself, the contemplator of the heavens and the Gods, and their worshipper — all lands and seas obedient to his use ;

XXIX. when we observe these and innumerable other things, can we doubt that some author, if these are created, as Plato thinks, or if they have existed from eternity, as Aristotle maintains, some governor of so great a work and design presides over them ? Thus, you cannot see the mind of man, as you cannot see God ; but, as you know God from his works, so from the memory of things, and from invention, by the velocity of motion and all the beauty of virtue, recognise the divine power of the mind.

In what place then is it ? Indeed, I think in the head ; and I can give a reason why I think so, — but of this at another time — for the present, wherever the soul is, it is certainly in you. What is its nature ? Peculiar, I think, and its own. But grant that it is fiery or aerial, that affects not our argument. Consider this only, as you know God, though you know not his place and his appearance, so your soul should be known to you, even if you know neither its place, nor its form. In investigating the nature of soul, we cannot doubt, unless we are evidently ignorant of physics, that there is nothing in it of a mixed kind, nothing concrete, united, and joined, nothing double. If this be so, certainly it cannot be separated, nor divided, plucked apart nor drawn asunder ; nor, therefore, can it perish. For

death is, as it were, the disuniting, the separating, and tearing apart of those portions which, before death, were held together in a certain union.

Socrates, persuaded by these and similar reasons, sought no defender in the trial for his life; neither was he a suppliant to his judges. He maintained throughout an independent firmness, drawn from loftiness of feeling, not pride; and, during the last day of his life, he discoursed much upon this very subject; and a few days before, when he might have been freed from prison, he refused, and almost at the moment when he was about to take the death-bearing cup in his hand, he spoke; — not like one about to be put to death, but like one preparing to ascend to heaven.

XXX. Thus he thought and spoke: there are two ways, and the path is two-fold for souls when they leave the body. To those who have polluted themselves with human vice, who have given themselves up to their lusts, as if blinded, or who have stained themselves with secret indulgences and crimes, or have designed acts, not to be atoned for, such as treachery to their country — to such there is a retired path separated from the assembly of the Gods; but for those who have kept themselves pure and chaste, who have least indulged their bodily appetites, and have preserved themselves from their subjugation, who have imitated the life of the Gods in their mortal bodies — to such an easy return lies open, back to those from whom they sprung. And so he declares that it will happen to all good and learned men, as to the swans which, not without cause, are sacred to Apollo; for, having from him the power of divination, by which they foresee what blessedness is in death, they die with singing and delight. Nor can any doubt this, unless that should happen to us, reflecting carefully concerning the soul, which happens to those who, looking intently at the setting sun, lose the sight altogether. So the eye of the mind, engaged in examining itself, grows dim sometimes, and our carefulness in investigation is, for that reason, wholly lost to us. Thus doubting, looking about us, hesitating, dreading many things in the way — our course is borne along, as if in a bark or ship, on a boundless sea.

But these are old opinions, and borrowed from the Greeks. But Cato so parted from life, rejoicing that he had obtained the right to die. For the God ruling in us forbids us to depart hence unbidden. But, when that God has given a proper cause, as then

to Socrates, now to Cato, often to many, by my faith ! he who is wise will joyfully depart from this darkness to that light ; but he must not himself break the chains of his prison-house ; for, the laws forbid. But, when summoned and set free by God, as by a magistrate or some lawful authority, he may depart. The whole life of philosophers, as the same person says, is a meditation upon death.

XXXI. What else do we when we recal the soul from pleasure, that is, from bodily enjoyments ; from our private affairs ; from all business — what else I say do we, than call the soul back to itself, compel it to be with itself, and separate it as much as possible from the body ? But to separate the soul from the body is nothing more than to learn how to die. Wherefore let us meditate upon this subject ; for, believe me, we may separate ourselves from our bodies, that is, we may accustom ourselves to die. This will make our life on earth like a heavenly life ; and when we shall be borne thither, loosened from these chains, the course of our souls will be less retarded in their flight. For they who have always been fettered by these bodies, even when freed from them, will move slowly on that account, like those who have been chained for years with iron. When we shall have arrived there, then, at length, shall we live. For this life is death ; which I would lament over, if by lamentation I could be freed from it.

A. You have lamented enough in your “Consolation ;” which work, when I read, I desire nothing more than to leave these scenes ; but now, having heard you upon this subject, I am much more anxious to depart.

M. The time will come, and that quickly, whether it shall linger or hasten ; for life is fleeting. But so far is death from being an evil, which you seemed to consider it a little while ago, that I fear it can be said there is nothing, — I will not say so unfortunate, — but rather so good to man ; whether we are to be gods ourselves, or to be with the gods.

A. What is the difference ? There are some present who may not approve of these things.

M. But I will never dismiss you from this discussion, while any argument that death is an evil, remains unanswered.

A. How can it, when I have learned these things ?

M. How can it, do you ask ? Troops of those who speak contrary to these opinions rise up, not only those of the sect of

the Epicureans, which, indeed, I am far from despising, but, I know not how it is, all the most learned. My favorite Di-caearchus, however, has most strenuously argued against this immortality of the soul. He has written three books called *Lesbian*, because the discourse was held at Mytilene, in which he undertakes to prove that souls are mortal. But the Stoics, however, give us a large allowance, as if we were ravens; for they admit that souls will continue in existence a long time, but deny forever.

XXXII. Do you wish to hear how death is not an evil, even if it be as they affirm?

A. As you please. Nevertheless, no one shall drive me from my belief in immortality.

M. I applaud your feeling, indeed; and yet, no one ought to be too confident; for we are often driven from conclusions very acutely drawn; we fall back, we change our minds even in clearer subjects. In these matters there is some obscurity. Therefore, if this should happen, let us be armed.

A. Certainly; but I will take care that it shall not happen.

M. Is there any reason why we should not dismiss our friends, the Stoics? I mean those who say that souls continue after they have left the body, but not forever.

A. Them indeed, who admit what is the most difficult part of this question, that the soul can continue without a body, which is not easy of belief, and which, being granted to them, they, in turn, will not allow the consequence, that when it has existed for a long time in this manner, it will not perish.

M. You censure justly! it is so indeed. Shall we, then, believe with Panætius, when he dissents from his own teacher, Plato? For him, whom in all places he calls divine, the wisest, most holy of men, the Homer of philosophers, he does not agree with in this one opinion concerning the immortality of the soul. For, he maintains, what no one denies, that whatever is born must perish; but that souls are born, is a thing that is declared by the likeness of parents to children; a likeness apparent, not only in the intellectual but the physical nature. But he offers another argument: that there is nothing which suffers pain, but may also become sick; but, whatever becomes diseased, that is to perish also; but souls suffer pain; therefore, they also perish.

XXXIII. These arguments can be refuted; for, they are the arguments of one who is ignorant, that when the eternity

of the soul is spoken of, we mean the mind, which always is free from every disturbing motion, not those parts in which pains, angers, and lusts abide; which he, against whom these arguments are framed, supposes to be separated and shut out from the mind. Now, the likeness spoken of appears more in brutes, whose souls are destitute of reason; but the likeness of men is more apparent in the figure of their bodies; and it is of great consequence to the souls, in what sort of body they are placed; for, many things spring from the body, which sharpen the mind, and many which blunt it. Aristotle, indeed, says, that all men of genius are melancholy; so that I am not discontented at being rather slow. He enumerates many; and, as if it were an admitted fact, he assigns a reason why it so happens. But, if the character of the mind is so much influenced by those properties which are born in the body, (those, whatever they are, make the likeness.) likeness furnishes no necessary reason why souls are born. I omit the point of want of resemblance. I wish that Panætius were present. He lived with Africanus. I would inquire of him, which of his relations the nephew of his brother Africanus resembled; in appearance, like his father; in life, so like all the abandoned, that he easily might be designated the veriest wretch. Whom, also, did the grandson of Publius Crassus resemble? — that wise, eloquent, and distinguished man. But it is not necessary to name the resemblance that has existed between many other distinguished men and their grandsons and sons. But, what are we doing? Have we forgotten what we proposed to consider, — when we had spoken enough of immortality, — that if souls perish, there is still no evil in death?

A. I had not forgotten it, but I willingly permitted you to wander from the course you proposed, while you continued to discourse upon immortality.

XXXIV. *M.* I see that you have a lofty aim, and wish to mount to heaven.

A. I would hope that such may be our fate. But, grant that the soul does not exist after death, as they would have it, and I see ourselves deprived of the hope of a happier state of existence.

M. But, what evil consequence follows from that view even? For, grant that the soul perishes as does the body; is there any pain or sense at all in the body after death? No one even says so; although Epicurus charges that opinion upon Democritus, but the disciples of Democritus deny it. Therefore,

no sensation remains in the soul also ; for, that is not in existence. Where then is evil ? for there is no third thing in man. Is it that the separation of the soul from the body cannot take place without pain ? Suppose, I believe it to be so, how small a thing is that. But I think it to be false ; and it takes place, for the most part, without any sensation, sometimes even with pleasure ; and all this is trifling matter, whatever it is. For, it takes place in an instant.

A. It is the departing from all those things which are good in this life, that pains, or rather, excruciates us. See, if we may not more truly say from evils ? Now, why should I deplore the life of man ? I might do so truly and sincerely, but when I show that we are not miserable after death, why should I make, by lamentation, life more miserable ? I have treated of this matter in that book, in which I found what consolation I could for myself. Death, then, withdraws us from evils, not from God, if we seek the truth. This was discussed so fully by Hegesias of Cyrene, that it is said he was forbidden to speak upon it in the schools, by king Ptolemy, because many, after hearing his opinions, committed suicide. And there is, indeed, an epigram of Callimachus upon Ambracian Cleombrotus, who, he says, having read a book of Plato, though no misfortune had happened to him, cast himself from a wall into the sea. But, there is a book by this same Hegesias, whom I have spoken of, called ἀποκαρτερώων, because a certain person, attempting to destroy himself by abstaining from food, being restored by his friends, in giving a reason for his conduct, enumerates the ills of life. I might do the same thing, though I should say less than he, who thinks that life was not at all desirable under any circumstances. I say nothing of others, — is it not even for my good ? and if death had happened before I was deprived of domestic and public enjoyments and honors, would it not have saved me from evil, rather than deprived me of good ?

XXXV. Let us, therefore, suppose the case of a man who has no trouble, who has received no wound from fortune. Metellus is such a case with four honored sons ; but Priam had fifty, seventeen of whom were born of his wedded wife. Fortune had the same power in both these cases, but she used it differently ; for, many sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, placed Metellus on his funeral pile. The hand of an enemy killed Priam, deprived of his numerous offspring, at the

altar to which he had fled. If he had fallen while his children lived, and his kingdom was secure, "his barbaric wealth remaining, and his palaces carved and adorned with fretted ceilings," would he have departed from blessings or troubles? Then, certainly, it would seem from blessings; but, certainly, it would have been the better fate for him, nor so mournfully then would the verses be sung, "I have seen all things in flames, Priam murdered, and the altar of Jupiter stained with blood;" as if what did happen to him afterwards, or any other event, could be better for him than death. For, if he had died before, he would altogether have escaped this scene; but, dying as he did, he lost the sense of his troubles. A better fate awaited our friend Pompey, when he had been severely sick at Naples. The Neapolitans were crowned with garlands; of course the inhabitants of Puteoli also came out in crowds publicly to congratulate him. Truly a foolish affair, and just in the character of a little Greek town, but yet fortunate! If he had died at that time, would he have been deprived of good, or have escaped evil? Certainly, the latter; for he would not have waged war with his son-in-law; he would not have taken arms when unprepared; nor left his home; nor fled from Italy. Neither would he have fallen by the violence and weapons of slaves, as he stood defenceless, his army being lost. His children would not have been destroyed, nor would all his wealth have come into the hands of his conquerors. By the prolongation of his life what incredible misfortunes did he undergo, who, if he had fallen sooner, would have died in the lap of the most splendid successes!

XXXVI. Those evils are avoided by death, even if they have not happened, yet are escaped by death because they may happen. But men do not think that these things can happen to themselves. Each one hopes for himself the good fortune of Metellus; just as if, either more were fortunate than unhappy, or there were any certainty in human affairs, or it were wiser to hope than to fear. But let this be granted, that men are deprived of good fortune by death; does it also follow, that for the dead to lose the pleasures of life is misery? They certainly must of necessity say so. But can he, who is not in existence, be said *to want* any thing? For, this very term of *wanting* is sad, because it is understood in the sense, that he who had something, has it not; he wants it, requires it, and needs it. These, in my opinion, are the inconveniences of one

in want ; if he wants eyes — pitiful blindness ; if he wants children — bereavement. This holds of the living ; but no one of the dead can be said to want the conveniences of life, not even life itself. I speak of the dead who are not in existence. Can any one of us, who are living, be said to want horns or feathers ? Certainly no one. Why ? Because, when you do not possess that which is not suited to you by custom or nature, you cannot be said to want it, even though you perceive you do not have it. This argument must be pressed again and again, which, being established, will no longer permit us to doubt, if souls are mortal, that dissolution is complete at death, so that not even the slightest token of sensation is left. This, therefore, being well established and fixed, it must be inquired what to want is, lest some verbal error should remain. To want, then, signifies this ; to be in need of that which you wish to have. For, to wish for a thing is essential to wanting it, unless when the term is used, in some other sense of the word, as in a fever. For, in still another sense, one is said *to want*, as when you have not something, and perceive that you have not, although you suffer the absence of it easily. It is not said that one wants a thing bad in itself ; for that would not be a subject of regret. But, it may be said, that one wants a good, which is a painful state. Not, even a living man can be said to want a good, which he does not stand in need of. But yet it may be understood of a living person, that he wants a kingdom ; but this could not be said, with any show of sense, of you — it might of Tarquin, after he had been expelled from his kingdom. But, in the case of a dead man it cannot be even understood ; for wanting implies sensation ; there is no sensation in the dead, — to want, then, cannot belong to the dead. But what need of philosophizing upon this, when we see that the thing does not greatly need philosophy ?

XXXVII. How often, not only have our generals, but whole armies, rushed to certain death ! If he had feared which, indeed, Lucius Brutus would not have fallen in battle, when repelling the return of that tyrant he had expelled ; nor would father Decius, contending with the Latins, his son with the Etruscans, his grandson with Pyrrhus, have so fearlessly exposed themselves to the darts of the enemy ; nor, in one war, would Spain have seen the Scipios falling for their country, nor would Paullus and Geminus have been slain at Cannæ, nor Marcellus at Venusia ; the Latins would not have witnessed

the death of Albinus, nor the Lucanians that of Gracchus. Is either one of these wretched to-day? Not even then did they suffer after the last breath; for no one can be miserable when sensation is destroyed.

A. But that itself is a hateful condition, to be without sensation.

M. It would be, indeed, if one could be said *to want* sensation. But, since it is clear, that there can be nothing in him, who himself is not, what can there be hateful in him, who can neither want nor feel? But this point has already been noticed too often, but for the reason that all the sadness of the soul upon the subject of death results from it. For he, who is satisfied of what is clearer than light, that the soul and body being consumed, the whole living being dead, and an entire dissolution taking place, so that the creature which was in existence becomes nothing, may evidently understand that there is no difference between Hippocentaur, who never existed, and king Agamemnon; neither does Marcus Camillus regard this civil war more than I regard the capture of Rome, which took place during his life. Why, then, too, should Camillus grieve, if he had known these events were to take place about three hundred and fifty years after him, and why must I lament, to think that some other people will possess this city ten thousand years hence? Because, love of country is so deep in the heart, that we measure it not by our own sensations, but by its own safety.

XXXVIII. Therefore, death, which, on account of uncertain events, daily threatens, and on account of the shortness of life is never far off, does not deter the wise man from studying, on all occasions, the good of his country and kindred; and from considering succeeding generations, which he can never see, to be related to himself. Wherefore, it may also be, that the soul is mortal, resolving to attempt eternal deeds, not through a passion for glory, which it is never to be conscious of, but for virtue, which glory necessarily attends upon, even if that be not the thing you aim at. Such, however, is the condition of our nature, that just as our birth is to us the beginning of all things, so death is the close; and as nothing belonged to us before birth, nothing will after death. In which, what evil can there be? since death does not affect the living nor the dead. The last having become nothing, and it pertains not to the first. Those who take a lighter view of this matter would consider death most similar to sleep; as if one would wish to live ninety years, that having

finished sixty of them he might sleep away the rest. Not even swine would wish such a fate, much less I, myself. Endymion, to be sure, to introduce a fable, went to sleep, I know not when, in Latmos, which is a mountain of Caria. I think he has not yet waked up. Now, do you suppose, he cares when the moon labors; by whom, it is thought, he was put to sleep, that she might kiss him as he slumbered? But, what can he care who does not even perceive anything? You have, here, sleep, the image of death, which you assume daily; and do you doubt whether there is no sensation in death, when in the image of it you see there is no sensation?

XXXIX. Away, then, with those almost old-womanish fables; such as, it is misery to die before one's time. What is one's time? Is it not the time of nature? But she, indeed, gives the use of life, as of money, no day being appointed. What have you, then, to complain of, if she seek it back when she pleases? For, you had accepted it upon that condition. The same persons think, when a young boy dies, it is to be borne with equanimity, but of an infant in the cradle, that not even a complaint is to be uttered; and yet, in this last case, nature has exacted her gift more severely than in the first. But they reason, thus — it had not tasted the sweetness of life; but the first hoped for great happiness, which he had begun to enjoy. But, in other matters, indeed, it is thought better to have some part than none at all, why is it otherwise with life? although Callimachus, not unaptly says, that “Priam lamented more often than Troilus.” But, the fortune of those is praised, who die at an advanced life. Why? For, I think, that to none if longer life were given could it be pleasanter. For, certainly, there is nothing sweeter to man than wisdom; which old age certainly brings, however it may take away other things. But, what age is long? Or what, speaking generally, is long to man? Does not old age come upon us unexpectedly, pursuing us — now boys, now young men, and at length overtake us? But, as we have nothing beyond this, we call it long. All such things, then, are called “long or short” in proportion to what is given to any one. At the river Hypanis, which, on the one side, flows into the Pontus, Aristotle says, there are little animals grow, which live only one day. Those, then, that die at the eighth hour, die at an advanced age; those that live until sunset, at a very old age; and the more so, if it happen on a solstitial day. Compare our longest life with eter-

nity, and we shall be found almost in the same brevity of life as these little animals are.

XL. Therefore, let us despise all follies, (for what milder term can apply to this levity ?) and place all our reliance for living a good life, in strength and dignity of mind ; in disregard and contempt for all human affairs ; in the practice of every virtue. For now, indeed, we are so enervated with voluptuous imaginations, that if death shall happen to us before we have obtained the promises of the Chaldeans, we seem to be despoiled of some great blessings, cheated and bereaved, deluded. And if we hang suspended in our minds between expectation and desire, if we are tortured and tormented, O ye immortal gods ! how pleasant ought that journey to appear to us, which, being finished, there will be no more care, no future anxiety. How Theramenes delights me ! Of what a lofty mind he is ! For, although we weep as we read, still the illustrious man dies not piteously, who, when he was cast into prison by the order of the thirty tyrants, and, as if he was thirsty, had drunk off the poison, threw out that which remained from the cup, so that it resounded ; hearing which, he smiling said, “ I drink this to the beautiful Critias,” who had been most severe towards him ; for the Greeks are accustomed, at their feasts, to name the person to whom they are about to give the cup. This noble man sported with his last breath, and while death was working about his heart, he truly predicted death to him to whom he had drunk the poison ; which, indeed, did follow a short time after. Who would praise this calmness of a great mind at the very hour of death, if he thought death an evil ? Socrates passed into the same prison, and to the same fate a few years after, by the same injustice of his judges, as that of the tyrants who condemned Theramenes. What, then, are the words which Plato puts into his mouth, before his judges, when already condemned to die ?

XLI. He said : “ I have a strong hope, O judges, that a happy fate awaits me in being put to death. For one of two things must necessarily happen ; either death takes away all sensation, or removes to some other abode away from these regions. Wherefore, if all sensation is extinguished, death is like that sleep which sometimes brings the most quiet rest, even undisturbed by dreams. Ye good gods ! what gain it is to die ! or, how many days can be found which may be preferred to such a night, to which, if an eternity of coming time is like, who

more happy than I? But if those things are true, which are said, that death is a departure into those regions which they inhabit who have passed out of this life, much more happy will it be for you, when, escaping those who wish to be considered your judges, you meet those who may truly be called judges, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Æacus, and Triptolemus, and associate with those who have lived justly and honestly. Can such a journeying seem unimportant to you? How great a privilege do you esteem it to be permitted to converse with Orpheus, Musæus, Homer, and Hesiod? Often should I, indeed, be willing to die, if I might find the things I speak of. But with what delight would it fill me to meet Palamedes, Ajax, and others, who were condemned unjustly? I might also test the wisdom of that great king, who led large armies to Troy, of Ulysses and Sisyphus; nor for that reason should I be condemned to death, when I investigated these things as I did here. Neither ought you, O judges! those of you who have been acquitted, to fear death. For nothing evil can happen to a good man, whether he be living or dead, nor will the immortal gods ever neglect his interests. Neither has this event happened to me by chance, nor have I any cause of displeasure with those by whom I have been accused, or those by whom I have been condemned, except because they have believed they were injuring me." In such terms did he speak; but nothing is finer than his conclusion. He said; "But it is time for me to go hence, to die, and for you, to live. But the immortal gods know which fate is best. No man, indeed, I think, knows."

XLII. Truly not a little do I prefer such a soul to the fortunes of all those who sat in judgment upon it. Although he denies the knowledge of which is best, (life or death,) to any but the gods, yet he himself felt which was best. For he had spoken upon the subject before this; but keeps to the last his peculiar way, that he would affirm nothing. But let us not persist in thinking anything an evil which is ordained to all by nature; and understand, that if death is an evil, it is an eternal evil; for death appears to be the end of a miserable life. If death is miserable, there can be no end of misery.

But why should I speak only of Socrates and Theramenes, men distinguished for the reputation of their courage and wisdom, when a certain Lacedemonian, whose name even is forgotten, held death in such contempt, that when, being condemned by the Ephori, he was led to execution, showing a happy

and joyful countenance, an enemy said to him, "Despisest thou the laws of Lycurgus?" he answered, "I owe him great gratitude for fining me in a penalty which I can pay without borrowing or hiring." Oh man worthy of Sparta! a person who could show such a noble spirit, it seems to me, must have been condemned unjustly.

Our own state has produced innumerable cases like this. But why should I mention generals and leaders, when Cato writes, that whole legions have gone with alacrity to a post, whence they supposed they should not return? With equal bravery the Lacedemonians perished at Thermopylæ, upon whom Simonides wrote, "Tell it, O stranger, at Sparta, that you saw us lying here, obedient to the sacred laws of our country." And what did their leader, Leonidas, say? "Go on, Lacedemonians, with a brave heart, for to-day, perhaps, we shall sup in the infernal regions." This was a brave nation, while the laws of Lycurgus were in force; one of which, when a Persian enemy boastingly said, in discourse, "You will not be able to see the sun for the multitude of darts and arrows," answered, "Then we shall fight in the shade."

I have only mentioned men. What a Lacedemonian woman was that, who, when she heard that the son, whom she had sent to battle, was slain, said, "For this did I bring him forth, that he might be one who would not hesitate to die for his country."

XLIII. So let it be, brave and hardy Spartans! The training of the republic has great influence; and shall we not admire Cyrenean Theodorus, no ignoble philosopher, who, when King Lysimachus threatened the cross to him, said, "I pray use such threats to your courtiers; Theodorus cares not whether he rot under or above ground."

Which saying of his reminds me, that I ought to say something upon the subject of burying and funeral rites; not a difficult matter, and especially since those points have been discussed which relate to the absence of sensation, which we have just ceased to speak about. What Socrates thought upon it is apparent in that book which treats of his death, about which already so much has been said by us; for when he had discussed the question concerning the immortality of the soul, and the time of his own departure drew nigh, being asked by Crito how he wished to be buried, he said, "I have spent much pains in vain, my friends; for I have failed to convince our

friend Crito, that, when I take my departure suddenly from these abodes, no part of me will be left behind. But nevertheless, my Crito, if you shall be able to overtake me, or should get possession of me at any place, bury me as you please. But, believe me, no one of you will come up with me when I shall have departed hence." This was noble in him to give this permission to his friend, and at the same time to show that he was entirely unconcerned about the whole matter.

Diogenes, hardier still, and he too having the same opinion, but as a cynic expressing it more roughly, ordered his body to be cast forth, unburied. Then his friends said, "What! to the birds and beasts?" "By no means," he said; "but place a staff by me, with which to drive them away." "How can you?" said they, "for you will have no sensation." "Why, then, should I fear to be torn by wild beasts, if I shall feel nothing?" Famous, also, is the saying of Anaxagoras, who, when he was dying at Lampsacus, and his friends inquiring, if it came to the worst, if he wished to be carried to Clazomene, his native country, answered, "It is not necessary; for all paths lead alike to the infernal regions." One idea must be allowed in this whole question of burial, that it relates only to the body; whether the soul perish, or live. But it is plain, that the body retains no sensation when the soul is extinguished, or has passed away.

XLIV. But errors are universal. Achilles drags the body of Hector bound to his chariot, and I believe he thinks he is pained by it, and is sensible of suffering; and in this way he thinks he has his revenge. And she (his wife) mourns this as the most bitter fate; "I have seen, what filled me with the most cruel anguish to see, Hector dragged along by a four-horse chariot." What Hector? or how long will he be Hector? Accius speaks more to the purpose, and Achilles is sometimes wise, "Yes, truly, I have returned the body to Priam, and taken away Hector." "You did not, then, drag Hector, but the body which was Hector's." Behold another arises out of the earth, who will not permit his mother to sleep; "I call thee, Oh mother, who assuageth thy cares with sleep, without pity for me; arise, and bury thy son,—when these verses are chanted in a deep and mournful measure, which brings a feeling of sadness over the whole theatre, it is difficult not to think, that they who are unburied are miserable—before the beasts and birds tear them," (he fears, it seems, lest his

lacerated limbs should suffer indignity, he does not fear to have them burned,) "neither permit my remains, the flesh torn from the bones, and polluted with offensive gore, foully to be scattered." (I do not understand what he fears, when he pours out such good verses of seven feet to the accompaniment of the pipe.) It is to be maintained, then, that we should have no anxiety for what may happen after death, although many would punish their enemies, even when dead. Thyestes, according to Ennius, cursing in very smooth verses, wishes, first, that Atreus may perish by shipwreck, truly a hard fate, for such a death is not without keen suffering. But what follows is unmeaning; "May he be impaled on high on the sharp rocks, his bowels hanging out as he is suspended by his side, sprinkle the cliffs with putrid gore, with clotted and black blood." The rocks themselves were not more destitute of sensation than he, whom he would torture thus, hanging by his side. Such things would be hard to bear, if he could feel them; but the dead are without sensation. What follows is very idle; "Nor let him have a sepulchre, a grave to receive him, where, human life being finished, he may rest from his sufferings." You see in what an error these verses turn; he thinks the body has a port, and that the dead rest in a sepulchre. Pelops was greatly to blame, that he did not teach and inform his son how far anything was to be cared for.

XLV. But why should I observe upon the opinions of individuals, when we can review the various errors of nations? The Ægyptians embalm their dead, and keep them in their houses. The Persians, also, bury them covered with wax, that the bodies may last as long as possible. It is a custom of the Magi not to bury in the earth the bodies of their friends, except they are first torn to pieces by wild beasts. In Hyrcania, the people rear dogs for public use; the rich private ones. We know that is a noble race of dogs. But each man prepares, according to his ability, those by which he is to be torn to pieces; and they think this the best sepulture. Chrysippus, who is curious in all history, has collected many other anecdotes; but many of them are so disgusting, that my discourse avoids and flees them. Therefore this whole matter must be disregarded as far as we are concerned, but not neglected in the case of our friends; but cared for in such manner as if we living thought the bodies of the dead destitute of sensation. However, let the living give as much attention to it, as is due to custom and pro-

priety, but at the same time bearing in mind, that none of these things affect the dead.

Certainly, death is then undergone with the greatest equanimity, when declining life can console itself with thoughts of praiseworthy deeds. No one has lived too short a life, who has discharged a perfect duty of perfect virtue. Many periods of my own life have seemed favorable for dying, when I wish I could have departed ; for nothing more was to be acquired ; the burthens of life were increased, and wars with fortune only remained. Wherefore, if reason itself shall not succeed in persuading us that we may neglect death, yet passed life may make us seem to have lived enough, and more than enough. For, although sensation may have left them, the dead are not without the just and proper rewards of fame and glory, though they are unconscious of them. And, though glory has nothing in itself worthy to be desired, yet it follows virtue like its shadow. The true verdict of the multitude concerning honorable deeds, whenever it is rendered, is to be applauded, although it can bring no happiness to the actors of them.

XLVI. But I cannot say, in whatever manner it will be received, that Lycurgus and Solon are deprived of the glory of their laws, and public instruction ; Themistocles and Epaminondas of their warlike virtue. For Neptune shall overwhelm Salamis itself, before the memory of the Salaminian trophies ; and Bœotian Leuctra will perish before the glory of the Leuctrian battle. More slowly still will fame leave such names as Curius, Fabricius, Calatinus, the two Scipios, the two Africani, Maximus, Marcellus, Paulus, Cato, Lœlius, and innumerable others ; any resemblance to whom, he, who attains, measuring himself not by the breath of popular rumor, but by the just praise of good men, may, if it should so happen to him, approach death with a trustful heart, in which we have seen there is the highest good, or no evil. Even in prosperity, one may wish to die ; for no accumulation of good things can give so much pleasure, as to make amends for the pain of losing them. That saying of a Spartan seems to signify this opinion, who, when Diagoras, the Rhodian, a noble victor at the Olympic games, had seen, in one day, his two sons victors at Olympia, approached the old man, and having congratulated him, said ; “ Die now, oh Diagoras, for you cannot attain a higher happiness.” These are great things, the Greeks, perhaps, think, or rather they thought too lightly of them ; and he who made this

remark to Diagoras, thinking it a very wonderful thing, that three Olympic victors should spring from one family, esteemed it a useless business for him to remain longer in life, exposed to the changes of fortune.

But I had, indeed, answered you, as I thought, sufficiently, in few words ; for you had granted, that the dead do not exist in pain, but on that account I went on to multiply words, because this idea is a great consolation in bereavement and sorrow. For we ought to bear the loss of our friends, a loss which chiefly affects ourselves, with moderation, lest we seem to love ourselves too much. But the suspicion would fill us with intolerable anguish, if we thought that they, of whom we are bereaved, had any sensation of those sufferings, which men commonly suppose. I have, on my own account, endeavored to shake this opinion at the foundation, and, perhaps, for that reason, have protracted my discourse.

XLVII. *A.* Do you say you have spoken too much at length? Not for me, indeed. For the first part of your discourse made me desirous of dying ; the last not only willing to die, but has removed all anxiety upon the subject. At any rate, from your whole argument, I am convinced that death is not an evil.

M. Shall we now regard, in our discussion, the epilogue of the rhetoricians, or leave out such a technicality?

A. You cannot, with justice, neglect the rules of an art, which you have always adorned ; and which, to speak the truth, has gained you so much reputation. But what is the epilogue ? for I desire to hear it, whatever it is.

M. The decisions of the immortal gods are accustomed to be introduced, concerning death, in the schools, nor are they mere fictions, but rest upon the authority of Herodotus, and many others. First, the sons of the Grecian priestess, Cleobis and Biton, are rehearsed. The story is well known. For when it became necessary, that she should be drawn in a chariot to the temple, at some distance from the city, to perform a solemn and stated ceremony, the beasts were wanting ; then these young men, whom I have just named, taking off their garments, and anointing their bodies with oil, approached the yoke. So the priestess was carried to the temple ; and since her chariot was drawn by her sons, she is said to have supplicated the goddess to give them, as a reward for their piety, the best gift that can be bestowed by the gods upon mortals. The

young men, having feasted with their mother, retired to sleep, and in the morning were found dead. Trophonius and Agamemes are said to have made a similar petition, when they had built the temple of Apollo, at Delphi; for prostrating themselves before the god, they asked no small reward for their work and labor, but without specifying what it should be, but wishing that which might be best for mortals. Apollo promised them that he would grant their prayer three days from that time; and when that day dawned they were found dead. 'This, they say, was the decision of a god, and of that god, too, to whom the other gods had granted the highest power of divination.

XLVIII. A story is also told of Silenus, who, being taken captive by Midas, is said to have done the king this service for his liberation;—he taught him that not to be born is by far the best fate for man, and next to this, to die as soon as possible. Which idea Euripides makes use of in *Cresphontis*: "For it is proper that forming an assembly we should mourn for our house, when any one is born to this light, considering the various ills of human life; but when he has finished his severe trials by death, for his friends to follow his remains with praise and joy." There is something like this in the consolation of Crantor. For he says that a certain Elysius Terinæus, severely afflicted by the death of his son, came to the place of necromancy to inquire the cause of his great calamity, when these three verses were given to him upon tablets:

In life men err by the ignorance of their minds.

Euthynous died by the decision of the fates.

It was better for him and for thee that he should die.

These, and like authors, strengthen an opinion confirmed by facts, decided by the immortal gods. A certain Alcidæmus, an ancient rhetorician of the very noblest, also wrote in praise of death, which he supported by enumerating the ills of human life. And to him were wanting those arguments so ingeniously collected by philosophers; nevertheless, he failed not in copiousness of language. Those celebrated instances of death undergone for one's country seemed to the rhetoricians not only glorious, but happy. They begin with Erechtheus, whose daughters even eagerly sought death to save the lives of their fellow citizens; and Codrus who, that he might not be recognised in his royal apparel, put on the dress of a servant, and

rushed into the thickest of the enemy, because the oracle had declared that, if their king should be slain, Athens would be victorious. Menœceus is not passed over, who, in obedience to the command of the oracle, poured out his blood for his country ; and Iphigenia at Aulis orders herself to be slain,² that she may draw forth the blood of the enemy by her own.

XLIX. Then they come to times nearer to them. Harmodius and Aristogeiton are on their lips. The Lacedemonian Leonidas, the Theban Epamidondas are fresh in mind. They did not know the example we have furnished. To enumerate would take a long time — so many are they who thought death with glory desirable.

Though these things are so, yet we must use great eloquence ; and discourse as it were from a higher place, so that men may begin to desire death, or at least cease to fear it. For if that last day brings not annihilation, but only a change of place, what more desirable ? But if it destroys and annihilates altogether, what better fate than to fall asleep in the midst of the labors of life, and so shutting the eyes to be lulled into an eternal rest ? If it be so, the saying of Ennius is better than that of Solon. For the first says, “ Let no one lament me with tears, nor make my funeral rites with lamentations.” While he, so truly wise, says, “ Let not my death want tears ; may I leave sadness for my loss to my friends, and may they celebrate my burial with grief.”

But if it could happen to me that my death should be foretold by a god, joyfully, and with thanksgiving would I obey, esteeming myself about to be freed from prison, and loosened from my chains, either to return to a home which is eternal and plainly our own, or to be free from all sensation and trouble. But if no indication of that event shall be given, let us, however, be of that mind, that we may regard a day so fearful to others, as happy and propitious to ourselves ; and let us consider nothing as an evil which is appointed by the immortal gods, or by nature the parent of all things. For not at random and by chance were we formed and created, but certainly by a power which would consult the happiness of the human race, nor would produce or sustain that which, when it had exhausted every hardship, should encounter the woes of eternal death. Let us rather think, a harbor and place of refuge is prepared for us. Pray heaven we may arrive there with wide-spread sails ! But if adverse winds throw us back,

still we shall arrive there, though a little more slowly. But can that which is inevitable to all be miserable to one? You have my epilogue, unless you think something has been omitted.

A. I have, indeed ; and it has made me firmer than ever.

M. Very well, say I. But now, indeed, let us give something to health. But to-morrow, and every day we stay in Tusculanum, let us discuss these questions, especially those which may lighten our pain, remove our fears, and moderate our passions ; which are the richest fruits of all philosophy.

J. N. B.

THE INSANE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THERE are at this moment a large number of Lunatics in the Alms Houses and Jails of this Commonwealth. The thought is serious and sad to contemplate. Disease should be met with pity, not with punishment ; and of all diseases, surely there is none more worthy of compassion than that under which the Lunatic suffers. How melancholy the thought of a blank, bewildered, and frantic brain ; and that one thus bereft should be cast into a miserable cell and fettered in irons, seems inhuman. In a former day the idea of being able to restore the insane to health appears hardly to have entered the mind. For us there are other views. The wonderful success of many asylums has clearly proved what kindness, comfort, and judicious treatment may accomplish.

Few scenes can be more painful than those presented in some of our Alms Houses and Jails, owing to the deplorable situation of the Lunatics therein confined. We speak not now of what might have been seen fifteen or twenty years ago, but of what may be seen at this very day. Not many miles from the capital of the State is a poor Lunatic who has been chained for the last twenty years. The iron bracelet is screwed about each ankle, while both feet have been so frozen that nothing but the stumps remain. There the poor creature with his tangled gray hair hanging over his eyes, sleeps by night upon straw, and by day sits laughing in frantic mirth, goaded at

times into maniac ferocity by his confinement. In the room below is an unfortunate female chained in the same manner, at times excited by the ravings above, and at others, by the jests of the passers by.

Connected with another asylum is a small building standing by itself. From that low edifice may be heard wild cries, snatches of hymns, songs, curses, prayers. On opening the door you behold, caged, a young woman ; she sleeps upon the floor over which straw is scattered. There through the cold winter she lives, if living it may be called, and at all times may be heard her mutterings and screams.

At another Alms House, in a low, narrow cell, crouches a man in middle life. There is no bed in the apartment, the atmosphere is offensive, and here, trembling with weakness, shivering with cold, pale and emaciated, you may behold the victim of disease and despair.

At another place may be seen eighteen bereft of reason, in varied conditions of misery ; and in the Jail of Middlesex there are confined more than twenty idiots and insane. What crime have they committed ? Why should they be there ? One poor creature has frequent epileptic convulsions, and is wasted away nigh unto death. Is a Jail a fitting place for him ? Shall these unfortunate fellow-beings continue thus through life ? — The thief is condemned for a stated time, and with a series of months or years comes his release. But when does the Lunatic gain release ? Not until he is cured ; and the very manner of his confinement is a guarantee that that can be, *never*. The longer the insane remain without proper medical care, the more deeply rooted becomes the disease, and the more aggravated its character.

We have alluded to a few individual cases. There are from 300 to 500 of such cases in the Commonwealth — of lunatics not properly provided for, and very many of whom absolutely suffer. Their situation is one of great severity, and Humanity cries aloud for their relief. They are now in places which were never intended to meet their wants. The keepers of the houses where they are placed may do all in their power, but they speak freely and earnestly of their inadequacy to keep the insane comfortable, and to secure them any prospect of a recovery. They may be found in cages, in cold sheds, in dark and damp cellars. They may be found in wretched destitution, stripped of their garments, and in the midst of filth. We

desire not to exaggerate. The case is bad enough as it is, and needs not be made worse. The persons under whom these miserable beings are placed are not expected to understand much, or anything of proper medical treatment. They are furnished with no fitting accommodations, and desire, as much as any persons, that these sufferers should be placed elsewhere. Let it be remembered that hundreds are thus situated, and then conceive of the anguish which is daily experienced; and let it be asked and answered, is it to the honor of Massachusetts that such things should be allowed to continue?

Massachusetts has already done much in the philanthropic work of rescuing from misery this unhappy class. No State in the Union has done so much. Previous to 1818, though there might have been private asylums, there was no public Hospital for Lunatics in the Commonwealth. At that time the sufferings of the insane awakened such attention and interest, that the McLean Asylum was established. This noble institution commenced its work in the midst of doubt and discouragement. Many believed that the disease was incurable, and some, even among the medical profession, agreed in that opinion. This institution was considered an experiment, but the experiment was one of entire success. The Hospital was soon full, and more patients applied than could be received. Many were restored, and returned in health to their friends. This institution has prospered beyond the most sanguine expectation of its warmest friends. During 1841, two hundred and eighty-three patients had received the benefit of the institution within the year, about one hundred and fifty being accommodated at any one time. During the twenty-four years of its operation, two thousand and thirteen lunatics have been received within its walls; and of these, four hundred and fifty-six have been partially relieved, and eight hundred and seventy-seven restored to complete health. The successive labors of Drs. Wyman, Lee, and Bell, have given this institution a high character. The first individual labored as its superintendent for seventeen years, and did much to establish the character of the asylum. Dr. Lee died soon after he entered upon his labors, and Dr. Bell for the last six years has, by his professional skill and indefatigable zeal, fully sustained its well deserved reputation.

In this Institution strait waistcoats, handcuffs, and chains are all laid aside, and it is found that order is most successfully preserved under affectionate treatment. The inmates are led

to understand, that if they comply with the mild laws of the place and exercise self-control, they will enjoy extended privileges ; and with this prospect, and under these influences, they are quickened into self-respect and gentle obedience. This institution was among the first that had the courage to try the experiment of mechanical labor ; and although, since the introduction of employment, heavy and sharp tools have been placed in the hands of many hundreds, not one accident has occurred.

This admirably conducted institution has been a source of inestimable good, and reflects the highest honor upon that part of our community who have given it encouragement and aid.*

In 1830 another Institution, the first of the kind in the country, was established. This was to be expressly for poor and imprisoned lunatics. Its plan was conceived in the spirit of true philanthropy. Great exertions were made by several individuals ; and perhaps to no one is the country more indebted than to the Hon. Horace Mann, now the Secretary of the Board of Education. Were this the only noble achievement of his life, he would not have lived in vain ; and the thought of that Humane Asylum will long be associated with his name. It was the expressed desire of the Board of Commissioners at that time, that all Lunatics then in prisons and jails throughout the Commonwealth should be removed to this asylum ; and in 1833 the Governor issued a proclamation to this effect. Whether this was literally answered in all the counties we do not know — but a great change was brought about.

Ten years have passed since the doors of this Institution were opened, and from that moment it has taken a strong hold upon the sympathies of the community. The energy and skill of those who have presided over it have been such as to gain the confidence of the public, and the highest regard of the most eminent men. The individual at its head, both by his uniform kindness, his calm determination, and consummate medical knowledge, has justly gained a reputation second to none in the country — perhaps it might safely be said — second to none in the world. Within nine years this institution has received and taken care of 1,359 lunatics — of these, 588 have been restored to health and usefulness. Of this number

* The expense to patients in this Hospital is \$3,50 per week for residents of the State — and \$4,50 per week for residents of other states. As this is not a Charity Hospital, none are admitted except such as can pay.

very many had been in cages and cells. Some had been in bondage for forty years. Some had been so neglected and abused that the accounts seem too fearful to be true. The whole number comprized a more hopeless class of patients than were probably ever brought together with the thought of being cured. During the first year, one hundred and seven were received, who had been adjudged by the courts to be so furiously mad, as to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the community. One hundred looked upon all with enmity. Forty had stripped themselves and would not be clothed, even in the severity of winter; and yet, out of 1,359, 588 were restored to health.

We have seen what was their condition before going to the Asylum — it may be asked what was their treatment while in it? We are told in the trustworthy reports, that “during the whole period, not a blow has been struck, not a chain has been used, not a harsh word spoken.” “At this moment,” says the 6th Report, p. 59, out of 230 patients, but one individual, either man or woman, in our wards has upon his or her person any restraint whatever.” Mittens and wristbands are sometimes used, but very seldom. In the selection of attendants the most rigid caution is exercised. Such are selected as are firm, yet gentle; persons of cultivated minds, and strict morality. There are amusements for the inmates — riding, walking, dancing, swinging, blind-man’s buff, &c. There are pleasant and profitable employments; reading, writing, farming, and the like. The benefit of labor becomes more apparent every year. In the domestic departments, the cooking, washing, ironing, &c. are done principally by the inmates. In the last Report, 1842, we are told, that there are not twelve out of the one hundred and fifteen women in the establishment, who were not more or less employed every day. “We are indeed,” says the Report, “an industrious household, all busy, all having something to do, and all feeling that we are adding to the general stock of good.” There is a large library connected with the institution, from which the inmates have the liberty of taking books. In 1837 a chapel was dedicated for religious worship. Since that time there have been in the hospital 845 patients, of whom 797 have attended religious worship. With few exceptions they are attentive listeners. Good order and solemnity pervade the chapel. The texts and portions of the discourse are remem-

bered by nearly all. There is also a prayer meeting on Saturday evening, and a Bible class on the Sabbath. This was the first institution in the country, which had a chapel set apart for religious worship, though at the present time religious services are generally held at other asylums. These services are looked upon as of undoubted utility.

In the Report of 1841 is the following interesting statement.

“During the evening previous to the Sabbath, a patient furiously mad, was brought to the Hospital in the care of a Sheriff. He had been considered quite dangerous, and the Sheriff hesitated whether it would be safe to come with him, unless he was confined in irons. He appeared calm on the following morning, and it was proposed that he should attend Chapel; he seemed pleased with the privilege; attended the service all day, and conducted with the utmost propriety. These occurrences,” continues the Report, “which were of yesterday, are happening almost every Sabbath, and show most clearly the propriety and importance of religious worship to the insane.”

What a contrast does such a state of things present to the situation of those who are even to this day confined in damp, dark, cheerless dungeons. This magnificent Charity, this philanthropic Asylum for suffering humanity, may well be considered as one of the chief glories of New England. Every citizen of Massachusetts may kindle with holy joy as he contemplates its wide-spread influence. It is a noble manifestation of the humane spirit of the Commonwealth.

There is also an asylum at South Boston; but this institution limits its benefits to the city. In 1837, when Samuel A. Eliot was mayor, he brought this subject before the public in his inaugural address.

“There are many unfortunate idiots and maniacs in the House of Industry and Correction, for whom, under existing circumstances, no suitable accommodations are or can be provided. By the Revised Statutes, a hospital is required for such persons in the House of Correction. Would it not be becoming in a community of large resources and enlightened liberality, to provide for the comfort and safety of those also who are inmates of the House of Industry? A hospital, fitted for the application of suitable treatment of these patients, would not only be honorable to the philanthropy of the city, but might result in such a diminution of their number as materially to lessen the expense of their support.”

In compliance with this suggestion a committee was appointed, who favorably reported ; and the result is, that an appropriate Hospital has been erected, and is now in successful operation. It was opened, Dec. 1839. In the Report of the Inspectors for June, 1841, it is said, "It has become an established and prosperous institution." "It seems to be in successful action for the cure, relief, and mitigation of one of the greatest maladies which afflict the human race." The Report goes on to show that many lunatics considered incurable have been restored, and that even the worst cases have shown improvement. The 'incurable pauper,' as the poor lunatic is at times called, can be, even in his worst estate, calmed, and rendered harmless and happy. Surely this is no slight thing, even if his disease is so rooted as not to be wholly overcome, though it is only in cases which have been long neglected that recovery is considered doubtful. In the Report of the Inspectors for 1842, it is said, "The recent inspection of the Boston Lunatic Hospital has given renewed evidence of the wisdom of the city in establishing, and of the Superintendent and others in managing this important institution." About two hundred patients have received the benefits of this Asylum. This building was commenced as a receptacle for the poor and incurable insane of the city. As severe and hopeless cases were collected here, as were to be found in New England, yet general order pervades the establishment. Few restraints are ever needed. All are obedient and cheerful. The only thing which throws gloom over the picture is the result of old cases, where the effect of former neglect clings to the mind ; but even in these cases kindness and care have produced decidedly beneficial effects, and frequently actual restoration. Here you may see those, who have been raging, peacefully engaged in manual labor, tilling the earth, cultivating flowers, making baskets, or otherwise engaged in active employment. Here, again, you may see them cheerfully mingling in innocent recreation ; some engaged in chess and backgammon, some playing upon musical instruments, while others unite in singing. Thus are their minds diverted, their troubles dispelled. A new life is awakened in the mental nature, and new vigor added to the physical system. And here also every Sabbath you may see the insane listening with mild, yet earnest expression, to the truths of the Gospel.

Thus has the city of Boston honorably provided for this most unfortunate class of sufferers. The city government has thus

far liberally sustained this institution, and established it upon such principles as may secure to it the interest of a Christian community.

Much, then, has been done in Massachusetts for the relief of the Insane. She has gone before all other States in the Union. And now, it may be asked, "Has she not done enough?" "Are not these institutions sufficient to meet her wants?" It may be replied, that there are 500 insane in the State not yet under healing influences. That hundreds are still suffering, and many suffering intensely, in alms-houses, jails, and houses of correction. This is said not as a fancy, but as a fact. At this day there is a piercing cry coming up to us for relief.

But it may be asked, is there not room in the Hospitals now existing? It must be remembered that the McLean Asylum is an expensive institution, somewhat private in its character, and also, that it is full to overflowing. In their Reports for several years past they say they have been unable to receive all who have applied, and for those they have received, they have needed more room. The Hospital at Worcester is also full. It has generally 240 patients, and the number of apartments does not exceed 225. In the last Report, for 1842, it is said "There is scarcely a day in the year when every apartment is not occupied; and much of the time we have more persons in the establishment than we have rooms for their accommodation, and are obliged to lodge them in the halls and infirmaries. It is desirable to be full; but to be overrun, and then be constantly pressed with new cases, is a subject of great inconvenience." "Every year since the Hospital was enlarged we have had applications enough, that have been rejected for want of room, to fill a good-sized establishment."

The Hospital at South Boston is intended solely for the pauper lunatics of the city, and cannot open its doors to those who suffer beyond that limit.

Here then we see that there is not ample provision to meet existing wants. There are 1514 lunatics and idiots in the State to be provided for. In the three Hospitals there are accommodations for only 492, leaving 1022. Making a deduction for the idiotic, and those who can be provided for by their friends, we have at least 500 for whom an asylum should be open. This estimate is verified by the pauper abstract, pub-

lished in 1840, which gives 518 lunatic paupers, and 369 idiotic paupers. Consider then these 500 lunatics, or call it 300. Consider 300 poor, friendless, forlorn creatures ; and must we not feel for them a pang of sympathy, and a desire to act for their good ?

What then shall be done ? A new Hospital must be established, or our existing institutions must be enlarged. If the present institutions can be enlarged so as to meet the want, this may answer ; otherwise, we require a separate asylum.

Dr. Bell in his Report for 1839, says :

“ To the active curable cases, it should be in the power of the Superintendent to devote as much of his time as will give him a minute knowledge of the mental habits, diseased impressions and physical condition of each individual, and acquire, as far as may be, his entire confidence and regard ; “ consequently,” he adds, “ with uninterrupted health, an entire freedom from all personal care, and with all the aid that he desired, of experienced, capable, and conscientious assistants in every department, any increase of number would involve an inability to do them the greatest amount of good.”

He therefore objects to any enlargement of the institution.

We find that all the asylums which exist are overflowing ; and the superintendent of one, who is a man of great experience in this subject, objects to any increase in the number of patients, on the ground of having as many now as can be properly attended to ; and yet there are several hundred who are not included in either of these institutions. It is evident that something should be done. The charity of the past has brought its reward. But all has not yet been accomplished.

Let us consider some of the reasons why we should make exertions at this time.

1. The insane who are in alms-houses and jails often suffer very much where they now are. There are no accommodations for them. They cannot receive proper medical treatment. There is nothing calculated to give either happiness or relief. Those who have not visited the places where some of this class are now confined, can hardly understand the wretchedness of their situation. In not a few instances the insane are thrust away in garrets and cellars, [we speak advisedly] some with scanty food and fire, some with meagre apparel, and some bent to deformity by the low and narrow places in which they have been chained. There are other instances where they are treat-

ed with all the kindness which, in the places where they are, they could be expected to receive ; but in jails, alms-houses, and houses of correction, they cannot, from the very nature of the case, receive that attention and treatment which is proper.

2. The insane become worse through neglect. Their minds, filled with gloom at first through wrong treatment, sink into darkness and desolation. The iron enters their soul ;—their whole nature becomes more and more warped, and torn from its centre. It is comparatively easy to cure this disease, if taken early and treated aright. It is next to impossible to cure it, when long neglected and improperly managed. In speaking of the manner in which the insane were formerly neglected, and as many are dealt with at the present time, it is said, in the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital Reports : “ Were a system now devised, whose express object it should be, to drive every victim of insanity beyond the limits of hope, it would scarcely be within the power of a perverse ingenuity to suggest one more infallible, than that which, for so many years, has been in practical operation among us.” — p. 19.

Eighty or ninety out of every hundred, who are put into a proper asylum, within one year may reasonably be expected to recover ; while, if they have been longer without the advantages of proper treatment, the probability of restoration rapidly decreases. Even amid the peacefulness of home, with all the care of friends, the hope of recovery is greatly less than in a hospital established for the purpose.

Dr. Woodward’s table shows, that 88 per cent. were cured of those, who had been insane less than one year ; 57 per cent. of those insane from one to two years ; 37 per cent. of those insane from two to five ; and 11 per cent. of those insane from five to ten years. (Rep. 1840.)

It is, therefore, important that there should be ample provision for the insane, that their disease may be speedily removed, and that the persons afflicted be not doomed for life to this grievous malady.

3. Although the immediate expense might be considerable of erecting a new hospital, or of adding new buildings to the hospitals already in operation, yet this step would be, in fact, a matter of real economy. We have seen, that under neglect, the disease remains for years, if not for life. In shortening the length of the disease we lessen expense. The old system brought constantly upon the State a burden of expenditure. In the

poor-house and jail, the disorder becomes fixed ; in a hospital constructed with reference to the disease, the patient is generally restored. In all existing hospitals, the difficulty is with the cases which have been aggravated by just such a course as we are still pursuing in our alms-houses and jails. In the last Report of the South Boston Hospital, (City Doc. No. 17, p. 18,) it is said, "Of the old cases now in the house, [the result of a previous system, opposite to that now in operation,] it is to be expected, that nearly all will remain, till, in turn, each one shall pass to the grave." This is a general experience, showing the effect of neglect, and demonstrating, that a course which will restore is less expensive, even as a mere matter of dollars, than to fasten upon them a disease, which will make them the sources of public expense as long as they live.

Dr. Woodward, of Worcester, and Dr. Jarvis, late of Kentucky,* and others,† have entered into accurate calculations upon this subject, and the result shows, that new hospitals are a great advantage, on the ground of political economy.

4. But a higher reason than that of economy, and infinitely more imperative, is that of Humanity. Even were it an additional expense, this should be considered as no obstacle in the way. Indeed, we confess we are pleased to look upon those charities which do cost somewhat, for there seems to be a nobler element in them. It is a cheering sight to see a community voluntarily taxing themselves for the relief of the destitute. If the relief can be given, and the laws of nature are such, as is often the case, that the good brings more advantage than we sought, it is well. But in regard to this charity, cost what it might, within the bounds of possibility, it should be done. Ponder the ap-

* Dr. Jarvis has published two valuable pamphlets on the subject of Insanity, which first appeared in the *Western Medical Journal*.

† In 1837, it was estimated that there were between 600 and 700 lunatics in New Hampshire ; 300 of these were paupers, and 200 were locked up in jails and cages. It was estimated, that 45 new cases were yearly added to the list of those considered incurable. Great exertions were made throughout the State to establish a hospital. The sum of \$15,000 was granted by the State, on condition that as large a sum could be obtained by private subscription. G. W. Haven, Esq., and several other gentlemen, made untiring efforts to awaken a right public feeling. Among other arguments, Mr. Haven entered into a calculation to show, that the erection of a new asylum for the reception of the insane would be a yearly saving to the State of \$15,000. During the last year, the hospital was completed, and Dr. Chandler, late of Worcester, was appointed its Superintendent.

palling fact, that every day hundreds of these our fellow-beings suffer, and that every hour's delay, on our part, adds to their torture, and lessens the probability of their being restored. Then picture the happy change, if the same individuals could be placed in a proper asylum; and does not conscience speak, as with the voice of God, "What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might?" Remember, that in the poor-house and jail the fact is hardly known of any lunatics having been restored, while in the hospitals of this State over fourteen hundred have been positively cured, and seven hundred more have been greatly improved. Think of rejoicing parents welcoming back their restored child; think of children clasping again the parent, who was once insane, but whose countenance now beams with intelligent joy. These are the blessed result of well-established institutions; and while many are enabled to receive the benefits of such asylums as we have, hundreds are, for want of room, excluded. Are not these worthy of sympathy? And shall not the same generous community, which has already done so much, embrace all in the arms of its mercy?

And, once more, we may say, that we have reason to plead for this class, because they cannot plead for themselves. It is one of the evils of insanity, that it cannot gain a fair hearing, or make known its wants. It laughs in horrid mirth, while coals of fire are on its head. It shrinks and shudders before the phantoms of its own creation. It sits in morbid silence while disease is gnawing upon its life. The insane plead not for themselves, but will not every generous heart feel yet more for them, in remembrance of their forlorn condition?

And let us not forget, that this malady oftenest comes to the most richly endowed minds. Those who have fine sensibilities; those who have a tender conscience; those who have such spiritual energy as to exhaust the physical powers; such most frequently suffer. Do not such instances as those of Tasso, Sir Isaac Newton, and Robert Hall, show us that the noblest minds may be bowed under this affliction? Does not the remembrance of Cowper throw a sanctity around this painful disease? And have there not been those among us, highly gifted spirits, who have become unstrung? whose splendid powers have been shrouded by this dark cloud? They may have been so fortunate as to have had friends, who have surrounded them with tokens of Christian kindness and care. But what becomes of

the poor? Who asks for the pauper? Shall he be thrust into some Bridewell, and left there to suffer and die?

Connected with insanity, the past has much of horror, but the future is full of hope. Pinel, in France, some fifty years ago, first struck the chains from the maniac, and became a pioneer in this benevolent work. Rush, in our own country, even previous to that, published his famous Essay "on the influence of physical causes upon the moral faculty." This was read before the American Philosophical Society in 1786. Since the days of these distinguished men, the progress of enlightened and humane views has been very great. Much improvement has been made in Europe, particularly in Great Britain; but in no community has more been accomplished than in New England. Nowhere has force been more generally exchanged for kindness, or the uses of manual labor been more practically and beautifully exhibited. In no place has there been a greater amelioration of distress, or more frequent cases of restoration. In no part of the world has the public mind looked with more increasing favor upon these institutions, or felt a stronger sympathy for this afflicted class. Thus has misery been alleviated, and humanity blessed.

Since writing the above, we have received the following interesting and valuable letter from Dr. Woodward, which we take the liberty of inserting.

"State Lunatic Hospital, Worcester, Dec. 13th, 1842.

* * * * *

"It is very certain, that more accommodations are needed for the insane of the Commonwealth, and that they will not, at this day, be furnished by private contributions, as was once the case. The governments of the States have assumed this duty, and to them the public everywhere look, for whatever may be necessary, in this broad field of benevolence. If the subject is presented to the legislature at its next session, in its proper light, I have no doubt that something will be done to benefit this class of sufferers. I believe, that in the jails and houses of correction in the Commonwealth, there are now as many insane as when the State Lunatic Hospital was established. Perhaps the county of Suffolk is an exception, as their insane are now comfortably provided for in the City Hospital.

"Within the ten years of our existence as a Hospital, there have been sent back to the jails, from this institution, 38 dangerous insane, besides a dozen or more, that were transferred from this Hospital to the Hospital at South Boston. The trus-

tees have sent away, the past year, 51 as harmless and incurable, principally for want of room; 14 dangerous and incurable were sent away, mostly to the jails. More than 100 patients have been rejected for want of room, the majority of whom were residents in this State. We have constantly been crowded, and have had an average of about 8 patients through the year more than rooms for them to occupy.

“These facts alone are sufficient to show, that more accommodations are needed for the insane in this Commonwealth. How and when they shall be made, is an important inquiry.

“In this connexion I would say, that I am decidedly opposed to county institutions, as being too small to admit the right kind of superintendence and general management. They will most certainly degenerate into *insane poor-houses*, and in the event, be little better than the present receptacles. There should be no institution for the insane, without a medical head residing in it.

“Large institutions for this class of the insane are better, in many respects, than small ones. Classification will be better, the facilities of business and labor better, and sufficient men of a trade will be collected to give encouragement for building shops and employing an overseer, cultivating a farm, and improving a garden advantageously. Such is the case with our Hospital. We make from \$1100 to \$1200 worth of shoes annually; have carpenters, cabinet-makers, and mattress-makers in shops fitted for labor, and carried on with profit. We also assemble a respectable congregation on the Sabbath, and can employ a chaplain, to be exclusively devoted to our family.

“If we had 150 or 200 patients more, we could do all this equally well. Indeed, the poor are better off in the same institutions with the better classes. A good influence is felt by them, and motives are constantly before them to increase their self-respect, that they may associate with better society, the kind influence which must be extended to the better classes is contagious, and reaches them and their attendants.

“The State Lunatic Hospital has a fund of \$34,000, given by Mrs. Johonnot, of Salem, subject to a life annuity, at present amounting to about \$2400 or \$2500 annually. The board of trustees, at a recent meeting, voted to petition the Legislature to assume these annuities, and allow this fund to be expended in erecting about 150 rooms for the insane, appended to the present building. I am myself in favor of this proposition, because I believe the Legislature will be more willing to do this, than to appropriate a sum sufficient for the object, from the treasury of the State, and because, for this class, I think large institutions are both more economical, and better than small

ones, and because I believe that there is more certainty, that the desired object will be immediately attained in this way than any other. * * * * *

“Yours respectfully,

S. B. WOODWARD.”

No testimony could be more valuable than this. It should be remembered, however, that the provision proposed, while it would give accommodation to 150 or 200 more than are now provided for, would not be sufficient for all who should have a place in such an asylum. This additional provision would, indeed, be a great gain. But we trust, that when this subject comes before the Legislature, there will be a committee appointed to enter into a thorough investigation of the number of insane throughout the State, and to report concerning their condition, that the community may have authentic information upon this subject.

During the past year, several gentlemen, by visiting our jails and alms-houses, have endeavored to become better acquainted with the present state of things, and one individual, — a lady, who has long been practically interested in the moral welfare of those who are in prison, — has, at her own expense, not only visited alms-houses, jails, and hospitals in distant cities, but has visited within the last six months every county, and nearly every town in the State, and is at this time pursuing her investigation, which voluntary and Christian labor she will not close, until every alms-house and jail has been examined. The shameful neglect manifested in a few places, first awakened sympathy, and, with earnest perseverance, the work has, thus far, been carried through. These things show what can be accomplished by individual effort, and that there are substantial causes for continued exertion.

We do not doubt, that if this subject can be fairly brought before our State Government, ample accommodations will be provided for every lunatic in the State, either by the erection of a new asylum, or by the enlargement of those institutions which already exist. Should the Commonwealth persevere until this good work is accomplished, she will eradicate a fearful wrong from the midst of society, relieve hundreds from suffering, and complete what has been nobly begun; a work which is worthy of a people's sympathy, and the fostering care of an enlightened government.

R. C. W.

POEMS ON SLAVERY.

IN both prose and poetry, in any and every form that language can assume, we desire ever to raise our voice against Slavery — Slavery of body and mind, at home and abroad, original and transmitted. Yet we ally ourselves with no existing association, of any name or kind; nor are we partisans of any movement, at present devised or in progress for the abolition of that gigantic evil, that hovers like a destroying curse over the land, and which, if the South find not its reason or humanity, nor listen to the entreaties or warnings of mankind, will one day fall, and bury freeman and slave, them and us, in a common ruin. For no movement, we apprehend, save one on the part of the slaveholding community itself, can free the slave, without entailing upon the country a greater evil than that which it removes. On our part, at the North, this seems to be a subject for action no otherwise than, in the first place, through a moderate, just, and humane press: — moderate, in that it shall not require moral changes in the character of the slaveholder, in his opinions, principles, and feelings, as great as the mind can well conceive, to be accomplished in a day or a year — just and humane, in that it shall consider the rights and feelings of the unfortunate, in most cases, involuntary slaveholder, as well as the scarcely more unfortunate slave. And in the second place, through petitions to Congress, both for the removal of this offensive institution from the District of Columbia — common ground to all the Union, and where the Northern man ought not to be compelled to witness any of the signs of that traffic in blood, which is apt to stir his passions too much against the abettors of it, when his reason is enough — and for the passing of such laws, and making such changes in the constitution as shall lead the way to its ultimate extinction.

In the mean time we hold that the provisions of the constitution are to be inviolably observed, in their letter and in their spirit; nor should any rash and unprincipled violation of it — as by the South in the imprisonment and selling as slaves of free colored citizens of the North landing on their shores — serve as a pretext for similar violation on our part. Whatever others

may do, let not us violate a moral obligation, or break our promises, or do evil that good may come, or think we are serving God and right by forcing our own sense of duty and religion upon the conscience of others. Let nullification become right, here, and in one thing, and it is right, everywhere, and in everything, and anarchy is come. Absolute, unconditional fealty to the constitution is a more binding duty, and a higher virtue, and a more probable means of securing the general welfare, than carrying into effect any one, or any twenty, benevolent projects, to which our own judgment or humanity may prompt us. We can listen to proposed changes in the constitution — though to change, even but for once, seems to imply corruptibility, and to threaten death — nay, we can listen to discussions of projects for new divisions of the Union, to the nicest calculations of its value, but never to any proposition that involves a violation of the original compact. That carries with it the taint of treachery, and the breaking of a pledged word, and no evil can be so great as that. While the constitution stands, let it stand. Let it be the Constitution — or Revolution.

But whatever fault we may find with some attempted or proposed methods of political action, we cordially greet every new laborer in the moral field of this divine labor of human emancipation. Especially happy are we to be able to count one of Mr. Longfellow's genius and celebrity among those friends of universal liberty, who are willing to speak their word in its behalf. In this little book of poems he has spoken with feeling, with truth, and eminent poetic beauty. It would not be right to quote the whole volume, and would, we suppose, be an invasion of copyright, and bring us into trouble; but we will venture upon half, and trust to the author's clemency.

THE SLAVE'S DREAM.

BESIDE the ungathered rice he lay,
His sickle in his hand;
His breast was bare, his matted hair
Was buried in the sand.
Again, in the mist and shadow of sleep,
He saw his Native Land.

Wide through the landscape of his dreams
The lordly Niger flowed ;
Beneath the palm-trees on the plain
Once more a king he strode ;
And heard the tinkling caravans
Descend the mountain-road.

He saw once more his dark-eyed queen
Among her children stand ;
They clasped his neck, they kissed his cheeks,
They held him by the hand ! —
A tear burst from the sleeper's lids
And fell into the sand.

And then at furious speed he rode
Along the Niger's bank ;
His bridle reins were golden chains,
And with a martial clank,
At each leap he could feel his scabbard of steel
Smiting his stallion's flank.

Before him, like a blood-red flag,
The bright flamingoes flew ;
From morn till night he followed their flight,
O'er plains where the tamarind grew,
Till he saw the roofs of Caffre huts,
And the ocean rose to view.

At night he heard the lion roar,
And the hyæna scream,
And the river-horse, as he crushed the reeds
Beside some hidden stream ;
And it passed, like a glorious roll of drums,
Through the triumph of his dream.

The forests, with their myriad tongues,
Shouted of liberty ;
And the Blast of the Desert cried aloud,
With a voice so wild and free,
That he started in his sleep and smiled
At their tempestuous glee.

He did not feel the driver's whip,
Nor the burning heat of day ;
For death had illumined the Land of Sleep,
And his lifeless body lay
A worn-out fether, that the soul
Had broken and thrown away !

THE SLAVE SINGING AT MIDNIGHT.

LOUD he sang the psalm of David !
He a Negro and enslaved,
Sang of Israel's victory,
Sang of Zion, bright and free.

In that hour, when night is calmest,
Sang he from the Hebrew Psalmist,
In a voice so sweet and clear
That I could not choose but hear,

Songs of triumph, and ascriptions,
Such as reached the swart Egyptians,
When upon the Red Sea coast
Perished Pharaoh and his host.

And the voice of his devotion
Filled my soul with strange emotion ;
For its tones by turns were glad,
Sweetly solemn, wildly sad.

Paul and Silas, in their prison,
Sang of Christ the Lord arisen,
And an earthquake's arm of might
Broke their dungeon-gates at night.

But, alas ! what holy angel
Brings the Slave this glad evangel ?
And what earthquake's arm of might
Breaks his dungeon-gates at night ?

THE WITNESSES.

IN Ocean's wide domains,
Half buried in the sands,
Lie skeletons in chains,
With shackled feet and hands.

Beyond the fall of dews,
Deeper than plummet lies,
Float ships, with all their crews,
No more to sink or rise.

There the black Slave-ship swims,
Freighted with human forms,
Whose fettered, fleshless limbs
Are not the sport of storms.

These are the bones of Slaves;
They gleam from the abyss;
They cry, from yawning waves,
"We are the Witnesses!"

Within Earth's wide domains
Are markets for men's lives;
Their necks are galled with chains,
Their wrists are cramped with gyves.

Dead bodies, that the kite
In deserts makes its prey;
Murders, that with affright
Scare schoolboys from their play!

All evil thoughts and deeds;
Anger, and lust, and pride;
The foulest, rankest weeds,
That choke Life's groaning tide!

These are the woes of Slaves;
They glare from the abyss;
They cry, from unknown graves,
"We are the Witnesses!"

The Poems are inscribed to Dr. Channing in the following lines.

TO WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

THE pages of thy book I read,
And as I closed each one,
My heart, responding, ever said,
"Servant of God! well done!"

Well done! thy words are great and bold;
At times they seem to me,
Like Luther's, in the days of old,
Half-battles for the free.

Go on, until this land revokes
The old and chartered Lie,
The feudal curse, whose whips and yokes
Insult humanity.

A voice is ever at thy side
Speaking in tones of might,
Like the prophetic voice, that cried
To John in Patmos, "Write!"

Write! and tell out this bloody tale;
Record this dire eclipse,
This Day of Wrath, this Endless Wail,
This dread Apocalypse!

CURWEN'S JOURNAL AND LETTERS.

WE are sufficiently familiar through our local and general histories, and many other publications of a more ephemeral character, with the feelings and principles of our revolutionary ancestors. Of late, especially, in the volumes of letters which have proceeded from the Adams family, have we been made acquainted with the mind in all its various phases of our rebel fathers and mothers, as well as with their outward circumstances. Men in public life and private, seekers after honor, and those who had found it, husbands, wives, and daughters—there is hardly a shade of feeling or of thought that may at any time have found a place in their bosoms, but, having naturally been recorded at the time in memoir, letter, or journal, it has descended to our day, and introduced us into the very heart of those stirring times. There is not a lesson of resistance necessary to the management of a successful rebellion, which we have not got by heart a thousand times, and, if the same scenes were to be enacted over again, could carry into action, we doubt not, to the general admiration of the world. We have not been permitted to forget, moreover, the sufferings of our brave forefathers, their sacrifices, self-devotion, and losses — their labors in the camp and in the cabinet, their perplexities, doubts, and fears. Many times every year, beside through the books we read, are our sympathies stirred up and kept awake by lecture, or oration, or sermon, on Sundays and on week days, on religious and secular holy-days, fourth of Julys, Thanksgivings, Fasts. The last thing an American citizen of the present day is in the least danger of forgetting is his obligations to the men and women of '76 — may it be among the last he ever shall forget. But this is no good reason why we should forget every thing else. It is no good reason why especially we should forget that large number of our ancestors, who, for reasons satisfactory to themselves,—as honest too in their judgements we may suppose as the patriots — could see no sufficient ground for the proposed resistance ; doubted whether any form of government, any condition of society could arise, out of the blood and uproar of a revolution, with all the causes of domestic jealousy and contention its termination would bring along with it, that would afford so many and so signal advantages, as, with all the acknowledged injustice and unkindness, they experienced in

their connexion with England. And then there was, as they would think, the almost certainty of defeat in any open contest with the first power of the world—an issue so probable in any impartial survey of the respective parties, that it can be ascribed only to that blindness, with which the gods sometimes visit men whom they wish to save, as well as to destroy, that they dared so unequal a strife. The unanimity of the country is the most astonishing feature of the revolution.

But few as the loyalists were — behind those properly so called, we cannot doubt, there were large multitudes quietly seated on the fence, ready to jump off on the king's side when the time came, — they certainly deserve our sympathy and our respect. They were the few against the many, a handful against a nation, yet they spoke their opinions openly and boldly, and sooner than yield them, renounced country, kindred, home, and self-banished, past their lives, at least the seven years of the war, as exiles in foreign lands ;—many of them, their property being confiscated, in absolute dependence upon the bounty of the English Government, who before had enjoyed independence and wealth, and might have done to their dying day, by simply holding their peace. These traits of honesty and courage are matter of honorable mention wherever we find them. There was hardly any kind of privation or suffering of a personal kind endured by the revolutionists, the army excepted, which was not borne equally by the refugee loyalists. They were insulted, ridiculed, persecuted in a thousand ways; their property seized, and themselves banished. All this was in the very nature of the case inevitable; the confiscation and banishment necessary. Even in the case of the worthy citizen of Salem, of whose memoirs we propose to give some account, respectable and harmless an individual as he seems to have been,—the country was made too hot for him, and very properly so. For who can assure us, that this very Curwen, modest and harmless as he appeared to be, had he been permitted to dwell here during the war, would not have shot up from his little height into a full grown Arnold, and carried on treasonable correspondence with the enemy? We do not mean to bring any imputation upon the memory of this excellent person. He was at heart, we think, his toryism notwithstanding, a real sound American. What we have said of him, the same thing of course should we say of all the loyalists. It was quite right that the country should be rid of them. Many of them we may suppose were

bitter enough toward the revolutionists and their movement, and would seize gladly on any occasion of doing them an ill turn. Violent and vindictive as many of the Patriots were, such some of the loyalists must have been. But all this does not hinder that their sufferings and privations for conscience' sake, — if an American republican will allow a conscience to a revolutionary tory — may have been great and most truly deserving of our sympathy — of our sympathy for their suffering, our honor for the spirit in which it was borne.

But this is all aside from our present purpose, which is merely to offer some interesting extracts from a volume lately published, containing the journal and letters of Samuel Curwen, Esq., a loyalist refugee, and resident in London during the seven years' war.* The work is edited by a descendant of Mr. Curwen, George A. Ward, Esq., of New York, who has performed his part of the labor in a manner deserving of the highest praise. The journal and letters are introduced by a brief account of the early life of Mr. Curwen, and followed by biographical sketches of more than a hundred and sixty of the loyalists and other prominent persons of the revolution. These additions we owe to the industry, research, and talent of the Editor, and they constitute a very valuable part of the volume. In some instances he has drawn his material from other sources — but they are few.

As the volume derives its principal interest for us, in the record it presents of the feelings and opinions of a loyalist refugee during the revolutionary struggle, we shall say but a few words of Mr. Curwen's early life, and proceed at once to his journal. He was a native of Salem, born in 1715; was graduated at Cambridge in 1735. He was a merchant by profession; but accidentally, for a time, a soldier, joining as Captain of a company the famous expedition against Louisburgh. On his return, at the termination of that spirited affair, he again became a man of business, and so continued, till the breaking out of the revolution drove him from his counting-

* Journal and Letters of the late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, etc., an American Refugee in England, from 1775 to 1784, comprising remarks on the prominent men and measures of that period, to which are added biographical notices of many American Loyalists and other eminent persons; by GEORGE ATKINSON WARD, member of the New-York Historical Society. New-York: C. S. Francis and Co., 252 Broadway. Boston: J. H. Francis, 128 Washington Street. 1842.

room and the country. His appointment under the British Government to the office of a judge of Admiralty did not probably interrupt his mercantile pursuits. On his return to America after the war, he again occupied his former dwelling in Salem, only with very reduced resources; and there died in 1802 at the advanced age of eighty-two.

Mr. Curwen appears, from the journal and his letters, to have been a man of good sense, good feelings, and good principles. He loved his country, and left it with regret; he was unhappy during his exile, and, so soon as he could be assured of safety, hastened back again, that he might die in the place of his birth. Of course he was a loyalist from principle. He was satisfied with the condition of colonial dependency — not doubting that one by one, under one administration if not under another, next year if not this, those grievances would be redressed, the existence of which all equally confessed, though they differed so widely as to the best means of removing them. He believed too that the project of fighting for independence with such a power as England was one of utter madness, and could end only in the more slavish subjection of the colonies, and an indefinite postponement of the advantages they coveted. It was not possible for him to join in the struggle; but, as it was equally impossible to act on the other side, he could only stand still, an idle, but anxious, spectator of the conflict — a conflict which armed kindred against kindred, family against family, parents and children against each other — and more remarkable even, for the moral profligacy and barbarian ambition of the King and party in the mother country, who drove things to such extremity, than for its successful termination against such fearful odds.

The first date in the Journal is Philadelphia, May 4, 1775, whither he fled at first, in the hope that that city might serve him as a place of refuge. A large number of Massachusetts loyalists, it seems, flocked there, in the same vain expectation — for vain it was. The Philadelphians soon began to look upon it as an indignity, that their city should be resorted to as a tory asylum, and the poor refugees were once more driven from their shelter. His feelings on reaching Philadelphia Mr. Curwen thus records.

“ Since the late unhappy affairs at Concord and Lexington, finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm, (which has been almost hourly,) and their tempers to get more and more soured and malevolent against all moderate men,

whom they see fit to reproach as enemies of their country by the name of tories, among whom I am unhappily (although unjustly) ranked; and unable longer to bear their undeserved reproaches and menaces hourly denounced against myself and others, I think it a duty I owe myself to withdraw for a while from the storm which to my foreboding mind is approaching. Having in vain endeavored to persuade my wife to accompany me, her apprehensions of danger from an incensed soldiery, a people licentious and enthusiastically mad, and broken loose from all the restraints of law or religion, being less terrible to her than a short passage on the ocean; and being moreover encouraged by her, I left my late peaceful home (in my sixtieth year) in search of personal security and those rights, which by the laws of God I ought to have enjoyed undisturbed there, and embarked at Beverly on board the schooner *Lively*, Captain Johnson, bound hither, on Sunday the 23d ultimo, and have just arrived. Hoping to find an asylum amongst quakers and Dutchmen, who I presume from former experience have too great a regard for ease and property to sacrifice either at this time of doubtful disputation on the altar of an unknown goddess, or rather doubtful divinity.

"My fellow-passengers were Andrew Cabot, his wife and child, and Andrew Dodge. My townsman, Benjamin Goodhue, was kind enough to come on board, and having made my kinsman and correspondent, Samuel Smith, acquainted with my arrival, he was pleased to come on board also, and his first salutation, '*We will protect you though a tory*,' embarrassed me not a little; but soon recovering my surprise, we fell into a friendly conversation, and he taking me to his house, I dined with his family and their minister, Mr. Sproat, suffering some mortification in the cause of truth. After an invitation to make his house my home during my stay here, which I did not accept, I took leave, and went in pursuit of lodgings, and on enquiring at several houses, ascertained they were full, or for particular reasons would not take me; and so many refused as made it fearful whether, like Cain, I had not a discouraging mark upon me, or a strong feature of toryism. The whole city appears to be deep in congressional principles, and inveterate against '*Hutchinsonian Addressers*.' Happily we at length arrived at one Mrs. Swords', a widow lady, in Chestnut-street, with whom I found quarters, rendered more agreeable by S. Waterhouse's company, who also lodges here." — pp. 25, 26.

Delegates to the Congress were at this time arriving; and he mentions, after having been in the city a few days, passing the "evening in company with Col. WASHINGTON (a fine fig-

ure, and of a most easy and agreeable address). I staid till twelve o'clock, the conversation being chiefly on the most feasible and prudent method of stopping up the channel of the Delaware, to prevent the coming up of any large ships to the city; I could not perceive the least disposition to accommodate matters." The arrival of the New England delegates is thus described.

"*May 10, 1775.* Early in the morning a great number of persons rode out several miles, hearing that the eastern delegates were approaching, when about 11 o'clock the cavalcade appeared, (I being near the upper end of Fore street;) first two or three hundred gentlemen on horseback, preceded, however, by the newly-chosen city military officers, two and two, with drawn swords, followed by John Hancock and Samuel Adams in a phaeton and pair, the former looking as if his journey and high living, or solicitude to support the dignity of the first man in Massachusetts, had impaired his health. Next came John Adams and Thomas Cushing in a single horse chaise; behind followed Robert Treat Paine, and after him the New York delegation, and some from the province of Connecticut, etc., etc. The rear was brought up by a hundred carriages, the streets crowded with people of all ages, sexes, and ranks. The procession marched with a slow, solemn pace; on its entrance into the city all the bells were set to ringing and chiming, and every mark of respect, that could be, was expressed: — not much I presume to the secret liking of their fellow delegates from the other colonies, who doubtless had to digest the distinction as easily as they could." — p. 28.

Mr. Curwen soon found himself uncomfortable in Philadelphia, and on the 16th of the month sailed for England. On his arrival, he went immediately to London, where, for the most part he afterwards resided; making, however, frequent excursions into various parts of the Island, and occasionally residing in the country towns. A great proportion of the journal consists of minutes of these various excursions and residences, and possesses no special interest. These we pass over entirely, and select only such passages as touch upon the American question and show us the tory mind, or give the news, and reports, true or false, of the day.

Under the date of July 25th is recorded the news of the battle of Bunker Hill. "I am just informed of a most melancholy event, the destruction of Charlestown, in Massachusetts,

by the king's troops, which all agree in ; the other parts of the story are told differently. Mr. Brecknock says the king's troops would not fight, but laid down their arms, which is the reason of the great carnage among the officers. My distress and anxiety for my friends and countrymen embitter every hour. May it please God to inspire men of influence on either side of the Atlantic, with juster sentiments of the real interest of Great Britain and the colonies than they seem to have possessed hitherto." This seems to have roused the administration to more vigorous efforts.

"Incredible quantities of ammunition and stores shipped and shipping from Tower-wharf for America, manifests the intention of administration to prosecute the plan of subjection of the colonies to the authority of parliament ; for that is the only dispute, as it is understood here. Administration would gladly have met the colonies half way or more, had there appeared any inclination to accept terms in any degree consistent with the honor and dignity of the mother country. Now, no alternative ; an absolute independence of the Colonies on Great Britain, or an explicit acknowledgment of the British legislature over all the dominions of the empire. The proclamation which you will receive by this conveyance was published the day before yesterday at the Royal Exchange, with all the circumstances of indignity the lord mayor could throw on it.

"Instead of the languid measures hitherto pursued, more active ones will succeed, and then wo to poor Massachusetts, which, like the scape-goat, must bear the sins of many. Do urge our remaining friends to flee from the destruction that will speedily overtake that devoted colony."

"I will just hint what appears to be a matter of notoriety here ; the opposition in parliament is too inconsiderable in numbers, weight, and measures to hinder the progress of administration in their plans respecting America. Both houses repose entire confidence in the king, and his ministers' resolution not to relinquish the idea of compelling the submission of all subjects within the limits of the British Empire to the authority of the supreme legislature ; preparations for which are making for increasing the number of troops, to be sent over time enough for a vigorous push next season. The events of war are uncertain, and victory is by many thought doubtful, — yet it is more than whispered by some, that America had better be dispeopled than remain in its present state of anarchy, — much more independent. Should this idea regulate future measures, and should government despair of subduing them, one may, without

the spirit of prophecy, see beforehand what terrible destructive evils will then befall our poor, devoted, once happy country. 'O fortunatus,' etc." — pp. 38–41.

General Washington, it seems, was reported at one time to have been taken prisoner.

"*Nov. 1, 1776.* I was informed that a messenger from General Howe had just passed through the city, with advice, that the provincial entrenchments, containing nine thousand men from New-York, were forced, General Washington wounded and taken, and ten thousand men on both sides killed; some other circumstances are brought, but not to be divulged till six hours after the messenger's departure from Exeter. Should this news prove true, I wish it may not puff the British general with pride, and fill him with false notions of the unequalled prowess and invincibility of the British troops, nor indispose him to offer moderate terms; and I trust congress may be willing to prevent further effusion of blood and destruction of property by hearkening to reasonable proposals, which I hope the House have authority to make.

"*Nov. 2.* It is obvious the government is apprehensive of a rupture, saying, 'it is expedient we should be in a respectable state of defence.' The truth is there have been some discouraging accounts from France for this week past, respecting the intentions of that court to assist the colonies, and advices from Spain say their ports are declared open to the English colonists; upon these events press-warrants are dispersed through this kingdom, and eight hundred were taken on the 'Thames in one day into the service, and five pounds per man are offered for able-bodied sailors. The report of yesterday is contradicted in part; Gen. Washington is not taken, but six thousand Americans, and but two thousand British. This wants confirmation. It is also added that part of the provincials only were engaged — a lame account. The fears of some and the hopes of others dispose the people to the belief of any improbabilities, nay, self-evident falsehoods." — pp. 86, 87.

It was quite natural that Mr. Curwen's loyalty should cool off a little when once fairly in England, and his American feeling grow warmer — just as we have known the most absolute monarchists, to judge from their conversation while resident here, on their return to Europe and her institutions, to take the tone of the most absolute republicanism. Tory though he was, he could not bear to hear the reproaches of his countrymen

from the mouths of their enemies. He sometimes on such occasions waxes quite warm.

“*Dec. 18.* By a Mr. Lloyd of the 20th regiment, just arrived in the *Lord Howe* frigate from Quebec, and who was on the lake with Burgoyne and Carleton, a report is brought that a merchant-man met the *Active* frigate at sea, and learned that Gen. Washington had abandoned the lines at Kingsbridge, left his cannon and stores, and that his army is mouldered away; that New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland had deserted the union, and declared for government; speaks of the Yankees, as he is pleased to call them, in the most contemptuous terms, as cowards, poltroons, cruel, and possessing every bad quality the depraved heart can be cursed with; and says the regulars at Trois-Rivieres took five hundred prisoners, killed one hundred, and lost only three men, who were killed by Yankees, who had got upon trees and fired down on them.

“It is my earnest wish the despised Americans may convince these conceited islanders, that without regular standing armies our continent can furnish brave soldiers and judicious and expert commanders, by some knock-down, irrefragable argument; for then, and not till then, may we expect generous or fair treatment. It piques my pride, I confess, to hear us called ‘*our colonies, our plantations,*’ in such terms and with such airs as if our property and persons were absolutely theirs, like the ‘villains’ and their cottages in the old feudal system, so long since abolished, though the spirit or leaven is not totally gone, it seems.”

“As to a treaty, I am without the smallest hopes of its taking place at present; the Americans do not despair of maintaining their independence, and the court, I am told, has not given up its view of laying America at its feet, for such is and has been the court language, and the intention to force her to submit to the unconditional authority of parliament; — however, should Gen. Washington be beaten out of his entrenchments, it would be but one advantage out of a score that must be gained to make them ‘lower their topsails.’ The Americans are not without resources, whatever may be thought on that subject in England.” — pp. 89 – 91.

In the journal, under date of Exeter, Nov. 22, 1777, we find the following.

“By the papers, I learn the king in his speech takes notice of ‘*the obstinacy of his rebellious subjects in America,*’ and promises himself ‘*all needful assistance from his faithful Com-*

mons.' It will be well if additional supplies, and an increase of foreign troops, do not prove a source of intolerable evil. Would to God an expedient could be devised to terminate this unnatural quarrel, consistent with the honor of both parties; but this I fear is a vain wish. The Dutch, from a sordid thirst of gain, the French, from their dread of the rising power of Great Britain united with the colonies, and Spain, from an attachment to the court of Versailles, are too deeply concerned to permit a reunion. Lord Chatham, on motion for an address in the king's speech, says, 'Without an immediate restoration of tranquillity, this nation is ruined and undone. What has been the conduct of ministers? Have they endeavored to conciliate the affection and obedience of their ancient brethren? They have gone to Germany, sought the alliance of every pitiful, paltry prince, to cut the throats of their loyal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all; they have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent and unoffending brethren, upon the aged, weak, and defenceless; on old men, women and children; upon babes at the breast, to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, burnt, roasted; nay, to be eaten. These are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her new adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at German shambles, and with the barbarians of America, with merciless torturers of their species. Whom they will next apply to, I cannot tell.' Such is Lord Chatham's fire, such his oratory, such his indignation against ministerial measures.

"*Dec. 14.* This day General Burgoyne's mortifying capitulation arrived in town. Nothing could be more disgraceful and humiliating, unless a submission to the victor's power without terms. The loss of the military chest estimated at seventy-five thousand pounds; the finest train of artillery ever sent out of this kingdom before; all the boasted acquisitions of the year's campaign gone at a blow, and Canada on the point of joining the grand American alliance.

"In the House of Commons, on the 12th inst., after Lord Barrington's report of army estimates, Col. Barré rose and called on Lord George Germaine to inform the house, whether the report of the surrender of General Burgoyne with his army and artillery was true or false; which Lord George did in a short narrative, and said intelligence had been received of the capture by the way of Quebec, which struck the house with astonishment; and after a short pause Col. Barré rose, and

with an averted look, said ; ' Great God ! who can refrain from rage and indignation when the planner of so much misery relates with the utmost composure, the horrid tale of a British army destroyed ? We all know the General's bravery and skill ; he did not surrender whilst there was a possibility of defence ; but while justice demands a just eulogium, what must we say of the man who reduced so gallant an officer to so sad an alternative without the smallest advantage to his country ? '

" *Dec. 18.* From a correspondent at the west of the town, I learn that the language about the court is nowise lowered by the last news from America ; '*delenda est Carthago.*' The old politicians, neither biassed by hatred to Americans, nor interested in the destruction of the colonies, shake their heads at this language.

" Soon after the surrender of Burgoyne was announced by Lord George Germaine in parliament, an adjournment took place till after the holidays, whereupon Sir George Young, Mr. Baring, the Exeter member, and Mr. Barré, hurried down, and it was suspected that this foreboded a new parliament, a new ministry, new measures, and that the most active opposition is coming into play ; a few days will undeceive the public, however. On confirmation of the American news, Manchester offered to raise a thousand men at their own expense, to be ready for service in America in two months, and was followed soon after by Liverpool. It is said there are to be proposals for raising two thousand men out of each parish through the kingdom ; that the American secretary will resign, and Lord Hillsborough succeed him.

" *Dec. 31.* The lenity shown to General Burgoyne and his army is allowed on all hands to do more honor to America, than the laurels, reaped by the Howes, can bring to this distracted country. God knows what is for the best, but I fear our perpetual banishment from America is written in the book of fate ; nothing but the hopes of once more revisiting my native soil, enjoying my old friends within my own little domain, has hitherto supported my drooping courage ; but that prop taken away leaves me in a condition too distressing to think of ; however, amidst the increasing evils of old age I have this consolation, that, mortifying as my lot is, severe as my sufferings may be, their continuance cannot be lasting." — pp. 159 – 161.

The news of Burgoyne's surrender being confirmed beyond all peradventure, our loyalist cannot help the overflow of his

American patriotism. He begins to feel a little proud of his countrymen. He is writing to a friend in England.

“The account of General Burgoyne’s surrender is confirmed, and what do you think of the Congress now? Of American independence? Of laying the colonies at the ministers’ feet? Of Lord S.’s boast of passing through the continent from one end to the other with five thousand British troops; and with a handful of men keeping that extensive continent in subjection? Of the invincibility of the said troops? Of the raw, undisciplined, beggarly rabble of the northern colonies? Of the humiliating surrender of a British general, five thousand troops, seven thousand small arms, and thirty-six pieces of brass artillery, to the aforesaid rabble? What think you of the pompous proclamation of the said general? Of the figure he is now making in the streets of Boston, compared to his late parading there, accompanied by his vainly fancied invincible cohorts, now, alas! rendered as harmless and inoffensive animals as you and I? Of the condition General Howe is now or soon may be in, should the combined army of Washington and Gates, numerous as it may be, perhaps exceeding his own in the proportion of two to one, elated with success, inflamed with an enthusiastic ardor, invest Philadelphia, defended by an army almost worn out by incessant labor, having, as the papers say, the shovel and firelock always in their hands, and greatly weakened by losses? What think you of the twenty thousand men voted in parliament a few days since, in addition to the army now in America? Where are they to be raised? — p. 163.

In another letter written soon after he gives expression to the gloomiest forebodings.

“General Burgoyne’s defeat will, I think, prove a prelude to a succession of fatal events. The rapid increase of military skill and courage that enthusiasm produces, and the great numbers of European commanders and engineers of experience now incorporated amongst the Americans, are considerations that extinguish my expectation of the success of the following campaign, even should Great Britain send over in season the number of troops ordered by parliament, (and which do not amount to what all who have lately arrived from America agree to be necessary to insure success, or rather, in any good degree, render it probable.) May those evils my gloomy mind forebodes exist only in imagination; but I must confess I see, perhaps through a false vista, the expedition already ended in the disgrace of this powerful and wealthy kingdom, and in the ruin of that once singularly happy, but now, alas! deluded,

wretched America ; for, disconnected from this country, wretched it must necessarily be, if anarchy and the most grievous oppressions and taxes can make a people so. How weak, inconsistent, and dangerous is human conduct, when guided by lawless ambition, or any false or wrong motives ! Into what dreadful evils are communities often plunged by hearkening to the declamations of pretended patriots, of crafty, selfish, unprincipled demagogues of this and many other countries ; history furnishes us a present mortifying proof and example.

“ You may console yourself in the late disgrace of the British arms, with the hope that it may revive the ardor and bravery hitherto so peculiarly characteristic of British troops, but similar causes do not always produce similar effects. At the time you refer to, Rome was in the meridian of her glory, war the profession of her citizens ; her inhabitants, through all her ranks, were at that period actuated by the *amor patriæ*, a principle publicly derided in this age. Do not think me a cynic, when I say, I fear this nation has sunk into too selfish, degenerate, luxurious a sloth, to rise into such manly, noble exertions as her critical situation seems to demand.” — pp. 168, 169.

After further ill news, and the depression produced by the signing of the treaty between France and the United States ;

“ In truth, vigor and activity seem not the characteristic of this nation at this period ; the continual series of untoward events on the side of Great Britain, in this unnatural contest between her and the colonies, has, I fear, given the *coup de grace* to her glory. The sun of Britain is past the meridian and declining fast to the west, and America is for ever emancipated from the legislative authority of this once potent empire ; alas ! no more so. The prophetic falling off of the best jewel from our king's crown when on his head, at coronation, is now accomplished by the loss of America, which I consider irrevocably gone ; whether to their advantage, is a point, I fancy, the Congress and I should not join issue in : — the burden of supporting an independency with dignity is too heavy for America to bear, especially the northern colonies, unless the patriots there will discharge the troublesome public trusts and offices without pecuniary emoluments ; requiring a much greater degree of virtue, self-denial, and public spirit, than I think now does or indeed ever did exist there, unless in profession.” — p. 197.

But the prospect brightens.

“ However, matters I hope are mending ; the account you give

me from America seems to be confirmed from all quarters. Judge Howard is lately arrived here from New-York; he tells me that a number of gentlemen of influence and property, who have been lying on their oars to see which way the game would finally go, as I suppose, have lately come in, among whom is the famous Mr. Smith, the lawyer;* that they, together with Mr. Galloway, are unanimously of opinion, that from the unexpected tyranny of the Congress and their sub-devils, the almost universal poverty and distress of the people, and the general aversion to French connections, the quondam union of the thirteen states is upon the point of dissolution; and that nothing is wanting but a single effort to crush the rebellion, root and branch. Judge Howard says he heard Smith say, 'if Great Britain don't conquer the colonies, it can only be because she *won't*;' that these gentlemen have been much with the commissioners, by whom they have been greatly attended to. With these favorable accounts from America, I can't help connecting the union that appears in parliament, respecting the grand point, the reduction of the colonies; for though the opposition to ministry is still faintly kept up for form's sake, yet the language is so different from that held in former sessions, that I can't help thinking a sense of public danger, and a regard to national interest and honor, begin to prevail over private resentments. From all these appearances, I augur well; and I am happy in finding the general opinion among my friends and acquaintances is, that the prospect of a speedy and happy suppression of the rebellion is fairer now than it ever has been." — p. 207.

What precisely were the views of Mr. Curwen as to what the future should be, supposing the Colonies to be defeated in the great struggle, nowhere appears. So far as we observe, he carried his thoughts no further, than to a condition of dependency on the English Government for an unlimited period, very much such as had obtained before the breaking out of the revolt. He may have held the belief that in process of time a separation and independency might be peaceably effected, which many, at the present day, think might have happened. But it may well be questioned, whether the jealousies and envyings, the rivalries and prejudices which existed among the thirteen English Colonies — nay, their unavoidable ignorance of each other, their necessary estrangement, owing to the vast territory over which they were spread, and the then impossibility of

* The historian of New-York, and chief justice during the war; subsequently of Canada.

general communication, would ever have permitted them to associate in friendly union ; and whether the war which brought them together to consult for a common deliverance from common dangers, and melted them together before they were aware, through mutual sympathies and cares, was not, humanly speaking, a necessary pre-requisite to the union that was afterwards formed — whether it was not for this reason, rather than because it was a resistance of oppression on principle, one of the most necessary wars of which history furnishes a record. It is to this day, we suspect, the feeling of '76 that binds us together quite as much as the constitution ; — blood has proved a stronger cement than ink. Who shall say that the single war of the revolution of seven years, was not the preventive remedy that saved this continent from seven times seven years of civil broil and slaughter, among thirteen separate, independent, hostile sovereignties?

We pass by many interesting letters on American topics ; and on others, one especially containing an account of the Gordon riots, which we should be glad to extract, had we space. The news of the closing events of the war, received from time to time, give rise to reflections like those we have already quoted. A lively account is given of the breaking up of Lord North's administration, and of the obstinacy of the king on the occasion, amounting almost to madness, which is worth citing, and which must close our political chapter.

“ *Dec. 4.* Called on Mr. Heard at Herald's office ; there learned, in a conversation with a Mr. Webb, of seeming great political knowledge, that at the time the House of Commons left the late administration in a minority, or in other words, refused to support Lord North's measures, the king took it to heart, and resented it so far as to declare he would leave them (as he expressed it) to themselves, and go over to Hanover, from whence his family came, and proceeded so far as to order the administration to provide two yachts to transport himself there ; whereupon the queen interfered, and remonstrated against such a desperate measure, so fatal to her and his family, as well as his own personal interest. Others, too, represented the distressful condition to which the nation would be reduced by the absence and want of royal authority, though it seemed to little effect, so sadly chagrined and provoked was he.

“ Lord Rockingham also joined the remonstrants, and showed the necessity of a change of men and measures, with no better success ; — so naturally obstinate and pertinaciously bent was he on his favorite plan of subjugating his (here called) re-

bellious subjects in America, and bringing them to his feet, till he was told that as sure as he set his foot out of the kingdom, the parliament would declare the crown abdicated and the throne vacant; nor would he ever be permitted to reënter the kingdom again, — which argument, it seems, brought him to a more cool and juster sight of the folly of such a step, and the absolute necessity of stooping to a compliance with the requisitions of the public. I do not pretend to indicate the measures of opposition, but a more unsuccessful administration, from whatever cause it proceeded, which time will satisfactorily perhaps explain, was never before engaged to promote royal designs. What may be the condition of Great Britain and America at the period of the present distressful war, God knows; for my own part, I tremble at the event, as desirable as it may be, for I can view neither country without the most fearful apprehensions of dreadful distresses; whoever began and voluntarily continued this unreasonable, pernicious dispute, does and will deserve the execration of this and future ages, and in the language of * * * *, ‘The child will rue, that is yet unborn, the fatal measures of Lord North’s administration.’”

“*Dec. 5.* The king delivered his speech from the throne. I went to see him robe and sit on the throne at the House of Lords: he was clothed in green, laced with gold when he came, and when he went in red laced; it being the custom to change his garments. The tail of his wig was in a broad, flowing, loose manner; called the coronation tail. His abode in the lords’ chamber scarce exceeded half an hour, in which he read his speech of eleven pages.

“As one proof among many, that might be given of the restraint and disguise of real sentiments on the part of courtiers, from the highest character in the presence chamber to the lowest lounging and attendant at ministerial levees, take the following: — When the king found himself obliged to take new ministers, and give up Lord North and his associates, it is notorious that it was abhorrent to the royal mind; and being naturally of a pertinacious, obstinate temper, was with the utmost difficulty brought to yield a reluctant consent. On the first court day after the appointment, when he was in a manner forced out of his closet into the room of audience, he received his new servants with a smile, and transacted business with them afterwards with as much seeming cordiality and openness, as if they had been in his favor, and in his most intimate conceits; so seemingly satisfied and so serene was the royal countenance, that all the newspapers sounded forth the gracious monarch’s obliging, condescending goodness to the public wishes, though

nothing was farther from his heart, had not the necessity of his affairs impelled him thereto. At the same time coming up to Mr. Wilkes, he said he was glad of the opportunity to thank him for his very proper and laudable behavior in the late riot; took notice of his looks, which indicated a want of health; advised him to a country air and exercise, which, said his majesty, I find by experience an excellent expedient to procure and preserve health; all this with the same apparent sincerity, as if they had been in a continued course of paying and receiving compliments, congratulations, and acknowledgments for mutual kindnesses and good offices, though all the world knows there was not a man in the three kingdoms more thoroughly hated, nor whom he had taken a more foolish and unnecessary pains to ruin. The above-mentioned interview being told of in company, Mr. Wilkes took occasion to remark in the following words: To have heard the king, one would have thought I was consulting a quack on the score of my health.

"Dec. 6. Read the king's speech, declaring his offer of independency to America, and his hopes soon of a general peace." — pp. 358, 359, 360.

Mr. Curwen while a resident in England kept up his good New England custom of going to church. Of the preachers he heard, he has here and there recorded his impressions; and as they were frequently persons of note, either in the established church or that of the dissenters, about whom we are always glad to learn what we can, we have drawn them together from the different parts of the volume.

"Sept. 17, 1775. Attended public worship at the 'Reformed Liturgy Assembly,' Essex House, Essex-street, Strand; heard Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, the Unitarian reformist, who gave up a living in Yorkshire, (worth three hundred a year,) on the rejection of the petition to parliament for a revisal and amendment of the common prayer. Preacher serious, style good, discourse useful." — p. 39.

"March 19, 1776. Attended lecture at Salters' Hall. Dr. Price gave an excellent sermon from '*Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.*' He observed, that this was the only original part of the Lord's prayer, (the rest being found in the Jewish liturgy,) and was designed to inculcate the distinguishing characteristic of his religion, universal love and good will to all mankind, making it the very condition on which our hopes of forgiveness are suspended. As forgiveness of injuries and love of all mankind are the most amiable of all virtues, so are they the most difficult to be practised, and ought therefore to be the

more endeavored after; and nothing can recommend us better to divine favor and acceptance." — p. 49.

"*Sunday, Dec. 8.* Mr. Towgood preached an excellent discourse, from Isaiah lvii. 15. In his prayer the most just and proper expression for the king and royal family, and all in authority, both as ministers of state and executive officers; and although a warm and hearty advocate for America, and her claims of exemption from British legislation, right of taxation, yet moderate and dutiful enough for me, who am far removed from wishing its entire independence; for it is my firm belief it would sooner bring on oppression and tyranny there than the former right allowed in its full extent. May it please God to prevent both; may the unreasonable and baneful wishes and attempts of all violent men be disappointed.

"*Dec. 13.* The state fast, appointed by the king's proclamation, on account of the American war; Bishop Keppel preached from Deut. xxxiii. 27, 'The eternal God is thy refuge,' etc., a seasonable and candid discourse; he calls this '*a civil war,*' and the Americans '*our unhappy fellow-subjects:*' attempted no justification of the measures of government. I was pleased with his candor and judgment." — p. 89.

"*Sept. 7, 1777.* At the college, the cathedral so called, Dr. Stonehouse preached; he was a practitioner of medicine, and has now turned his attention to spiritual maladies. His discourse serious and sensible, and his delivery with becoming energy, very unlike the insipid coldness prevalent among the preferment-seeking, amusement-hunting, '*macaroni parsons,*' who, to the shame and dishonor of this age and nation, constitute the bulk of those of the established clergy that possess valuable livings.

"In the afternoon, walked to a street adjoining King's square to attend John Wesley's preachment; he being seated on a decent scaffold, addressed about two thousand people, consisting of the middle and lower ranks. The preacher's language was plain and intelligible, without descending to vulgarisms.

"*Sept. 14.* In the afternoon I attended once more John Wesley, having the heavens for his canopy; he began with an extempore prayer, followed by a hymn of his own composing, and adapted to the subject of his discourse. He wears his own gray hair, or a wig so very like, that my eye could not distinguish. He is not a graceful speaker, his voice being weak and harsh; he is attended by great numbers of the middling and lower classes; is said to have humanized the almost savage colliers of Kingswood, who, before his time, were almost as fierce and unmanageable as the wild beasts of the wilderness.

He wears an Oxford master's gown; his attention seemingly not directed to manner and behavior, — not rude, but negligent, dress cleanly, not neat. He is always visiting the numerous societies of his own forming in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; though near eighty years old, he reads without spectacles the smallest print. He rises at four, preaches every day at five, and once besides; an uncommon instance of physical ability." — pp. 154, 155.

"June 1, 1778. Dr. Price, in his fast sermon on Feb. 10, speaking of the dependence of a nation's safety on righteous men, has the following: 'There is a distant country, once united to this, where every inhabitant has in his house, as a part of his furniture, a book on law and government, to enable him to understand his colonial rights; a musket to enable him to defend those rights; and a Bible to understand and practise religion. What can hurt such a country? Is it any wonder we have not succeeded? How secure must it be while it preserves its virtue against all attacks.' — p. 192.

"Feb. 13. To the Moravian chapel; Mr. Washington, the settled minister, preached from, '*And being fashioned as a man,*' etc. The great point insisted on, as usual, was, that the supreme Deity, the God and Father of all, or to use their own language, '*the eternal Jehovah, suffered death actually, truly, and properly, in the person of Christ, or was the real suffering, dying being, who expired on the cross.*' In the course of these extemporaneous or memoriter effusions, such terms and expressions were used that made my blood more than once almost forsake its channels; in truth, I was astonished and hurt to an extreme degree, and it has caused me to resolve on forsaking this and all assemblies of like over-zealous orthodox tenets." — pp. 234, 235.

"April 29, Sunday. At Essex House chapel, Dr. Priestley preached an excellent discourse; proving beyond contradiction that religion and virtue are the only just sources of true delight and joy, or as he modified the language, of settled, calm serenity of mind. It was a discourse worthy a Christian divine, and happy would those be on whose minds those blessed truths were impressed in indelible characters." — p. 314.

"May 2. Attended service at Limehouse church; Dr. Watson, bishop of Llandaff, preached a most excellent charity sermon to a crowded assembly. Bidding prayer was long, catholic, and charmingly delivered; concluding sentence was, '*Now to the King eternal,*' etc., instead of the usual one, '*Now to God the Father, God the Son,*' etc. His enunciation is loud, sonorous, and manly, his person robust and tall." — p. 400.

There are anecdotes of distinguished persons scattered through the volume, which lend to it a constant interest of a very agreeable character. Mr. Curwen was a good observer, and conveys a clear idea of what he sees by a few touches. He sees Lord North.

“*March 29.* Good Friday ; attended worship at Whitehall chapel, Lord North present. Being disappointed in Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's church, (at the former by the lowness of the reader's voice, at the latter by the service not having begun,) proceeding cityward, just as I came to the gate leading from Parliament-street to Scotland-yard, or Whitehall, who should cross me but a large clumsy gentleman with a blue ribbon across his breast, who, on inquiry, I found was Lord North. Following him into Whitehall chapel, I remained during the service. He is rather above the common height, and bulk greatly exceeding ; large legs, walks heavily, manner clumsy ; very large featured, thick lips, wide mouth, high forehead, large nose, eyes not lively ; head well covered with hair, which he wears high before.” — p. 341.

Shelburne.

“*London, Jan. 6, 1783.* Walked for two hours in the Park ; saw Lord Shelburne for the first time to my knowledge. He is of a middling size and well set ; walks strong and springy ; his dress a brown frock and boots, with a whip in his hand.” — p. 363.

The King and royal family at Windsor.

“*Windsor, July 15, Sunday.* At St. George's chapel, prayers at eight ; present, the King, Queen, Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia,—about a hundred hearers ; we joined the train to Queen's house, or rather to the gates. The King was dressed in blue fly, cuffs small, open, and turned up with red velvet, cape of same, buttons white, breeches and waistcoat of white cotton, an ordinary white wig with a tail ribbon, a round black chip hat, small, as used in riding. He is tall, square over the shoulders, large ugly mouth, talks a great deal, and shows his teeth too much ; his countenance heavy and lifeless, with white eyebrows. Queen of the middle size and bulk, height five feet and a half,—though far removed from beautiful, she has an open placid aspect, mouth large, foot splay : — at prayers their voices often heard, and they appeared devout. They take no state upon them, walk freely about the town with only a lord in waiting. At seven, every evening after tea, the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, Princess-royal, Princesses Sophia and

Elizabeth, walk for an hour on terrace half a mile long, amidst two or three thousand people of all ranks. The Prince of Wales appears a likely agreeable person, far more graceful than his father, who is ungainly. The prince affects much the '*Jemmy*' dress and air; age will doubtless soften down the juvenile taste and affectation. The Queen's dress, a riding habit, same color and facings as the King's — a small bonnet with a blue feather. Conducted to picture gallery and state rooms; in one stands the Queen's bed, of a cream color, worked in flowers with silk floss beautifully shaded, about seven feet long and six wide; posts fluted, and gilt tester, having in the centre an oval compartment, thought to be the richest in England except Lady Clifford's at Wybrook, which was wrought and presented to her by the late Duchess of Norfolk, — twelve chairs and a screen, wrought by her present Majesty's own diligent hand. In the evening on the terrace, the King was in full dress, — blue uniform, sword and cockade; the Prince of Wales the same. The Queen in faint greenish silk full dress, except her head, on which she had a bonnet with a feather of the same color as her dress." — pp. 319, 320.

Private life of the King.

"*Feb. 7.* At the queen's house with Mr. Hopkins to see the plate, etc.; the first object that struck me was three large maund baskets covered of table plate, as dishes, tureens, butter and sauce boats, all with covers, raised, embossed and engraved. The king's service was silver gilt; the prince's, silver. We also were conducted to the kitchen, where were eighteen male cooks busily employed in their several various lines; the men in white jackets and caps, and the women in white aprons and caps. By a late royal order, no one is to appear in the kitchen with their natural hair. When the king arrives from court at St. James's, (where he attends five days in the week, Tuesdays and Saturdays being the only ones he has in the week for his own private amusements, concerns, etc.,) dinner is called, on which a bustle ensues; the assistants of the silver scullery take such pieces as called for out of baskets, place them on a warm stove, whence they are taken by the cook and filled and taken to dining-room door, and delivered to the person appointed to place them on the royal table. Common dinner, five dishes of meat, four of garden stuffs, and one remove daily, and no more. He is exceedingly temperate, drinks generally water, and rarely partakes of more than one or two dishes. His supper is water-gruel, taken in a vessel peculiarly appropriated to his use, called the king's cup, and is of silver gilt, — shown me by the yeoman.

The king's company at table is the queen, prince of Wales, (unless on his public dinner days,) the princess royal, princesses Sophia and Elizabeth; the rest of the children at another table in another apartment. The prince's dinner served up by his proper officers in the same manner as the king's. The queen, unless indisposed, always attends court and levee days; as soon as it is over she returns; immediately dinner is served up without waiting for her husband; a proof of good husbandship." — pp. 332, 333.

Mr. Curwen finds Mr. Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford, a little too much of a courtier.

"*May 24.* Went early in order to be at Mr. Benjamin Thompson's in time, and being a little before, heard he was not returned home from Lord George Germaine's, where he always breakfasts, dines, and sups, so great a favorite is he. To kill half an hour, I loitered to the park through the palace, and on second return found him at his lodgings; he received me in a friendly manner, taking me by the hand, talked with great freedom, and promised to remember and serve me in the way I proposed to him. Promises are easily made, and genteel delusive encouragement the staple article of trade belonging to the courtier's profession. I put no hopes on the fair appearances of outward behavior, though it is uncandid to suppose all mean to deceive. Some wish to do a service who have it not in their power; all wish to be thought of importance and significance, and this often leads to deceit. This young man, when a shop lad to my next neighbor, ever appeared active, good-natured, and sensible; by a strange concurrence of events, he is now under secretary to the American secretary of state, Lord George Germaine, a secretary to Georgia, inspector of all the clothing sent to America, and Lieut. Col. Commandant of horse dragoons at New York; his income arising from these sources is, I have been told, near seven thousand a year — a sum infinitely beyond his most sanguine expectations. He is besides a member of the Royal Society. It is said he is of an ingenious turn, an inventive imagination, and by being on one cruise in channel service with Sir Charles Hardy, has formed a more regular and better digested system for signals than that heretofore used. He seems to be of a happy, even temper in general deportment, and reported of an excellent heart; peculiarly respectful to Americans that fall in his way." — p. 316.

"*Aug. 11.* After one hour's waiting, admitted to Mr. Thompson in the plantation office; he seemed inclined to shorten the

interview, received me with a courtier's smile, rather uncommunicative and dry. This reception has damped my ill grounded hopes, derived from former seeming friendly intentions to promote my views; this, my first, will be my last attempt to gain advantages from a courtier, of which I never entertained favorable impressions." — p. 322.

He is much concerned lest Mr. Adams should not wear a sword, if he should chance to be presented at court. What the event was we do not know; but if we remember right, Copley's full length represents him with that — to one unaccustomed thereto — most treacherous appendage.

"One of your Massachusetts public ministers, Mr. John Adams, is here in all the pride of American independence; by Mr. Gorham I am told he uttered to him the following speech, '*together with the war he had buried all animosity against the absentees.*' Though he is of a rigid temper, and a thorough-paced republican, candor obliges me to give him credit for the humanity of the sentiment, being spoken in private, and to one of his own party, and probably without an intention to be published abroad. In a conversation with my informant, he further replied, that he chose to consider himself as a plain American republican; his garb plain, without a sword, which is carrying his transatlantic ideas, I fear, a little too far. Should he have the curiosity, or his public character render it expedient to attend a royal levee, or at a drawing-room at St James's on a court day, I hope he will not deserve and meet with as mortifying a repulse as our late chancellor, Lord Thurlow, at the court of Versailles; whose surly pertinacity in wearing a bob-wig occasioned his being refused admittance into the king's presence. However frivolous a part of dress soever a sword may appear to one of Mr. Adams's scholar-like turn, he is by this time, I fancy, too well acquainted with the etiquette of courts to neglect so necessary an appendage, without which no one can find admittance out of the clerical line." — p. 394.

We must here close our account of this interesting volume — interesting to every reader; but especially so must it be to the few remaining survivors of the period of which it treats; to those more especially still, who, in turning over the pages see everywhere the familiar names of those with whom they were either fellow actors, or fellow sufferers, to whose mind will be vividly recalled the persons, the times, and the events of the era when a nation received its birth.

JAY'S RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

FEW among us have labored more assiduously and earnestly in the cause of liberty to the slave than Mr. Jay. The present pamphlet is one that has been some time before the public, but we are moved even at so late a day to notice it, in order by a few quotations to correct errors still prevailing in regard to the success of the West India Emancipation, having their origin in either the careless or partial statements of the public press. We are not aware that any authorized documents have appeared since the reports of Parliament at its last sitting, to contradict the satisfactory results it then made known to the world through its Committee. Mr. Jay in the first part of his pamphlet gives a clear and succinct narrative of the origin of the anti-slavery movement in Great Britain, and of the measures and early results of Emancipation in the Islands. This is all familiar ground. We confine our citation to his summary of the latest published official statements of the present actual condition of those Islands. He says :—

“Recent statements made in the English Parliament respecting Jamaica, since the foregoing pages were written, have been so grossly distorted by some American prints, that persons relying on their statements would have been justified in believing, that the predictions of the planters were after all to be verified, and emancipation even at this day prove a failure. On the 22d of March, 1842, Lord Stanley moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the West Indian colonies in reference to the existing relations between employers and laborers, the rate of wages, supply of labor, *et cætera*. The noble lord remarked, that ‘Emancipation had in the benefits which were derived from it excelled the most sanguine expectations of the most ardent advocates of the measure. IN EVERY ONE OF THE ISLANDS the physical condition and prosperity of the laboring classes had reached to an extent far greater than had been anticipated; and what was still more gratifying, the improvement in their physical condition was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in their social and moral habits.’ After recapitulating various particulars of their advancement, he said, to show that he did not exaggerate the improvement, which had taken place in the habits and condition of the West Indian laborer, he would read to the House an ex-

tract from an *official document*, which he had a short time since addressed to a foreign power, in answer to a statement in which the experiment of Emancipation was alluded to as having proved a failure. The words were these: ‘It will be found that the British Emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance; that the joy of the negroes on the first of August, 1838, was orderly, sober, and religious; that since Emancipation, the negroes had been thriving and contented; that they have varied their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and unfrequent; that their morals have been improved; that marriage has become more and more substituted for concubinage; that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion. Such are amongst the results of emancipation, which are plain and indisputable; and these results constitute, in the estimation of Her Majesty’s Government and the people of England, THE COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE BRITISH EMANCIPATION, IN SO FAR AS RELATES TO THE PRIMARY AND PARAMOUNT OBJECTS OF THAT ACT!’

“Lord Stanley, in confirmation of these facts, quoted at length the despatches of Sir C. T. Metcalf, from which we have extracted, and said that to one of these despatches was attached a most singular document, showing the number of those who had voluntarily entered their names as owners of possessions liable to taxation, and stating their willingness to bear their proportion of the public burthens. From this it appeared that in one parish, Manchester, the number of tax-payers in the year 1836 was 387, and that they had steadily increased until, in the year 1841, they numbered 1866. The number of freeholders becoming so by the accumulations of their industry assessed in Jamaica, as given by the Governor, were, in 1838, 2014; in 1840, 7848.*

“Governor Light of Demarara, it was stated by Lord Stanley, gave similar encouraging views. His lordship then spoke of the very high price of labor in the colonies, owing to the attention which the colored people bestow upon their own freeholds, and the consequent loss to the planters; and this he proposed to remedy by a reduction of the expenses of cultivation by improved management, and also by emigration from the American colonies and the coast of Africa.

“Such are the official statements of the English government of the present condition of the islands, which by American editors are distorted into “lamentable accounts,”† and are thus made matter for gratulation to the fawning parasites of slavery.

* Parliamentary Documents, p. 228.

† The following paragraph contains the abstract of Lord Stanley’s

“The high prices of labor from which the planters are now suffering, it is very evident, have resulted in a great degree from the mean and narrow policy, which has been pursued by them towards the negroes, from the commencement of the apprenticeship. Twenty millions of pounds sterling did they receive when slavery was abolished. The heaviest curse that ever rested on a nation was then withdrawn. Free labor, more valuable by far than slave labor, as the magistrates have proved, was introduced, and with the exercise of only common honesty and ordinary humanity, the planters with perhaps, at first, a few exceptions in those, who during slavery had been as noted for their cruelty, might have commanded as much willing labor as they could possibly desire. Unhappily another policy — a miserable policy, engendered by the dark spirit of slavery, not yet extinct in the breasts of the masters, was allowed to prevail. The poor negroes, who had been toiling all their lives for others, were now for the first time to labor for themselves, and knew not how to make good bargains; of their guilelessness and ignorance, these ‘gentlemen of property and standing’ took advantage, and in some cases, as already mentioned, the tenant was credited with 5 shillings a week for his labor, and charged 8 shillings for rent.”

This is all eminently cheering to the philanthropist. It so far proves that immediate emancipation may take place with safety and even advantage to both master and slave. It is a pity, so far as the force of example is concerned, that this good deed, done in the West Indies, could not have proceeded from some other source. For England will always be believed to be prompted in her efforts against American slavery by some secret and selfish policy, so long as in other quarters of the world she inflicts such grievous wrongs upon helpless and half-civilized nations. There must be more completeness and consistency in her measures, before she can so far secure the respect of mankind, as to teach, with any effect, lessons of morality. A greater and more wanton assault upon the rights of nations, a

speech, given to the public by the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. The Courier and Enquirer and several other of the daily papers had no notice of it whatever. The “*Express*” was an honorable exception, giving a fair summary of the facts. “On Lord Stanley’s motion, select committees were ordered to inquire into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, and into the state of the West Indian colonies in reference to labor, wages, &c., the object being to establish a large emigration from Africa to the West Indies. LORD STANLEY GAVE A LAMENTABLE ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THINGS IN THE WEST INDIES !” — *Commercial Advertiser*, April 18, 1842.

more flagrant violation of the principles of peace, of humanity and Christian philanthropy, a more heartless attack upon property and life was never committed by one nation upon another, than by England upon China in this inhuman war,—that is to say, if the origin and causes of the war have not been hidden from all the world, in secret despatches and the locked cabinets of both China and England. If the truth has ever come abroad, England has incurred deep guilt in the measures she has pursued, and the atrocities of the war she has carried on — a war of the Giants against the Pigmies. As a high-minded, generous people, to say nothing of religion, the war is discreditable to her in the highest degree. Her attitude throughout, especially of late, has reminded us of nothing so much as of a butcher, each hand armed with the murderous implements of his trade, rushing into a crowd of thoughtless children, cutting them down right and left till the ground is covered with their bodies — their feeble resistance only inflaming his passions the more, their wailing cries of terror only tempting his coward heart to yet farther deeds of slaughter — and all for what? because the children did not choose the butcher's boy should distribute among them poison in the shape of sugar plums. Setting aside wholly the question as to the justice of the war on the part of England, the manner in which it has been conducted, the massacres, not battles — not a battle has been fought — that have sacrificed lives by thousands, reflect anything but honor on the character of a Christian people. The voice of such a people, lifted up against the institution and horrors of slavery, will scarcely be listened to but with derision.

Much is said of the advantage to the world of the commercial spirit taking place of the military. But however plausibly the idea may strike one as a theory—in the main it is perhaps just — the example of England would seem to prove that the world gains little by the exchange. If it was not the ambition of conquest, of power, the ancient spirit of war, that sent England into India, in the last century, and into China in this, it has been the spirit of covetousness, the love of plunder, the purpose of concentrating into the grasp of one people the trade of the world. And where is the difference, so far as the peace and happiness of mankind are concerned, between the insane ambition of sway and love of glory which moved Napoleon and his myriads, and the base lust of gold which builds its greatness on dollars cemented by blood — which lays waste and enslaves

a feeble nation, but rich, to drain it of its wealth, and by its local governments make offices for younger sons and court favorites. The voice of such a power is raised in vain against the injustice and wrong of slavery.

England, we fear, with all her loud asseverations in behalf of freedom and peace — we do not doubt the sincerity of one of her noble army of philanthropists, but what, and while, they are building up, the cabinet, whether whig or tory, is employed in pulling down — is doing more to perpetuate the spirit of war and aggression than all the rest of Christendom. She is secretly embittering the heart of Europe. The rival nations are at present looking on in silence — all at peace save this old Roman gladiator. But is there no secret plotting? Are there no whispers of jealousy and fear passing from court to court? How much longer will they stand by, while one power, by conquest after conquest, engrosses to herself the commerce and wealth of the world? How much longer before this towering pride of the English throne will enlist against itself the combined arms of the nations, who, as they behold one people after another swallowed up, will feel bound by a principle of self-defence to strike a league for their common liberty, and so Europe again be converted to one vast battle-field? How can it seem very different from the policy and purpose of Bonaparte, except that the movements at present made are in a remote part of the world, and the policy and purpose a little more subtle and disguised. She, who so needlessly nourishes and perpetuates the spirit of war, cannot and will not be heard, when, at the same moment, she turns round upon the world with the tone and rebuke of a moral and religious Censor. Be it that some shall say, or she shall say, good in the providence of God comes out of this Anglo-Saxon progress with fire and sword — the world shall become English, and English is the best stock wherewith to stock it — so it may be said with as much pertinency that good in His providence comes out of slavery — that African pagans are thus gradually Christianized, and educated here as an army of missionaries with which, by and by in the ages, to subdue Africa to the law and influences of the Gospel. Admitting both allegations to be true, still it were the guiltiest impiety to *make* a war, or *make* a slave on this plea.

When will Power learn to be just, humane, Christian?

The following extracts from English papers will show that in what has been said there has been no exaggeration. The first paragraphs are, it will be seen, from a work by a Captain Bing-

ham,* which we find in the *London Spectator*, accompanied by remarks of the Editor.

“It is impossible to read the accounts of the military operations in China without shame and disgust. It is not war, but sheer butchery — a battu in a well stocked preserve of human beings. Captain Bingham, of the Royal Navy, in a book which we have not seen, but which the *Standard* has quoted with a justly indignant commentary, thus describes the capture of Ningpoo :—

‘About 12,000 [Chinese] advanced upon the southern and western gates, the guards retiring before them. On the Chinese penetrating to the market-place in the centre of the city, they were received by a heavy fire from our troops drawn up. This sudden check so damped their ardor, that their only object appeared to be to get out of the city as fast as they could ; in doing which they were crowded in dense masses in the narrow street. The artillery now coming up, unlimbered within one hundred yards of the crowded fugitives, and poured in a destructive fire of grape and canister. So awful was the destruction of human life, that the bodies were obliged to be removed to the sides of the street to allow the guns to advance ; and the pursuit was followed up by them [the artillery] and the Forty-ninth Regiment, for several miles.’

“Such scenes, it appears, are continually recurring in Captain Bingham’s narrative. For instance, we read of the British placing a large body of Chinese between two fires, and killing six hundred with the loss of only one man : ‘the Chinese could do nothing against the terrific broadsides of the ships, the shells, and the rockets.’ Again, we are told of a Chinese army thrown into confusion by the unexpected appearance of two bodies of troops, which had advanced under cover while they were engaged with a third, and of fifteen hundred of them being killed with the loss of sixteen British killed and a few wounded. Nor are the armed soldiery of China the only sufferers ;—

‘With such a tremendous bombardment as had been going on for two hours in this densely populated neighborhood, it must be expected that pitiable sights were to be witnessed. At one spot were four children struck down, while the frantic father was oc-

* We have in vain endeavored to procure Elliot’s, McPherson’s, or Bingham’s narrative of the incidents of the China War, although they have been some time before the British public — long enough, at least, to have been easily republished here, before this. They are works of a deeply interesting character, to judge from extracts we have seen, and would command an extensive sale. We are surprised that their titles have not caught the eyes of those who pretend to know, and aim to supply, the wants of the market.

casionally embracing their bodies, or making attempts to drown himself in a neighboring tank. Numerous similar scenes were witnessed.' ”

The following is from another London paper: —

“ A Chinese force of from 8,000 to 10,000 men were strongly posted upon some hills commanded by Generals Twang-Yang, Yang, and Choo. Arrangements were made for an attack in three columns, two of which were led by Sir H. Gough, and Sir W. Parker, in person. Nothing could exceed the bravery of the troops. They contrived to surround the Chinese, and quite bewildered them. The carnage was dreadful, being more a butchery than a battle. *Ignorant of the laws of civilized warfare, the poor creatures knew not how to surrender, and were massacred.* Not less than a thousand of them, including a great number of Mandarins, were killed, or drowned in the canals; whereas of the British troops only *three were killed and twenty-two wounded.*”

Surely no war of which history has preserved any record was ever so fatal to the good name of a people. The English officers returning home after such work must feel very much as if returning covered — not with glory — but with the blood of the shambles. We do not envy them their sensations as they meet the glance and the touch of some, at least, in England, who in their manner will show that they discriminate between the gallant soldier and the human butcher.

Since writing the above, news of peace with China and Affganistan has arrived. Every one must rejoice in the event. But one's satisfaction is far from being unmixed, as the significant fact becomes known, that in the treaty with China not so much as allusion is made to the cause of the war — the Opium Trade. Was it an indispensable preliminary in the negociation that England would make peace only on such condition? and must opium still be smuggled into the country against its will and to its ruin, under penalty of another war with England? Has this door of contention been left open, that new difficulties may arise and future wars bring this immense empire wholly into the power of Great Britain? Such precaution were hardly necessary, for already do we look upon China as but a dependent province. What with the important foothold England has now obtained upon the soil, what with her navy lying in all the principal ports, and the terror which the present war has struck into the very heart of the people, we see in China already but another India.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Poetry for Schools: Designed for Reading and Recitation. The whole selected from the best poets in the English language. By the Author of "American Popular Lessons," "Primary Dictionary," "Biography for Schools," "Tales from American History," "English History," "Grecian History," &c., &c., &c. New York. 1842.

WE have always thought this one of the best volumes in the extended series, which the author has prepared for the use of the young, and of schools. It should have passed through many large editions before this; but we are glad that it has come to a second. It should be more widely known and used than it is. There are few volumes prepared for the young, which in so few pages offer so much to please the taste, to inform the mind, and enlighten the moral sense. It is not a book of mere extracts, but a manual of the spirit and principles of an enlightened, and Christian criticism. It not only collects together amusing or instructive passages from the eminent poets of past ages and the present, — Class books of this kind, and volumes called "Beauties," there are in abundance, containing double the amount of poetry for the same price, and, for aught we know, better selections, — but it is the peculiar merit of this little volume, that it not only provides the poetry to be read, but shows the pupil how to read it with the understanding. In a few examples it supplies all the collateral information necessary to a full comprehension of the author; and with the criticisms that introduce and follow the passages selected, gives the most valuable lessons in the art, not only of reading intelligently, but of forming a judgment of the real merits of what is read. A great amount of biographical and historical information is conveyed, in the brief sketches, and personal anecdotes of authors, often prefixed to the lessons. Excellent judgment is shown, we think, in the character of the pieces chosen for this purpose, as, passing over the hackneyed selections — and, unfortunately for the after enjoyment of the poet, generally the best — those passages have been taken, equally well suited to the object of the volume, but of much humbler pretensions; which the pupil is less likely to have previously met with elsewhere, and which, though they should become familiar, would less interfere afterwards with the enjoyment of the writers, from whom they are taken. In the author's own language: —

"In order to compose it, I resorted to the purest fountains of English verse, and took what I found suitable to my humble purpose. I left the more elevated and sublime portions of the poets who supplied me, and appropriated to my selection such passages only as I believed would, with a little exposition, be useful and agreeable to young readers. As a bird does not lead her new-fledged offspring to the skies in her first flight with them, so I would dictate short excursions to the unformed faculties of the human mind, that young readers, feeling their own power and felicity as they proceed, may at length be able and willing, without assistance, to ascend 'the brightest heaven of invention.' — *Preface*, p. viii.

It is to be stated distinctly as a merit of the present volume, but more particularly so of her histories of Greece and of England and her Sequel to Popular Lessons, that no opportunity is lost of illustrating, by wise comparisons, in a natural and unforced manner, the advantages and blessings of Christian civilization, as contrasted with former periods of both Heathen and Jewish history. In no books of the kind, that we have met with, is this indirect argument for Christianity so constantly pressed upon the thoughts of the young reader. It is woven all along into the very substance of her matter.

We are gratified to learn the wide circulation of some of these admirable volumes. The Primary Dictionary and Popular Lessons are spread over the country. The second of these has perhaps enjoyed the widest popularity; and has lately, as we are informed, been translated into both Spanish and French, with reference to their being introduced into the schools of those countries. Excellent, and highly esteemed abroad, as these books are, we are not aware that a single one of the series has been introduced into the common schools of Massachusetts.

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1. *M. Accii Plauti Amphitruo et Aululario. Ex editione J. F. Gronovii. Accedunt notæ Anglicæ. Cura C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Philadelphię; Perkins et Purves. Bostoniæ: B. Perkins. 1842. pp. 204.*
 2. *M. T. Ciceronis Tusculanarum Quæstionum libri quinque ex editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Cura C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Tom. I. II. Philadelphię et Bostoniæ. 1842. 18mo.*

THE public is again indebted to the scholarship and industry of Mr. Dillaway for three more volumes of his beautiful series of selections from the Latin Classics. They are formed precisely on the model of the preceding volumes, and it is necessary, therefore, only to announce to our readers their appearance.

Those who cannot afford to purchase complete editions of the works of the Roman authors, may here supply themselves with selections from them, accompanied by a large body of notes, with solutions of the most difficult passages, and full of illustrative matter, drawn from Mythology, Antiquities, History, and Biography. Prettier volumes could hardly be desired; nor could they be had, except from the London press. They seem well adapted by their form, for the higher classes in our classical schools, and the first years of college.

Self-Culture, by William E. Channing, D. D. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842.

A VERY beautiful miniature edition of this useful essay, possessing additional value from the brief memoir which introduces it.

The Rights of Conscience and of Property; or The True Issue of the Convent Question; by George Ticknor Curtis. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1842.

THE present session of the Legislature, we trust, will not terminate before justice, long delayed, shall be done to the Catholics, whose moderation and patience, under the most grievous wrongs at the hands of a mob, and under the neglect of the Commonwealth to make all the reparation in its power by full reimbursement for their loss, have done them lasting honor. It was injury enough to them, and to the reputation of our time-honored State, when a lawless rabble — with whatever sprinkling of respectability there might have been in it — set fire at midnight to a large and costly edifice, crowded with women and children, impelled to the deed by religious prejudice. But every disgrace which that act of savage violence inflicted upon Massachusetts, and every injury it inflicted upon the Catholics, has been exceeded in the fact of the virtual justification of that act by the withholding of justice for so long a period, where right is so plain, that no other blindness but that of religious prejudice could fail to see and acknowledge it. This we think is the most serious aspect of the case, that the whole body of our representatives should, to so great an extent, share the feelings and passions of the mob. Unless it be their religious prejudice operating in secret, we in vain attempt to conjecture a reason for this weary denial of a righteous compensation. Perhaps we ought to add that there is another aspect of the case more serious yet,

and more discouraging as to the healthiness of the moral feelings in our community, the fact, namely, stated by Mr. Curtis, and well known to all who know anything of the matter, that during the eight years that have elapsed since the destruction of the convent, in no one instance has the Governor of the State in his annual Message called the attention of the Legislature to the subject. The possible reason for this neglect of the most important topic, that for these eight years has solicited the Chief Magistrate's attention, hinted by Mr. Curtis, "the belief that the suggestion would not penetrate through the prejudices of the time," is by no means sufficient to excuse this unfaithfulness. The suspected existence of such prejudice was the best reason to be given for such plain and earnest statement and re-statement, for such argument and appeal — often enough resorted to on questions of general and local politics — as might tend to soften and remove the prejudice, and open the mind to more enlarged and generous views. Who can doubt that had there been the right feeling, there has each year been talent enough in the chair to have presented the question in such a form and with such power, as long before this to have discharged our great debt to the Catholics, and as far as that can be done by repentance and reparation, to have wiped away her darkest stain of dishonor from the fair fame of our ancient Commonwealth. The incumbents of that chair, we are certain, have not, in this, answered the wishes and expectations of the best portions of the people.

Two years ago we expressed the hope that, before the Bunker Hill Monument should be carried to its top stone, that other monument of our shame on a neighboring height, the ruins of the demolished Convent, should be replaced by the restored edifice, and again be occupied by its former tenants. The top stone is up and on, but the ruins stand as they did. Shall they stand there forever?

The pamphlet of Mr. Curtis is able and eloquent, and presents with great clearness and force the legal argument in the question. If such argument as is presented here, and such as shall be heard in the House at the present session, does not produce its effect in accomplishing the ends of honesty and justice, we trust the friends and advocates of justice and honesty will not lose their patience, but repeat their efforts from year to year, till the mind of the people shall be subdued to what must in the end obtain its triumph, the power of truth and right.

Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands. By MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1842.

OUT of her pleasant memories of pleasant lands Mrs. Sigourney has made quite a pleasant book. She pours out poetry with the same facility apparently as prose. But whether she employs blank verse, rhyme, or simple prose, she gives utterance to those kindly feelings and that pure sentiment that find a ready echo in the bosoms of all. Her writings are too generally known to need a single critical remark, and we rather turn to her pages for a few such passages as may afford pleasure to our readers. The volume is printed in a very beautiful form, adapted to the wants of the present-making season. An engraved title-page and a pretty view of Abbotsford, as a frontispiece, are its decorations.

From the chapter devoted to the young Queen of England, we extract the passage which describes her as she appeared addressing the Houses of Parliament.

The countenance of Queen Victoria is agreeable, and her complexion very fair. At first view it seemed remarkable, that one so young should evince such entire self-possession, nor betray by the least shade of embarrassment a consciousness, that every eye in that vast assembly was fixed solely on her. This, however, is a part of the queenly training in which she has become so perfect.

Her voice is clear and melodious, and her enunciation so correct, that every word of her speech was distinctly audible to the farthest extremity of the House of Lords. She possesses in an eminent degree the accomplishment of fine reading. I could not help wishing that the fair daughters of my own land, who wear no crown save that of loveliness and virtue, would more fully estimate the worth of this accomplishment, and more faithfully endeavor to acquire it. For I remembered how often, in our seminaries of education, I had listened almost breathlessly to sentiments, which I knew from the lips that uttered them must be true and beautiful; but only stifled sounds, or a few uncertain murmurings repaid the toil. And I wish all who conduct the education of young ladies would insist on at least an audible utterance, and not consider their own office to be faithfully filled, unless a correct and graceful elocution is attained.

In looking upon the fair young creature to whom such power is deputed, and hoping that she might be enabled to execute the sacred and fearful trust, for the good of the millions who own her sway, and for her own soul's salvation, I was reminded of the circumstance of her weeping when told she was to become a queen, and of the sweet poem of Miss Barret, which commemorates that circumstance.

“O maiden! heir of Kings!
A King has left his place!

The majesty of death has swept
All other from his face!
And thou upon thy mother's breast
No longer lean adown,
But take the glory for the rest,
And rule the land that loves thee best."
She heard and wept,
She wept, to wear a crown!

God save thee, weeping Queen!
Thou shalt be well beloved!
The tyrant's sceptre cannot move,
As those pure tears have moved!
The nature in thine eyes we see,
That tyrants cannot own!
The love that guardeth liberties. —
Strange blessings on the nation lies
Whose Sovereign wept,
Yea! wept to wear a crown!

Anecdotes of distinguished and interesting persons occur here and there. She visited Miss Edgeworth, and thus describes her :

"To have repeatedly met and listened to Miss Edgeworth, seated familiarly with her by the fireside, may seem to her admirers in America a sufficient payment for the hazards of crossing the Atlantic. Her conversation like her writings is varied, vivacious, and delightful. Her kind feelings toward our country are well known, and her forgetfulness of self, and happiness in making others happy, are marked traits in her character. Her person is small, and delicately proportioned, and her movements full of animation. She has an aversion to having her likeness taken, which no entreaties of her friends have been able to overcome. In one of her notes, she says, 'I have always refused even my own family to sit for my portrait, and with my own good will shall never have it painted, as I do not think it would give either my friends or the public any representation or expression of my mind, such as I trust may be more truly found in my writings.' The ill-health of a lovely sister much younger than herself, at whose house in London she was passing the winter, called forth such deep anxiety, untiring attention, and fervent gratitude for every favorable symptom, as seemed to blend features of maternal tenderness with sisterly affection. It is always gratifying to find that those, whose superior intellect charms and enlightens us, have their hearts in the right place."

We have never seen a representation of this celebrated writer in either painting or engraving, but did not before know that none exists. Her reason given for denying the pleasure to her friends and the world of possessing her picture is amusing enough, and a striking instance to show how illogical a very wise person can sometimes be. As if any body wanted her portrait in order to see her mind in it, and so might see it imperfectly —

as if it were for any other purpose than just to see how she looks. Does Miss Edgeworth derive no gratification from looking upon the bust or portrait of the great persons of antiquity or of the present day? Why in her own case should she deprive us of a similar pleasure? Does she derive no pleasure from seeing the faces of her living friends? Would she as lief talk with them always with a black veil on, and have intercourse only with their minds? We have great respect for the mind, but a great deal for the body also. We decidedly on the whole think more of mind than body. But we hold it to be quite a reasonable curiosity, when we have been enlightened by the genius of a great author, to look upon an effigy of the outward form, be it ugly or otherwise, in which it pleased Heaven to lodge it. This transcendental elevation — of which before we could never have suspected this most practical of writers — above the pleasures of sense, above the delights that come in through material forms, sounds, hues, above all joys, but those that can be gathered from a treatise on metaphysics, religion, or universal grammar — this, if we were disposed to speak seriously of it, we should call a form of irreverence; but as we are not, we simply call it error of judgment, or affectation.

Mrs. Sigourney saw also Wordsworth and Miss Baillie.

“An excursion to Grassmere and Helvellyn, the falls of Rydal-Water, Stock-Gill-Force, and other points of interest in the vicinity of Ambleside, communicated great pleasure to our party; but at our return we found it had been purchased by the loss of a call from the poet Wordsworth. Though I had more earnestly desired to see him than almost any distinguished writer, whom from early life had been admired, it was with a degree of diffidence, amounting almost to trepidation, that I accepted the invitation to his house, which had been left at the inn. As I approached his lovely and unpretending habitation, embowered with ivy and roses, I felt that to go into the presence of Europe's loftiest crowned head, would not cost so much effort, as to approach and endeavor to converse with a king in the realm of mind. But the kindness of his reception and that of his family, and the unceremonious manner in which they make a guest feel as one of them, removed the reserve and uneasiness of a stranger's heart.

Wordsworth is past seventy years of age, and has the same full, expanded brow, which we see in his busts and engravings. His conversation has that simplicity and richness, for which you are prepared by his writings. He led me around his grounds, pointing out the improvements which he had made, during the last thirty years, and the trees, hedges, and shrubbery which had been planted under his direction. Snatches of the gorgeous scenery of lake and mountain, were visible from different points; and one of the walks terminated with the near view of a chapel built by his neighbor, the Lady Elizabeth Fleming, on whose domain are both the upper and lower falls of Rydal-Water. In

this beautiful combination of woods, cliffs, and waters, and solemn temple pointing to the skies, we see the germ of many of his thrilling descriptions; for his habit is to compose in the open air. He loves the glorious scenery of his native region, and is evidently pleased when others admire it.

"His household consists of a wife, sister, two sons, and a daughter. The eldest of the sons is married, and with a group of five children resides under the same roof, giving to the family a pleasant, patriarchal aspect. A fine boy of five years, who bears the name of his grandfather, and bids fair to possess somewhat of his breadth of brow, is evidently quite a favorite. Among his bright sayings was the question, whether '*the Ocean was not the christian-name of the Sea?*' It was delightful to see so eminent a poet, thus pursuing the calm tenor of a happy life, surrounded by all those domestic affections and charities, which his pure lays have done so much to cherish in the hearts of others."

Her visit to Miss Baillie is thus described :

"It was both a pleasure and a privilege to see Miss Joanna Baillie, at her residence in Hampstead. She is above the common height, erect and dignified in her person, and of truly cordial manners. On my arrival, she had just returned from a long walk to visit the poor, and though past the age of seventy-six, and the day chill and windy, she seemed unfatigued, and even invigorated by the exercise. She resides with a sister several years older than herself, and who retains a beaming and lovely countenance.

"With them was Rogers, the veteran poet, who has numbered his eightieth winter, but still keeps a perpetual smile of spring in his heart. His polished manners make him a favorite in the higher circles, while the true kindness of his nature is attractive to all. Many from my own land can bear witness to his polite attentions, and to the exquisite collection of the fine arts, which his house in London exhibits; and among all the masters of the lyre in foreign realms, there is none of whom I now think with such deep regret, that I shall see their faces no more on earth.

"Miss Baillie is well known to be a native of Scotland, and sister to the late celebrated physician of that name, whose monument is in Westminster Abbey. Whether it was the frankness of her nation, touching the chords of sympathy, I know not, but it was painful to bid her farewell."

Address delivered before the Harvard Musical Association, in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, August 24, 1842.
By WILLIAM W. STORY. Printed at the request of the Society. Boston: Printed by S. N. Dickinson. 1842. 8vo. pp. 24.

THIS is a discourse which an English writer would call surprisingly clever. But it is more than that, as it shows more

than talent, to which that term is restricted, namely, genuine feeling and a true enthusiasm. We do not think the author has exaggerated, nor exhibited more enthusiasm than all who feel, as well as love to hear, music, would choose to express, and in much the same language, if they possessed an equal power with Mr. Story over a very various vocabulary, and an equally vigorous imagination. He sometimes hovers just upon the verge of the obscure, just enough, perhaps, to inspire a deeper interest in his flights, and just also upon the verge of all we hate in the New Dialect, but on the whole steers his way with so good discretion, that we are obliged to confess he almost seems to borrow a grace from his offences, which is a great deal for a natural enemy of all forms of Euphuism to say. There is no great method in the discourse, but it is none the worse for that ; — a great deal of method in a short performance reminds one of small buildings all outside — crushed by too much architecture — examples of which are not wanting.

Were we to please ourselves with taking exception to any principal position of the discourse, it would be with the rank so confidently claimed for Beethoven. He is clearly, to our mind, not of the Shakspeare and Homer class, but a lower order — great, but not greatest — and there is all the difference in the world between the two. In the class of “ great ” one would be ready to allow him the first place — but would by no means permit him to stand within the sacred precincts of the temple, where dwell the master-spirits of poetry and song. We do not pretend to have heard a tythe of the music of this great composer. But from what we have heard his genius may be understood and measured. It is not difficult to see that he wants that attribute of the greatest minds, to produce perfect satisfaction, an absolute fulness of delight, and force the conviction, that human power can no further go. One has the feeling that he may be surpassed — that many greater may arise. But we look for no more Shakspeares. Our highest conceptions of what is possible to human genius are fulfilled in him. We do not look for a greater. So of the other monarchs of art, Michael Angelo, Dante, Handel. Beethoven may not be compared with them ; but rather with such a genius as Richter, whom he seems greatly to resemble, — wild, erratic, fantastic, with gushes of nature and bursts of power, which at times melt the heart and fill the mind with astonishment ; but never presenting in a long-sustained movement that completeness and perfect development of thought, which are seen in the works of the greatest minds, and ever assert their supremacy by subduing not only the souls of the few to their sway, but of all. Beethoven,

like Richter, is for a clique, not for mankind ; for — we dare to say — an age, not for all ages. And what adds to the strength of this conviction is, that as we listen, we are compelled to question the perfect simplicity and sincerity of his nature — ever the characteristics of the highest genius — reminding us here again, notwithstanding all his moral beauty, of Richter. You see too much, Beethoven, as, too much, Richter, — too little, original, spontaneous, irresistible, unaffected nature. Handel is not Handel, but greatness, sublimity, inimitable tenderness, surpassing magnificence. Shakspeare is not Shakspeare, but nature, poetry, truth, absolute and unapproachable. Of neither can mannerism be affirmed ; except in the sense, indeed, that their greatness ever betrays them, as manner does inferior souls. If the world sings for six thousand years longer, we cannot conceive that it should ever raise a sublimer strain than the hallelujah chorus, or a sweeter, holier, than “ He shall lead his flock like a shepherd,” or, “ I know that my Redeemer liveth,” — all worthy of the tongues and harps of angels. What is the impression made by the far-famed symphony in C. Minor ? Is it one, single, immediate, homogeneous, overwhelming ? or not rather, mixed, doubtful, confused, partial — an impression of incompleteness and even irrelevancy, of possible, not certain greatness, of a wonderful mingling together of the true and the half-true, the great and the grotesque, the simple and the insincere — of a striving, in a word, after what is not attained. There are strains beautiful, affecting, dreamy, as ever the soul conceived ; but others bewildering, mysterious, anomalous, which interest intensely, and excite the curiosity, but at the same time produce effects absolute music never could — perplexing the mind, and throwing it into a state of criticism, rather than one of calm enjoyment, abandonment to the power of art, breathless admiration.

But we have said more than we intended. We congratulate the Harvard Musical Association on accomplishing so successfully the objects which it placed before it. Its library has already become valuable, and is increasing. We trust it keeps steadily in view what we consider its main object, the establishment of a professorship of music in the University. With this, as one chief fountain of influence, and the Boston Academy, with its annual concerts, as another, we might look confidently for a wide and rapid spread of a more pure musical taste in the country.

1. *A Discourse, occasioned by the Death of William Ellery Channing. Preached in Hollis Street Church, Oct. 16, 1842. By John Pierpont.* Boston: Printed by Oliver Johnson. 1842. pp. 23, 8vo.
2. *An Address, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D., in the Federal Street Meeting-house, Oct. 7, 1842. By Ezra S. Gannet.* Boston: William S. Crosby & Co. 1842.
3. *A Discourse, occasioned by the Death of William Ellery Channing; delivered in the First Congregational Church, Providence, R. I., Oct. 12, 1842. By Edward B. Hall.* Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 1842.
4. *A Sermon, preached in Amory Hall, Oct. 9th, 1842, being the Sunday succeeding the Death of William Ellery Channing. By James Freeman Clarke.* Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 1842.
5. *A Discourse, occasioned by the Death of William Ellery Channing, D. D., pronounced before the Unitarian Societies of New-York and Brooklyn, in the Church of the Messiah, Oct. 13th, 1842. By Henry W. Bellows.* New-York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1842.
6. *The Influence of a Great Mind when imbued with the Spirit of the Christian Religion. A Sermon, preached in the Meeting-house of the Harvard Church and Society in Charlestown, on Sunday, Oct. 9, 1842, on occasion of the Death of Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D. By George E. Ellis, Pastor of that Church.* Boston: William Crosby & Co., No. 118 Washington St. 1842.
7. *An Humble Tribute to the Memory of William Ellery Channing, D. D. A Sermon, preached at West Roxbury, Oct. 9, 1842. By Theodore Parker, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury.* Boston: Charles C. Little, and James Brown. 1842. 8vo. pp. 38.
8. *A Sermon, on the Death of Dr. Channing. By Rev. Charles T. Brooks, delivered in the Union Meeting-house at Portsmouth, (Rhode Island.)*
9. *A Discourse, on occasion of the Death of Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D., delivered in Essex Street Chapel, on Sunday, Nov. 6th, 1842. By Thomas Madge, Minister of the Chapel.* London: John Green, Newgate St. 1842.

10. *A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D. A Discourse, delivered in the Chapel, Little Portland St., Regent St., on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1842, by Edward Tagart, F. S. A., Minister of the Chapel.* London: John Green: Newgate St. 1842.
11. *A Sermon, preached at Little Carter Lane Chapel, London, on Sunday, Nov. 6th, 1842, on occasion of the lamented Death of the Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D. By Joseph Hutton, LL. D.* London: John Green, Newgate St.; and John Mardon, Farringdon St. 1842.

WITH the exception of one we have read these discourses, and have been struck with their general excellence. They are of a higher order, we think, than those which appeared on the occasion of the death of President Harrison, and are certainly creditable to the authors and to the church. Our first purpose was to make an article similar to that upon the late President, in order to transmit on our pages an example of the preaching of the day, and through the passages selected for that purpose at the same time present as complete a view as possible of the character and life of Dr. Channing. We have laid it aside for many reasons, but with regret, and preserve merely the titles of the several discourses.

Greenwood's Sermons of Consolation.—In the present Number we can only record the title of this beautiful volume. It is one which we are sure will meet with a grateful reception, not only on the part of the parishioners of Mr. Greenwood, but of all who have ever listened to his preaching, or who seek instruction on the topics most interesting to a thoughtful mind. The plan of the volume we believe is original, in being confined to discourses on some one of the subjects of Christian consolation. It meets a want not before supplied. There are twenty-seven sermons in the volume.

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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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MARCH, 1843.

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RECENT TRINITARIAN PUBLICATIONS.\*

IN the first of these pamphlets we have the first formal American statement of the High Church doctrines of the Oxford school, with which we have met. In the second we have an explicit statement of the Low Church view of the same subjects. In the third we have an expression of the feeling, with which the Catholic Church, both in this country and in England, regards the movements, which have lately taken place in the Episcopal branch of the Church Universal.

The circumstances, under which these two advocates of High and Low Church doctrines appear before the public, are somewhat novel. One of the main advantages, attending a church of established forms, is stated by Paley to be uniformity of doctrine, exhibited in the same pulpit. Under an opposite mode of administration, the consequence would be, "that a Papist, or a Presbyterian, a Methodist, a Moravian, or an Anabaptist, would successively gain possession of the pulpit." The very thing, which the Episcopal forms were intended to obviate, seems in this case to have taken place. On the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity, Bishop Whittingham instituted Mr. Johns to the Rectorship of Christ's Church in Baltimore, and in a discourse without any text, unless a quotation on the opposite page from Irenæus may be considered as such, asserts that the person he has just instituted is a *priest*, that the Lord's

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\* The Priesthood in the Church. The Protestant Episcopal Pastor. The Religious Cabinet.



table is an *altar*, the elements of communion a sacrifice, and, if we comprehend aright the force of his language, that in partaking of those elements, the communicant eats and drinks "the proper and natural body and the proper blood of Christ." In the evening of the same day, the person so instituted preaches a sermon to the same congregation, in which he says, "I am no more a priest, in the sense of the word objected to, than you are, my brethren, who are laymen; nor can I, in the same sense, offer sacrifice any more than you." The table is *not* an altar. And moreover he asserts, "It is both theologically and philosophically erroneous to speak of the reception of even *the proper spiritual body of Christ* in, with, or under the bread and wine of the Eucharist;" and closes by saying, that he will never preach such doctrines, "so help me God!" A more awkward predicament it is difficult to conceive, than for a Bishop to preach one doctrine in the morning, at the institution of a Rector, and for the Rector on the evening of the same day to contradict him, and promulgate precisely the opposite doctrine. We do not say this in derision or in triumph. Far be it from us to take pleasure in the dissensions of any branch of the Christian Church. It is not one sect alone that suffers on such occasions, but our common Christianity. Our common Lord is wounded in the house of his friends. We wish merely to point out the fact, that creeds and forms are no security for uniformity of faith, or for the peace of a church. However carefully they may be worded, there arises the same dispute about the meaning of terms and phrases, which existed in relation to the language of the Bible, upon which all creeds profess to be founded.

But it is time to exhibit the statements and arguments of these two advocates of High and Low Church doctrines. The Bishop, after instituting the Rector, holds the following language as to the office with which he had invested him.

"In the office which we have just been using, I have, by the prescription of the Church, had occasion again and again to speak of your pastor as '*a priest*,' and of the duties which have now been committed to him as '*sacerdotal functions*'—implying that *as a priest* he is to minister among you, and therefore to offer *sacrifice*, at what we learn from the rubrics or directions incorporated in the Office, to call the '*altar*' of Christian worship.

"It is a very serious thing to use such language in the imme-

diate presence and solemn worship of HIM who, while He searcheth the heart, hateth a lie, and the maker and lover of it, if we have any doubts of its correctness. Yet such have been started. It is my purpose to examine the grounds for acquiescing, in the view adopted by the Church and put forth in the framework of her most solemn formularies.

“An objection, that must be met at the outset, is, that we have no Scriptural sanction for such procedure;—that the New Testament no where speaks of ‘priest,’ ‘altar,’ or ‘sacrifice,’ as pertaining to the worship of the New and better Covenant. This is a matter not wholly certain, since the epistle to the Hebrews says “we *have* an altar;” and our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount, where the Gospel is set in contrast with the Law, speaks of *His* followers leaving their gifts on the altar, to be first reconciled with their brethren, before they offer; while the apostles repeatedly make mention of the gifts and offerings of Christians in terms implying a sacrificial character. But for the moment setting these passages aside, what will follow, suppose it should be granted that the application of the terms “priest,” ‘sacrifice,’ and ‘altar’ to a ministry and worship under the Gospel, does not occur in the New Testament? Just this—that the terms, and the things they signify, will be left in the same position as the terms ‘Sabbath’ and ‘Bible,’ and the things they signify. If there be no mention of a Christian *priest*, there is none, also, of a Christian *Sabbath*. If our being *all* priests, a ‘royal priesthood,’ ‘a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices,’ ‘kings and priests unto God,’ excludes a delegated priesthood of men separated to the work, then our time being all holy, our whole lives consecrated unto God, must exclude (as some few sects have from time to time, in opposition to the mass of the Christian community, maintained) the dedication of the seventh day as holy unto the LORD. If our having One great high Priest, for ever making intercession, by the oblation of his One sufficient Sacrifice, excludes the ministration of earthly priests; so we have One heavenly Sabbath, a rest remaining for the people of God, to which we are bid look forward, and for an entry into which we are taught to labor. If the absence from the New Testament, of the words ‘priest,’ ‘sacrifice,’ and ‘altar,’ in application to the ministers and mode of Christian worship, could prove the ministry of the Gospel to be no priesthood, its service no sacrifice, needing and admitting of no altar, then the absence of the words ‘Bible’ and ‘Holy Scriptures’ from the New Testament, in application to its own form and contents, would prove that the New Dispensation has no sacred volume, the word of God, written by apostles and evangelists, no claim to be His revelation of His will.

“This negative mode of arguing, then, will not do. The books of the New Testament are part and parcel of the Bible, though they no where say so. ‘The Lord’s Day is the Christian Sabbath, though no where called so. The gospel ministry may be a priesthood, the worship of the Church a sacrifice, though no where so described.’”

Such are the Bishop’s views of the sacerdotal functions of the Christian ministry. He then attempts to draw the line between the Episcopal and Roman Catholic doctrines upon this subject. Of the clearness and satisfactoriness of this distinction, we leave others to judge.

\* “Unquestionably, like every other truth, this, of the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry, has been liable to misinterpretation and abuse. Errors of the most dangerous nature have grown out of it, and prevailed to a very great extent, and find their misguided advocates to this very day and at our thresholds. A priesthood, assuming the character of mediatorship and intercessorship, sprung up in days of predominant ignorance, out of the amalgamation of half discarded paganism with the Christian forms and doctrines. A worship offered not *with*, but *for* the people, in a tongue unknown to them, and a voice inaudible, crept into use among insufficiently instructed converts, from the barbarous hordes that changed the face of Europe in the sixth and following centuries, and, in similar circumstances, found its way among the Churches of the East, depriving their time-honored forms of half their beauty and nearly all their efficacy. Crude, contradictory, and low views of the Christian sacraments, led to utterly unscriptural notions of the sacrificial nature of the blessed eucharist, and while they, almost blasphemously, elevated it into a constantly recurring, and simultaneously multiplied, propitiatory repetition of the one great mystery wrought on Calvary, degraded it into dependence for its nature, worth, and efficacy, on the intention of the frail and sinful man commissioned with its administration. Ministerial intervention for the remitting or retaining sin, by admission to the sacraments or exclusion from their privileges, assumed the form, for ten centuries unheard of in the Church, of judicial reconciliation of offenders in absolution, given on terms at the discretion of the fallible, mortal judge.

“Such a priesthood the reformers found, claiming privileges, which it refused to test by the written record of its commission, and exercising those privileges, even on its own showing of their extent, in abuses the most fearful and soul-destroy-

ing. Is it wonderful that some, who set themselves to gainsay its usurpations, failed, in the corruption which they saw, to find the simple, scriptural original? and under the exclusive worship, mumbled in an unknown tongue, of a mass — and pardon-mongering ministry, lost sight of the Christian priesthood and its spiritual sacrifices?

“Some, not all; for God be thanked, our branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, while it purged away the accumulated errors that had soiled its discipline and worship, retained alike the form of sound words in doctrine, and the golden casket of ritual observances, that it found transmitted, unbroken and unchanged from primitive days and apostolic men. A ministry derived, by pure succession, from the fount in the Lord’s own commission, has never ceased to keep up its claim to the priestly character, by professing unto God and man to ‘celebrate and make’ ‘before the Divine majesty,’ with the ‘offering’ of ‘holy gifts,’ a ‘sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,’ as the ‘bounden duty and service’ of a redeemed people, seeking ‘for themselves and the whole Church’ ‘remission of sins and all other benefits of the passion’ of their Saviour.

“This I do not hesitate to single out as the great characteristic of the Church, distinctive of its position from that of all the surrounding bodies — a due regard for the Christian priesthood, as exercised in the administration of the sacraments. On the one hand, Rome degrades the divine institutions, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, by raising to their level ordinances, partly of inferior use, partly of corrupt origin and dangerous tendency. On the other, Protestant sects and schisms from our own body, have little by little given up, first the commission to administer the sacraments, then the accurate conception of their use and nature, and at last the just estimation and due reverence for institutions, certainly placed, by our Lord’s own command and the doctrine of his apostles, on higher ground than is assignable to any other joint overt act of Christian duty. Time was, when the difference between the Church and surrounding bodies, on this point, was less than prevailing looseness of opinion now renders it; and we might even quote the Westminster Confession and the Assembly’s Catechism (to say nothing of Luther and Calvin and Knox and Cartwright) in our justification against those, who upbraid us as ‘a sacramental Church,’ on account of the stress laid, as well in our formularies of faith and worship, as in our practice, on what the Assembly’s larger Catechism terms ‘*means of salvation* and seals of the benefits of Christ’s death and mediation,’ and the Synod of Dort describes as ‘signs and seals, *by means whereof* God worketh in us by the power of the Holy Ghost.’”

Here we have, not explicitly expressed, indeed, the divine right of apostolical succession, and the exclusive validity of the ministrations of the Episcopal and Catholic clergy, they only possessing, by unbroken transmission, the official functions of celebrating the ordinances of the Gospel.

Next follows a statement, which we are somewhat astonished to see made in a Protestant country, so near the middle of the nineteenth century. We have looked at it in every possible way, and we are able to make nothing more or less of it, than **TRANSUBSTANTIATION.**

“It is, indeed, because we are consistent in this view of the sacraments, (once the common ground of all who claimed the name of Christian, except Socinians and Anabaptists,) that we attach the importance to the ministerial succession, which procures for us so many hard thoughts and speeches. The commission to seal remission of sins and regeneration in baptism we hold to be derivable from Him alone, who has the key of David upon his shoulder, who shuts and no man can open, and opens and no man shut. The right to offer the ‘spiritual oblation,’ as the Westminster Confession — the ‘sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,’ as our Prayer Book — terms the Eucharist, we can regard as obtainable from none but Him who therein communicates Himself to the believer, and makes the humble penitent — to quote again the Assembly’s Catechism — ‘*truly and really* to feed upon His body and His blood.’ If, even to preach the Gospel, as the Holy Ghost has taught us, it is necessary that ‘they be sent,’ how much more to apply its seals to individual believers, and in baptism wash away the sins of those who come to Christ, and in the Supper of the LORD convey into the hand of faith (to use the language of the reformer Jewell) ‘the body and blood of our LORD, the flesh of the Son of GOD, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, of grace and truth and life; by the partaking whereof we be revived, strengthened, and fed unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in Him and He in us’ — ‘so that we err not,’ (to sum up all in one strong expression of the Synod of Dort) ‘so that we err not when we say that, that which is eaten and drank by us is the proper and natural body and the proper blood of Christ.’

“Who, thus believing, can view the sacraments otherwise than as the highest and most concerning privileges of the believer, the very breath of his spiritual life, being the medium appointed by Him, who gives it for its communication and susten-



tation? as the best and costliest treasures of the Church, entrusted to its dispensation as the children's food, committed to the stewardship of a segregated ministry, that as well to the Church on earth, as to the Judge of all at the last great day, a strict account may be given of the use and fruits of such heavenly blessings? or can look upon the commission to that ministry, so entrusted, as a light thing, to be thoughtlessly allowed to every claimant without full proof from scriptural and historic testimony?"

The question here naturally occurs, Is a majority of the Episcopal Church in the United States prepared to sanction such doctrines; and if so, will they be borne by the mass of the people? We are told that under their influence the church is gaining strength. We are much disposed to doubt the fact. We can readily conceive of their drawing closer the bonds of attachment of a few, but we think that this effect will be more than counterbalanced by the repugnance, with which such lofty pretensions will be regarded by a larger portion of the Protestant world.

We now turn to the discourse of Mr. Johns, preached the same evening, in the same church, after having been instituted Rector in the morning by the same Bishop, and lectured as to his functions and his relations to the church. As a good omen *he* took a text, though we are unable to perceive its pertinency to the occasion, or the subject he intended to discuss. It was the answer of Naomi to Ruth; "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." Of the theology and criticism of this discourse, as well as that of the Bishop, we shall forbear to speak in this place. We shall say something of them before we close. We shall here notice only what it contains on the subjects of the priesthood, the altar, and transubstantiation.

"But what, shall it be conceived possible, that the Christian in abandoning the idolatry of the world, should rush upon that, in the Church, which may lead to the same delusion? Shall the Christian Ruth, as she renounces the errors of Moab, encounter others within the enclosures of the sanctuary? Never we would humbly trust; and yet who can show that this is not virtually the case, if in the consecrated elements of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the devout communicant is instructed, that there is given and received the proper natural body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Now, with the utmost respect

for those with whom I differ on this point, I am solemnly bound so to do, and accordingly I fearlessly proclaim this to be an 'erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word.' (See the vows of ordination in the book of Common Prayer.) I do firmly and solemnly believe, that the use of such language cannot fail to bewilder and mislead the minds of our people; so to speak is to give utterance to that, which contains an error in theology, and a palpable philosophical absurdity.

"But again — It is both theologically and philosophically erroneous to speak of the reception of even *the proper spiritual body* of Christ in, with, or under the bread and wine of the Eucharist; and for these reasons: the creed teaches us, that this body sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; and so says the scripture, 'whom the heavens must receive, until the times of restitution,' Acts. iii: 21. It is and must be there locally, for as it is a glorified, spiritualized *human body*, it is not omnipresent: if it were omnipresent, it would not be *our human nature*; to suppose Christ's proper body capable of omnipresence, is to suppose that, which, if true, would destroy Christ's proper humanity; if he be, in his human nature, omnipresent, his humanity is not like ours: and yet we know that it is precisely such as ours is, sin only excepted; 'for verily he took not on him the nature of Angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, and was in all things made like unto his brethren:' Heb. ii: 16, 17: and being precisely such, it cannot be in two places at one and the same time: it cannot be in heaven and in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, at the same moment: not even can Christ's *proper spiritual body* be thus in the elements of the communion, much less his '*proper natural body and blood*.' To contend for this, is to destroy Christ's proper humanity, and this is as important an article of our faith, as his proper divinity. This idea, therefore, of the presence of Christ's body, whether natural or spiritual, in the elements of the Eucharist, *in any way, shape, or manner*, confounds the two natures of Christ, by assigning the attributes of his divine nature to his human, and is utterly at variance with scriptural theology and sound philosophy."

The remarks he quotes from Bishop White, as to the propriety of calling the communion table an altar, cannot but strike every judicious person as sound and just.

"I conceive so unfavorably of whatever *may lead, even by remote consequence*, to creature worship, as to give a caution against a notion which sometimes appears in writers, who were *sincere*, but *inconsistent* protestants. The notion is,

that there is in the Eucharist a real sacrifice; that it is offered on an altar, and that the officiating minister is a priest, in the sense of an offerer of sacrifice. Under the economy of the gospel, *there is nothing coming under the names referred to, except the fulfilment of them in the person of the High Priest of our profession.* As to our Church, although she commemorates a great sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet *she knows of no offering of this description*, except in the figurative sense in which prayers and alms are sacrifices. She calls the place on which her oblation is made, not ‘*an altar*,’ ‘*but a table*,’ although there is no impropriety in calling it an altar also, the word being understood figuratively. And as to the minister in the ordinance, although she retains the word ‘*Priest*,’ yet she considers it as synonymous with ‘*Presbyter*: which appears from the Latin standard of the book of Common Prayer, and is agreeable to etymology.”

The views, which he takes of the priesthood of the ministry, are to us quite as satisfactory.

“The English word priest is used, in consequence of the meagreness of our language, as the translation of the two Greek words, *ιερευς* and *Πρεσβυτερος*, the former of which denotes an offerer of Jewish sacrifices, and the latter a Christian Minister. The latter word, which expresses a Christian Minister, according to Bishop White, ‘never denotes an offerer of sacrifice,’ except in the figurative or accommodated sense. I am no more a priest in the sense of the word objected to, than you are, my brethren, who are laymen; nor can I in the same sense offer sacrifice, any more than you can. In the accommodated use of this language, you may offer sacrifices, as we gather from the words of the Apostles. St. Peter says, addressing himself promiscuously to Christians, ‘ye are a chosen generation, a *royal priesthood*, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that *ye should shew forth* the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.’ 1 Epis. of Pet. ii. 9. And also St. Paul, ‘I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that *ye present your bodies a living sacrifice* holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.’ (Rom. xii. 1.) In these passages of Scripture, all Christians are denominated priests and recognised as capable of offering sacrifices to God, evidently in the accommodated sense of the terms.”

The official remission of sins, which the Bishop seems to consider as a power transmitted from the apostles, he treats

with little ceremony, and he closes with a solemn oath that he never will preach the doctrines which his spiritual superior had enjoined on him in the morning.

“Nor has this ordinance any efficacy to procure the remission of sins; for ‘the order,’ under consideration tells us, that this is procured by Christ’s ‘one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.’ Sound Protestants, believing this language of the Church to be in perfect consonance with the statements of the Bible, cannot consent to any other offering of the body of Christ, or any other sacrifice of atonement, but most thankfully remember Christ’s one, ‘full, perfect sacrifice’ on the cross, as wholly ‘sufficient’ for all their wants.

“In like manner do they understand the language of the catechism, as teaching them, that in the Holy Communion there is ‘an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace *given unto us*,’ and not to the ‘creatures of bread and wine.’ The elements, when consecrated, represent to us the broken body and shed blood, and stand like an index pointing to him who once hung upon the cross, and now appears at God’s right hand. The inward and spiritual grace is given unto us directly by Christ the Master of the feast. The ordinance, as a rich and precious means of grace, fulfils its office by leading our thoughts to Christ, and then the Master acknowledges his own institution by pouring his grace into the soul of the obedient disciple, who thus ‘feeds upon him in his heart by faith with thanksgiving.’ Thus does the Church, like her Lord and Master, teach us, that the words which she addresses to us in this ordinance, are ‘spirit and life.’

“These, my brethren, are believed to be the doctrines of our Church. I hold that they are vitally important to her peace and welfare. They embrace those principles for which our Protestant forefathers shed their blood, and none other shall you ever hear from me in this sacred desk, ‘so help me God.’”

There is something in this of the spirit of ’76, and it assures us, that however High Church doctrines may be carried in England, backed as their advocates expect to be by the whole power and patronage of their vast establishment, there is something in the air of America which will say to them, “Hitherto, and no farther.”

We are glad that these two pamphlets have appeared. We are happy that the issue between these opposite parties of the

Episcopal Church has thus been publicly made up on this side the Atlantic. The world may now know what they are contending about, and in what light they view themselves and the other divisions of the Christian Church.

The first thing that occurs to us, on looking over these pamphlets, is the conclusion, that whichever of the arguments prevails, they will be alike fatal to the cause of exclusive Episcopacy. The low church claims only to establish the validity of her own ministrations, leaving that of others to stand or fall on its own grounds. If she prevails, she will leave all other denominations within the pale of the church, and equally in prospect of salvation. If the high church succeeds, and denies the saving efficacy of the ministrations of every ministry but her own and the Catholic, she must exclude the other churches of the Protestant world by the same rule by which the Catholic may exclude her, — that of heresy and schism. She cannot use one argument against the validity of the acts of the dissenters from her faith and forms, which the Catholic may not urge with equal force against her. She may say that the Catholic Church had become corrupt. Supposing she had, who was to convict her of corruption? According to the theory of authority, no other body but herself. She might retract, but no power could force her to do so. There is no middle ground between authority and private judgment. A man must submit to the majority, or he must judge for himself. And those very bodies, which separate and set up for themselves, are governed by the voice of the majority, both to decide what is true, and to determine what is to be done. Now there is no way in which the right to decide what is true, and what is to be done, can pass from the majority of the church universal, supposing it to exist there, to the majority of any section of the church, without destroying the very principle upon which it is founded, or without giving the same right to a minority of that section again to divide, and take with them the same powers, unimpaired, of determining what is true and what is to be done. There was no possible way then, in which the Protestant Episcopal Church, on the principle of authority, could get into existence as an authoritative church. Schism constitutes an impassable gulf, which authority can never bridge over. The claim, therefore, of the Episcopal Church to any exclusive rights, is a *felo de se*, destroys itself, and in unchurching all other Protestants she unchurches herself. The only



way, in which she can legitimately gain the authority she seeks to exercise, is to return unto the bosom of the Catholic Church, and persuade her to renounce the errors for which she forsook her communion, or herself renounce those doctrines for the sake of which she seceded. If the doctrine of apostolic succession can overleap the great gulf which separates the Protestant from the Catholic Church, it certainly can overleap the smaller chasms which separate the Protestant Churches from each other.

The ground of authority failing the High Church party, or driving them inevitably into the Church of Rome, there remains nothing but expediency as the reason of the preference of their forms. In the absence of any proof in the New Testament of the jurisdiction of any church officer, except the apostles and those who acted by their direction, over any other church than that to which he belonged, Episcopacy itself comes to rest on no other ground than that of its utility alone. All church organization is to be judged of by its efficacy in promoting the purposes for which the church exists. The purpose of the existence of the church is undoubtedly the sanctification and salvation of the souls of its members. The light, in which the officers of the church are to be regarded, will depend upon the light in which the sacraments are considered. If they have an intrinsic efficacy, and salvation or perdition is suspended on our partaking or not partaking of them in a particular manner, and if that peculiar efficacy is communicated to them by being administered by a certain succession of persons, then it becomes of the highest importance to inquire in what that succession consists, and how it is kept alive. If at the bar of God it shall be the deciding point, of two persons of equal Christian attainment, that one shall go into life eternal and the other into everlasting punishment, that one received the sacrament from a Roman or an Episcopal clergyman, and the other from a dissenter, then apostolic succession is of vital, paramount importance, and all Protestant sects are in greater danger than they suppose. But if the efficacy of the sacraments be only relative, a means of edification and of perpetuating the church as an outward institution, then the organization of the church bears an entirely different aspect. Then the officers of the church must be considered with respect to the purposes which they are intended to answer, the edification of the church, its order, and its perpetuation. How can the

church be edified? By being taught. Does the capacity of teaching depend on ordination? By no means. But it is found expedient to maintain this form, to prevent incompetent and improper persons from taking it up and disturbing the order of the churches, and preventing their edification. The forms of examination and ordination are maintained, that the church may have at all times a supply of competent teachers. Now it makes no difference by whom this examination and ordination is performed, provided the persons are qualified, a Bishop, a Presbytery, an Eldership, or a convocation of Circuit Riders. And after all, any of them may err. The laying on of their hands will not confer piety where it did not exist before, nor learning where there has been no study, nor aptness to teach where there are no natural talents.

Then, if we adopt the opinion, that there is no intrinsic efficacy in the sacraments, their being administered in a manner to edification will depend on the appropriate, the reverent, and becoming manner in which they are administered, on the opinion of those who receive them, of the right of the person who officiates to administer them, and the preparation of heart and sincere devotional feelings of the participants. And even in the absence of proper feelings on both sides, which it is to be hoped never happens, one end is secured, the perpetuity of the church and its ordinances, that it may be conveyed down to purer hands and sincerer hearts. Now if both order and edification are secured, if a supply of competent teachers is kept up, and the sacraments are celebrated in a manner satisfactory to all, it seems but a trifling point what the various officers of the church are called, whether Bishops, or Presbyters, or Elders. The functionaries are competent, if all parties consider them to be so.

This seems to be the ground upon which the organization of the church was left by the writers of the New Testament. There is no part of sacred criticism more difficult than to discover the number and functions of the officers of the primitive church. There are no two places where they are described alike. When Paul touched at Miletus, on his way to Jerusalem, he sent to Ephesus and called the Presbyters or Elders of the church, and when they had arrived at Ephesus, he addressed them as Bishops. He commands Titus to ordain *Elders* in every city. "If any man be blameless, the husband of one wife, having believing children, not accused of riot or unruly ;

for a Bishop must be blameless." Then, in that formal enumeration of the officers in the church, given in the twelfth chapter of I. Corinthians, neither Bishops nor Elders are mentioned, and it is impossible to determine, at this distance of time, what were the functions of the different grades there mentioned. "And God hath set some in the church, first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."

In this entire absence not only of prescribed form, but of knowledge what the form was, or whether it was uniform in all places and at all times, we are left to recur to the circumstances and principles, which seem to have directed them in the choice of forms. And to us nothing seems plainer than that the officers of the early church were created from time to time to meet the wants of the time and the circumstances of the churches. Deacons were first created to manage a charity, which sprang up in the church, and that because the apostles could not find time to attend to it. And then, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, from which we have just quoted, the offices there mentioned seem to be shaped to fit the peculiar gifts of each individual. After the cessation of miracles, and the church was to be increased by growth from within, instead of conversion from without, then sprang another order, not mentioned in the Scriptures, of Catechists, persons whose office it was to instruct the children and the rising generation, an order corresponding very nearly to our Sunday School Teachers. The great catechetical schools of Antioch and Alexandria were certainly a part of the organization of the church, and one which was the growth of circumstances and not of apostolic enactment, just as our theological schools have been in modern times.

This power and privilege of adaptation has always been used, and has never grown obsolete in the church. God's blessing has attended its exercise. No one can read the life of Wesley, without perceiving, that the present organization of the Methodist Church, which has proved itself perhaps more efficient for its purposes than that of any church since the apostles, was the growth of circumstances, and not of any foresight, much less any plan of its founder. We consider it, therefore, exceedingly unfortunate, that the divine right of Episcopacy should have been brought forward in this country

at this time. In England, backed by immense wealth, and the patronage of the government, such a doctrine may be forced upon the people, though not even there without great struggle. Here the case is different. Every church is, in fact, independent, and will never submit to that discipline, which is necessary to force High Church doctrines upon the whole denomination. Any such attempt will be resolutely resisted, even to the severing of the church.

Besides, the age of rituals is gone by, and cannot be brought back, without making the Church of Rome the tomb, as she was the mother, of all Protestant denominations. And the moment the Episcopal Church sets up an exclusive claim, on the ground of ritual observances, not only will she be compelled to recede into the bosom of her mother, but she will raise up a powerful competitor on her own ground, and that very near home. Her numbers are but a drop in the bucket when compared to those of the Baptists, who upon occasion may set up an exclusive claim of divine right quite as startling, and quite as difficult to dispose of, as that of their Episcopal brethren. They may deny, as they often have denied, that any one, who has not been baptized by immersion, can perform any valid official act in the church, or even has any claim to the Christian name. They would *act* on this principle, we presume, by rebaptizing any person who had been sprinkled by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Here then, would be exhibited to the world the singular spectacle of three exclusive churches in the same country; the Episcopal church, claiming for themselves and the Catholics, the Catholics, for themselves exclusively, and the Baptists, for themselves exclusively, all right to administer the ordinances of the Christian Church. In the mean time, while these churches are disputing about the symbols, and the exclusive right to handle them, the thing signified is taking place in all churches, men are made Christians, and prepared for heaven.

Wherever men assemble in the name of Christ, though only two or three, "there he is in the midst of them," not bodily nor mystically, but by the influence of his character and religion. No promise of his presence could be stronger, even at the supper itself; and yet it is made, not concerning the communion, but concerning ordinary meetings for religious purposes. No matter if there be not an official person present. No matter if it be two or three friends, met together for conversa-

tion upon things connected with Christ's religion, the promise is equally to them, and we have every reason to believe is always redeemed. Wherever the Scriptures are publicly read, even though they may be expounded with a large admixture of what is merely human and fallible, there is edification. Wherever there is true prayer, breathed by a pious and humble soul, there is sanctification. Wherever the rite of baptism is administered, whether to the infant at the font, or to the adult at the river side, there is the same public recognition of God, of Christ, and the purposes of his religion. Wherever the Lord's Supper is celebrated by believing, penitent, and obedient hearts, there is Christ brought to remembrance in the way of his appointment, and though not recognised by the senses, he is present to the eye of faith and affection, and still speaks peace, and hope, and consolation to his disciples. Such being the nature of the ordinances of our religion, and such their practical influence when administered by all sects, it would seem to be a waste of time and ingenuity for one sect to attempt to make out an exclusive claim to their valid administration. And, as we have already said, no Protestant sect can do this, except upon grounds which the Catholics may urge with much greater force against all Protestant sects.

Indeed, the Catholics, who understand the bearing of all these questions, quite as well as those who are engaged in their discussion, already consider the High Church doctrines promulgated from Oxford, as a virtual recession into their principles. That they do so, is evident from their published sentiments on both sides of the Atlantic. We have seen nothing more to the point than the following "Extract from a Letter on the Oxford Movement in America," which appeared in the Religious Cabinet, a Catholic periodical, published in Baltimore, in the Number for December, 1842.

"It is not to be doubted, that there are many of them (Episcopalians in the U. States) no whit behind the best even of illustrious Oxford either 'in good feeling or common sense,' but they are here in a double isolation: they are not only cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, but they are without individual Christian sympathy, and it is asking too much of men in general, to ask them *singly* and alone to take a step which, however they see it to be right, they themselves, and all around them, have been in the habit of thinking wrong, or rather, to speak more truly, of *thinking that they thought it*



wrong. This habit, like any habit, was only to be got rid of by another's taking its place: and thanks to the better spirit, which has everywhere grown up in religious matters, and of which Oxford seems to be the organ, it has been got rid of. The habit of thinking or speaking all manner of evil against the Catholic Church, falsely, has given place, in a manner altogether wonderful, to inquiring about the truth and acknowledging it. So the first step is already taken, and, as I have said, the road to Rome, for men of 'Catholic minds,' is greatly shortened here from what it is yet in England; that is, at least for individuals, for of course the re-union of the Anglican Church with Catholic Christendom is far easier than that of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.'

"If, moreover, serious men among Episcopalians here, any more than their brethren with you, have not yet agreed, or perhaps discovered '*quæ erga Deum et homines agere et dicere deceat*,' what regard should be paid to God and to men in our words and actions, at least they are beginning to feel it is time to make up their minds. They are quite satisfied that something more is wanted than human laws, or human respects, or 'religious institutions,' both for individuals and for the public, in an age like this, when men, whose daily bread is an accident, or perhaps an alms, *affect* waste and luxury, and when the intellectual, and the cultivated, and the high in place and fortune are among the foremost in vice and profligacy, and even the low crimes of forgery and theft. These men, all of them, feel the necessity for themselves, and often still more for others, of a yoke other than material, or political, or *ad arbitrium alicujus*. And no man of any mark amongst them but is ashamed of the absurdity of private judgment's going along with creeds and articles, or even moral codes; and sees, with honest indignation, the fruits of what people have been pleased to call 'Evangelical doctrine.' They may have let their wives or daughters 'play the spider and weave meshes' round their outward man, but their intellect or their heart has never been 'captivated' in the ill-woven web of Protestantism; not even their honor or their pride is entangled in it. They are uncommitted, in general, at least, by any act of their own, and often take little trouble to conceal even from Catholics their most reasonable want of reverence for a system of negations, a visible body without a visible head; sovereignty without unity; authority in spirituals (that is, to bind men's consciences) with the claim even to infallibility or indefectibility. How many a time have you and I, in our days of what we rejoiced to call 'churchmanship,' heard from men, who never doubted they were staunch Protestants, sober acknow-

ledgments of the utter inefficiency, and insufficiency of their Church, and frank, if not cordial admiration of the sacred majesty of the Catholic rite; of the sublime charity of the Catholic religion; of the never ending triumph of Catholic martyrs, and of the everywhere parent authority of the Catholic priesthood, with its consolations and its counsels, its indulgences and its restraints! Such men, with you, may be kept where they are by hopes for their Church, but there are no such hopes here, nor does the deceitfulness of such hopes blind them. Nor is it the future struggle, the horror difficultatis, the labor certaminis, that holds them back, but their spiritual as well as religious isolation, the stare super seipsum: and I verily believe there are hundreds and thousands of Episcopalians that would be *glad* to hear it said by all around them, 'we will go into the house of the Lord.' Could the religious atmosphere of Oxford be created in any Protestant community here; could the religious dispositions which, thank God, have always existed among the female portion of the Anglo-American race, begin to exist among the male; could the men of that communion here, be led to seek the grace of devotion and to practise *acts of Christianity*, they would not wait for the civil power nor for *their* Church to 'return to the reverential faith of other ages—to that high, and holy, and self-denying spirit of devotion and charity, which visibly embodied itself of old in our cathedrals and our abbeys of England, and to the Church which only is ever and forever practically in possession of it, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of Rome. The Anglo-Americans are eminently a straight-forward people;—in right or wrong, *en avant* is their motto, and just as soon as they become animated by Catholic feelings will they cease to be satisfied with Protestant communions. And so far as we are concerned on this side of the Atlantic, I, for one, care not if no new work of controversy be written from this day forever. Episcopalians may use their own edition of our sweet Thomas Kempis, (alas, that they should be so different from the true one!) they may use their own beautiful Oxford prayers for unity—and even read their own 'Catholic-minded' authors; I have no fear but that those, who are really *ready to take up their cross and follow* the Redeemer, will be led by him to the holy city."

How this controversy between the High and Low Church parties in the Episcopal Church in this country will terminate, it is at present impossible to predict. If it were on any other soil than that of America, the natural course of things would be for the High Church doctrines to bear down the Low, as

they will naturally enlist the clergy in their favor, and according to the ecclesiastical constitution of the Episcopal Church, the clergy virtually have the power. No effectual resistance can be offered, as we conceive, except by a resort to the republican elements of the body, which would be in fact a dissolution of its present-organization.

Since we commenced this article, Bishop Whittingham has published another discourse, which we suppose he means to have considered as explanatory to the other two, entitled, "Emmanuel in the Eucharist." This will be considered, we believe, by most persons, as shifting the ground of the real presence from Christ's human to his divine nature. Inasmuch as Christ is the incarnate Jehovah, who is essentially omnipresent, he must be present in the Eucharist. In the course of it he says, "The bread and wine, I hardly need say, are not the flesh and blood, but bare signs; *their* reception then is not in itself the eating and drinking *the things signified*, that too is merely *signified* by the outward act."

This reference to the human and divine natures of Christ leads us to speak of the general doctrines of the Episcopal Church on this subject. Mr. Johns tells us in his preface, that "he believes that more than human wisdom guided the men who arranged the services of the book of Common Prayer." Of the general excellence of the forms of the Episcopal service, supposing it conceded that it is expedient to have a form, there can be but one opinion. There is a very good reason why they should be excellent. They consist principally of extracts from the Bible. No person, who has any devotional feeling, can listen to that service without being impressed with the conviction that those parts of it, which are of human origin, were composed by men of deep piety as well as of admirable judgment. The tone of it all is worthy of all praise, equally removed from mechanical coldness and wild enthusiasm.

There are some parts of it, however, which we think no one, who has adequate ideas of the nature of the Deity, or who has carefully studied the Old and New Testaments in the original languages, can hear or read without astonishment and pain. He will hear the Supreme Ruler of the universe, who filleth immensity and eternity, "with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning," addressed in such strange language as this: "By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation, by thy holy Nativity and Circumcision," — the circumcision of God!! —

“By thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation,” — the temptation of God!! — “Who CANNOT be tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man.” “By thine Agony and bloody Sweat, by thy Cross and Passion.” We will quote no more. What idea of God does such language as this suggest and inculcate of that Being, who at the moment of the birth and death of Jesus, was superintending the myriads of worlds, which revolve around the eighty-five millions of suns, that shine upon us nightly from the blue depths of space! We exclaim in our hearts, Christian brother, early habit and religious reverence have made you insensible to the import of the language you use, and led you to forget that “God is a spirit,” and not one of these terms, when applied to him, can have any meaning.

Turn from the service to the Catechism, and the most ordinary mind, which examines and reflects, immediately meets with traces, not of “more than human wisdom,” but of human fallibility. The catechumen is made to recite the substance of his belief, in the form which has come down to us under the name of the Apostle’s Creed, a form certainly of great antiquity, but which has no satisfactory claim to come from the hands of the apostles. The best evidence of its antiquity is the fact, that its very structure shows that it was framed antecedently to the establishment of the doctrine of the Trinity. There is no allusion in it to the Deity of Christ, nor even his preëxistence. He is not made the Creator of the material universe, even as the instrument of the Almighty. That is all attributed to God the Father Almighty. “I believe in God,” — most of the ancient forms have it, “in one God, the Father Almighty. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried; he descended into hell; the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting.”

The most remarkable thing about this creed is its antitrinitarian character. Not only is there no allusion to the dogmas of the preëxistence, and the creation of the world through Christ, but his being is dated no further back than his conception.

The only thing in it, which can be thought to imply any superior nature, is the phrase "only Son." This is evidently taken from the similar expressions, "only" and "only begotten," in the Hebraistic Greek of the New Testament, which are in turn not expressions of singleness of being, but of peculiar endearment. They are the translations of the Hebrew word יחיד, *unicus*, *praestans*, which is applied to Isaac, when he was not the only son of Abraham, but his dearly beloved son, as much beloved as an only son usually is. And it is in this sense of *endearment*, we believe, that these epithets are always applied to Christ in the New Testament. If any one wishes to learn the meaning and use of the phrase "only begotten," in the time of the apostles, he has only to turn to the seventeenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises, offered up his only begotten son." He had another son at the same time, Ishmael.

But we read on a few sentences, and we find the modern comment on this ancient document. And what does the author of the Catechism make the catechumen to have been taught by the creed? "Ques. What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief? Ans. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world. Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind." God the Son! Where can such an expression, or anything equivalent to it, be found, not in the creed alone, but in the whole compass of the Bible? It may be said, that it is found in the phrase, "Son of God." But though they sound somewhat alike, there is not only a difference between "Son of God," and "God the Son," but an infinite difference. "God the Son," must necessarily be God, but "the Son of God," must as necessarily not be God. The Son of God must necessarily be a *derived* being, and the Deity of course be as complete without him as with him.

This brings to view a fact, of which the superficial readers of the Bible do not seem to be at all aware, that the Trinitarian hypothesis cannot be sustained for a moment, without taking the most unwarranted liberties with the language of the Scriptures. Take for instance, the words God and Father. When applied to the Supreme Being, they comprehend the whole Deity. And if this idea is uniformly kept in view, all conception of a Trinity is excluded from the word of God.



But those, who have been educated to modify the language of Scripture by the Trinitarian conception of God, have learned most conveniently to vary the meaning of these words to suit the exigences of each case, sometimes making them to comprehend the whole Deity, and at others to comprehend the first person only of a Trinity. We will cite a few cases. Jesus teaches his disciples to pray, "Our Father which art in heaven." Of course, there being no other object of worship mentioned, he means to include the whole Deity, the Son and the Holy Ghost, if there be any such persons in the Deity. When Jesus calls God "Father," and "my Father," that he means to include the whole Deity, is evident from his message to his disciples after his resurrection; "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." Here evidently God and Father are coextensive in signification, and include the whole Deity, however many persons there may be in it.

With this idea in our minds, let us go to his own devotions. "Father the hour is come. Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Here then is the Son praying, and praying to the Father as the only true God. Can he be an object of prayer, who himself prays to another as the only true God, and thus excludes himself from all participation in Deity? I know it will be said, that he prayed in his human nature. Then the very thing will follow, which we wish to establish, that he was "the Son" in his human nature, and of course, as "the Son," cannot be an object of religious worship. If the Father be the "only true God," then the Son, whatever may be his rank in the universe, is not God, and must not be worshipped as God. The worship then of "God the Son" is a human invention, the very language is a coinage of the ingenuity of man, not found in any part of the Scriptures. If it is meant to be directed to Jesus in his glorified state, even in that sense it is expressly forbidden by Christ himself. "In that day ye shall ask me nothing. Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name he will give it you." And the uniform representation of the Scriptures is, that Jesus even in his exalted and glorified state is not God, and is just as distinct from him as ever. Even in the oriental conception of God as a king, seated upon a throne, and Jesus exalted to the first place of power and dignity at his right hand, he is not represented as making

any part of God, or participating at all in divinity. It is "the throne of God *and* the Lamb," not that the Lamb makes any part of God. And when homage is paid to the Lamb, it is not paid to him as God, or for doing any act of God, but "because thou hast redeemed us unto God by thy blood."

Reflection upon these and similar considerations and texts of Scripture must convince any one, we think, that the very phrase, "God the Son," which occurs in the Litany and Catechism, is not only unscriptural, but utterly repugnant to any just conception of Deity, and could be justified only on the supposition, that there were a family of Gods, and that Deity could be multiplied, and shared, and transmitted just as humanity can.

If the train of argument we have gone through above be conclusive, and we see not how the force of it can be eluded, if the terms God and Father are coextensive and comprehend the whole Deity, then the worshipper, when in the words of the Litany he has prayed, "O God the Father of heaven," &c., has exhausted all the objects of worship there are, there is nothing left to worship as God. It is a curious fact, that to this catechism upon the creed, there should be subjoined one upon the ten commandments, thus bringing the pure Monotheism of the old dispensation into advantageous contrast with the multiplied objects of worship introduced under the new. In a few sentences after having said that he is taught by his creed "to believe in God the Father, and in God the Son, and in God the Holy Ghost," he is made to repeat the first commandment. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." This is represented as being said by the Jehovah of the Old Testament. The Jehovah of the Old Testament is undoubtedly the same Being to whom Jesus prays in the New, as the "only true God," as "the Father." The catechumen acknowledges him when he says, "I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world." But he goes on to acknowledge another Being as equally God, namely "God the Son." How is this to be reconciled with the prohibition in the commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me?" Now God the Father, and God the Son, are either identically and precisely the same, or they are different. If they are identically the same, why should they be called by two different names, and addressed as two beings? And if God the Son be different from God the Father, just so

far as he is different, he is "another God," which the catechumen is strictly forbidden to have.

The catechumen is made to say, that the Creed teaches him to believe in "God the Son." We have shown, we hope satisfactorily, that no such expression, and no such sense, can be drawn, either from the Creed or from the Bible; that the title, "Son of God," which approaches nearest to it in sound, is applied to his human nature, or rather, as we should in fairness say, to his human nature in its official relations. The catechumen is made to draw an inference from the Creed, which the Creed will by no means sustain. Quite as wide apart are the Creed and the Catechism, in regard to the Holy Ghost. The Creed says, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." The catechumen is made to say, "I am taught by the Creed to believe in God the Holy Ghost." The difference between believing in the Holy Ghost and God the Holy Ghost is very great. One expresses the belief of all who believe the miraculous origin of Christianity, and is assented to by Arian, Trinitarian, and Humanitarian; and by this test they are separated from unbelievers of all kinds, who do not believe in anything supernatural in the establishment of our religion. The Christian believes that "Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness." The infidel thinks that it was all a delusion. Christ declared, that "he cast out devils by the Spirit of God." The infidel considers this to be a mistake. The Christian believes that "holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The infidel believes that they spoke without any divine inspiration. All this may be believed without admitting that the Holy Ghost was the third person of a Trinity, or even a person at all. The terms of the Creed may be fully satisfied by believing, that the Holy Ghost is the miraculous power or action of God. But when you alter the expression from "the Holy Ghost" to "God the Holy Ghost," you make it something entirely different. You make it involve the Trinity. You make it a test between Trinitarians and all others; whereas in the Creed it is a test between believers and unbelievers in the divine origin of Christianity. As it stands in the Creed it is catholic and universal. As it stands in the Catechism it is sectarian and exclusive.

We now turn from the Creed and Catechism to the Litany. As there is a wide difference between believing in the Holy Ghost, and in God the Holy Ghost, so there is a difference

equally wide between *believing* in the Holy Ghost and *worshipping* the Holy Ghost. Adopting the least objectionable form of the Trinitarian hypothesis, the Sabellian, which makes the three persons to be three manifestations of one incomprehensible Being, and of course the Holy Ghost to be one of those manifestations, the question, as to the propriety of making the Holy Ghost a distinct object of worship, resolves itself into this; Has God ever given any intimation of his will, that he desires to be worshipped in that form? For such an intimation we search in vain through the whole compass of God's word. We have many precepts for devotion, and many examples of devotion in the Bible, but never one of prayer to God the Holy Ghost, or to the Holy Ghost. Let the reader take his Bible and collect all the prayers which occur in it from the beginning to the end, and not one address will he find to have been made to the Holy Ghost. The Litany has in this matter the merit of originality. The nearest approach to any such thing, that is made, is in the form of baptism and in one of the forms of benediction. But, unfortunately for any argument, which any should attempt to draw from the form of baptism, in favor of a plurality of persons in the Deity, the Israelites are said to have been "baptized into Moses," *εἰς Μωϋσῆν*, just as Christians are said to be baptized into Christ. They are likewise baptized into Christ's death. In the one case men are said to be baptized into a person who is not God, and in the other into what is not a person but a thing. This being the case, it is in vain that the form of baptism is quoted to prove either the Deity of Christ, or the personality of the Holy Ghost.

In one of the forms of benediction in the Epistles, it is argued that we have the three persons of the Trinity in the way of worship. "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all." But when you come to analyze this sentence, all appearance of forming a Trinity vanishes. We have no intimation that the word "God" in the second clause does not mean the whole Deity. The term is not "Father," but "God," and if we had not become habituated by an hypothesis to shift the meaning of the word "God" from the whole Deity to the first person of a Trinity, no idea of a Trinity would here be suggested. But we go on to examine the relation which is sustained by the first person in the order, to the

second. The same writer, Paul, gives the relation in another place, where he writes on this wise, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., and in a few verses further on, "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory," &c. Now according to the Trinitarian hypothesis, though a person of the Trinity may have a Father, he cannot have a God. One person of the Trinity cannot be God to another. Here, moreover, the whole Deity, God, is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. This passage then, so far from proving the Trinity, disproves it, and is utterly irreconcilable with it.

Take, as another instance of the unwarrantable liberties, which the Trinitarian hypothesis compels us to use with the language of Scripture, the Trinitarian exposition of the first verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is generally considered as one of the strongest passages in proof of the Deity of Christ. "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Now, in order to make this square with the Trinitarian hypothesis, it is necessary to change the meaning of the word "God" here, from the whole Deity, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Being who spake to the fathers by the prophets, and make it signify the first of three persons of a Trinity. It is not the Father who spake by the prophets, and by his Son, but it is God, the whole Deity, comprehending the three persons, Father Son, and Holy Ghost, if there be any such distinctions. Unless you make this arbitrary and unauthorized change in the meaning of the word "God," the doctrine of the Trinity is overturned by the very passage that is brought to prove it. The "Son" here spoken of does not answer the description of the "Son" who is one of the persons of the Trinity. The Son in the Trinity is the Son of the Father, and a part of Deity; but the Son here spoken of is the Son of God, the whole Deity, and of course can make no part of Deity, whose Son he is. That we are right in interpreting God to mean the whole Deity, and the Son to make no part of him, appears from the third verse, where it is said, that this person, whoever he was, having accomplished certain things on earth, "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." That Majesty is undoubtedly the Deity, represented as a monarch. He, who sits at his right hand, *cannot* be any part of the Be-



ing at whose right hand he sits. The second person of a Trinity cannot be superior to the angels, *because* he hath obtained a more excellent name than they, in being called the Son of God.

The Trinitarian then, who makes "Son of God" equivalent to "God the Son," must give up this passage as utterly subversive of his theory, and hand it over to the Arian and Humanitarian. The Arian will interpret "worlds" in the second verse to mean the material universe, and make the Son to have been the instrument in the hands of God in the creation. The Humanitarian will adopt the more common meaning of the word *αιωνας*, and consider it as signifying periods of time, or states of the world, as we familiarly say, the ancient and the modern world. To him "Son of God" becomes a title of the Messiah, having nothing to do with his nature, and is seized and dilated on by this writer to elevate the origin of Christianity above that of Judaism. He is confirmed in this view by the fact, that the Son is made use of by God, just as the prophets were made the instrument of God in speaking to men. His moral perfections and miraculous powers are no more than represented in the expressions, "who being a reflection of his glory and the image of his substance," since man himself, at his first creation, is said to have been made in the image of God.

Take another example. "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law;" or in other words, made a man, and a Jew. Now, unless you arbitrarily change the meaning of the word "God" here, from the whole Deity to the first person of a Trinity, the doctrine of the Trinity is overthrown from this passage likewise. If it was the Father that sent forth the Son, there might be some color for making Son to mean a part of the Deity, but it was God, the whole Deity, that has sent forth his Son. This of course cannot be the Son, the second person of the Trinity, for he is the Son of only the Father and not of the whole Deity. Son then, so far as this passage is concerned, may be only a title of the Messiah, and have no respect to his nature. Above all does it give no countenance to such an expression as "God the Son." And whenever we meet with the expression "Son of God" applied to Christ, it is an evidence not in favor of the doctrine of the Trinity, but against it. A Son of God CANNOT be a person of a Trinity in God.

The error of inventing such an expression as "God the Son," so unauthorized by the Bible, was made in consequence of mistaking the import of the expression, God the Father. "Father" is an epithet applied to Deity in the Scriptures, on account of his paternal relation to the universe, not to a person of a Trinity, but to the whole Deity, and is not as a correlative to God the Son. Thus in the expression, "Our Father which art in heaven." "One God and Father of all, who is above all." "To us there is but one God, the Father." This would not be true if there were another "God the Son." To make the thing more sure, Jesus Christ appears in the same sentence, not as "God the Son," but simply as "Lord," and that only in a subordinate and instrumental capacity. "One God, *of* whom are all things, and one Lord, *by* whom are all things." How he came to be Lord, Peter tells us in the Acts, when he says, "God hath *made* that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." Now whatever Lordship Jesus Christ exercises, it is not inherent in his nature, but conferred on him by God. His Lordship then is not of a physical character over the universe, but merely of a moral and spiritual nature over the church, or over mankind. The Lord Jesus Christ then, an expression so often recurring in the New Testament, is so far from being equivalent to "God the Son," that there is an infinite distance between them. One is what God exalted Jesus of Nazareth to be, and the other is Deity.

Take one more example of the strange changes which the Trinitarian hypothesis leads us to make in the meanings of words, as they pass under our eye. In the last conversation of Jesus with his disciples, where he speaks of God as his Father, the mass of people consider him as speaking of the first person of a Trinity, not only without proof, but within sight of proof to the contrary. They read such passages as the following, without perceiving their bearing. "For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father." God and Father are here evidently synonymous, and if so, all idea of a Trinity disappears, for the word, "Father," being coextensive with the word "God," includes the whole Deity. The person here spoken of came from God. Whereas the Trinitarian hypothesis is, that the second person of a Trinity was sent by the first.

Be it understood, that we do not accuse our Episcopalian brethren of worshipping three Gods. We are confident, especially from the observation of the few last years, that Trinitarianism is fast subsiding into the mild form of Sabellianism in all denominations, and the language of Creeds and Liturgies remains to show rather what opinions *were* than what they *are*. We close by urging all, who are accustomed to worship "God the Son" and "God the Holy Ghost," to take their Bibles, and search them once more, and see whether they can find any such expressions in them. Then, when they have satisfied themselves on that point, let them examine if the Trinitarian hypothesis can be sustained in any other way, than by continually varying the meaning of the words "God" and "Father," from the whole Deity to a first person of a Trinity.

G. W. B.

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#### SLAVERY.\*

IN the October number of the Southern Review, we find an elaborate and powerfully written vindication of slavery on Scriptural and *quasi* religious grounds. We propose in the following article to present an outline of that argument, and, so far as we may be able, to expose the fallacies on which it is based. We feel ourselves called to do this by the startling and dangerous character of the ground assumed,—a ground on which negro slavery is not excused or palliated, but legitimated as a divine institution, against which it is impious to contend. The argument in brief is this. When Noah recovered from that fit of intoxication, in which Ham, the father of Canaan, had treated him with gross indignity, he said, *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* He also said, *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.* He said yet farther, *God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.* These blessings and curses

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\* The Southern Quarterly Review, October, 1842. Art. 3. — *Canaan identified with the Ethiopian.*

were prophetically uttered by divine inspiration, and were uttered for all coming times. In fulfilment of these predictions, the posterity of Canaan have always been a servile race. They became the servants of Shem, when the Israelites subdued them, and made them *hewers of wood and drawers of water*. Of the Canaanites, subdued under Joshua, the modern Africans are the descendants, and lawful heirs of the patriarch's curse, the latter part of which has been and is now being fulfilled in our own land. For Japheth, that is, a nation of European extraction, here dwells in the tents of Shem, that is, where stood the wigwams of the Shem-descended North American Indians; and the said Japheth has been led in the course of divine Providence to transport Canaan, in the person of his sable descendants, to be his servant; nay more, Japheth has "even made Canaan *servant of servants*, by putting him under the delegated authority of overseers and others." For this office of servants God has fitted the descendants of Canaan both in body and soul. They come ready made slaves from the Creator's hands; and the anatomist and psychologist are constrained to admit that they bear ineffaceable marks of their menial destination. Slavery then is of God; the slave-trade is a pious calling; and anti-slavery is infidelity.

Such is the syllabus of a chain of argument, which covers more than sixty octavo pages. The subordinate heads of proof and illustration we shall cite in the sequel, with such comments as our limits will permit.

The whole argument rests on the postulate, that Noah's blessing and curse, on the occasion above referred to, were prophetic. That he uttered the blessing and the curse, we doubt not; nor do we doubt that the Jews, in their national hatred of the Canaanites, deemed them oracular. But that the Almighty has punished Ham's gross indecency, by imprinting marks of degradation and servitude upon all his son Canaan's posterity till the end of time, or that the Almighty selected a man, just waking from the brutal sleep of intoxication, to utter a prediction the most comprehensive, the farthest reaching of any in the Old Testament, we may emphatically say, *Credat JUDÆUS*; for surely no sober-minded Christian can seriously breathe such reproach upon the divine justice and purity.

But admitting for the moment that these curses were prophetic, let us see how far they were fulfilled. The writer in the *Southern Review* introduces his argument with a precious

*morceau* of philological criticism, in which he claims for Noah's curse a *retrospective* fulfilment in the names of *Canaan* and *Ham*. The verb, from which *Canaan* is derived, literally denotes to *submit one's self*, to *bend the knee*; and by putting these two definitions together, (though in common cases a word bears but one meaning at a time,) the very convenient signification of *self-submissive knee-bender* is obtained for *Canaan*. Now, unless the Almighty had intended that Canaan's posterity should be slaves forever, he would never have suffered Ham to have imposed upon his son a name, from which a reviewer of the nineteenth century could extract this double-distilled meaning. We are also told that "the Hebrew verb, from which the noun *Ham* is derived, signifies *generator* or *parent*, — also *hot*, and in the Coptic and other dialects *hot* and *black*, or *burnt black*," from which sentence we may infer, that Hebrew verbs correspond to both nouns and adjectives in other languages, as also that the Coptic is a dialect of the Hebrew, seeing that a Hebrew verb has a signification in the Coptic. The Hebrew verb, from which *Ham* is derived, means in *Hebrew*, *to be* or *to become warm*. We are not aware that this verb is used in the Coptic, though we find in our lexicons a Coptic adjective, probably of kindred derivation, which means *black*. But even if *Ham* does mean *warm* in the Hebrew, and *Chemi black* in the Coptic, what has all this to do with the question of negro slavery? No one doubts that Ham's posterity are both warm and black; but they are warmer and blacker in Guinea than in North America. If the name of their progenitor was prophetic, let then his posterity remain where they can best fulfil the prophecy.\*

We come now to the alleged fulfilment of Noah's prophecy in the Canaanites, who were subdued under Joshua.

"Ham had more sons than Canaan, *the knee-bender*, but it does not appear that the duty of being *servant of servants* was obligatory on any other branch of Ham's family. Some of the other branches became distinguished for their arts and arms, but not the *knee-bender*, Canaan. We learn from the

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\* Our author, in defining the name of *Ham*, heaps upon the poor man's head all the meanings that he can find for the whole circle of cognate words. He makes Ham to denote the *parent or generator of the black race of men in hot climates*! The whole paragraph is a rare philological curiosity.



Bible that the Jews, the descendants of Canaan, [probably misprinted for *Shem*,] made slaves of the Canaanites; that some were reduced to absolute slavery, and the others made tributaries. Instead of coming to Joshua in arms to fight for liberty, the Gibeonites and some other tribes of the land of Canaan submitted without a struggle, and, like true negroes, begged Joshua to make slaves of them. They even resorted to artifice to get the boon of slavery conferred upon them. See chap. ix. Joshua. Joshua made them *hewers of wood and drawers of water to this day*, say the Scriptures. These *hewers of wood and drawers of water* correspond, no doubt, to our domestic servants of the same race of people at the present day, and to the slaves of our mechanics and small farmers.

“But the great mass of the Canaanites were reduced to another species of slavery, evidently corresponding to the kind of slavery at present existing on our large plantations. Joshua divided the land among the twelve tribes of Israel. Each tribe reduced the negroes or Canaanites, which fell to its lot, to tributaries, who dwelt among them.” — pp. 324, 325.

We are happy to learn that “the slaves on our large plantations” are merely “tributaries;” for what else can we infer from the paragraph just quoted? A tributary is a person, who, on condition of the periodical payment of a stipulated sum, is left to dispose of his time and industry at pleasure, and to enjoy without molestation whatever property he may in any way obtain. We had supposed that the time and industry of the plantation slaves were entirely at the arbitrary disposal of their masters; but are glad to be corrected on so high authority.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Gibeonites were subjected to domestic servitude. They were simply servants in and about the sanctuary and temple. Joshua’s declaration to them is, “There shall none of you be freed from being bondmen and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God.” In the subsequent portions of Jewish history, we find the Gibeonites repeatedly referred to in connexion with the priests and Levites, as attached to the ecclesiastical establishment, but never as the servants or slaves of individuals; and the passage above quoted is the first intimation, that we have ever had, that they were subject to domestic service.

But the fate of the Gibeonites, whatever it was, was not that of the posterity of Canaan generally. Canaan had eleven

sons, who became the heads of as many tribes; and the Gibeonites were but an insignificant branch of one of those tribes. Five of these tribes settled in Syria and Phœnicia, and had nothing to do with the wars of Joshua. The remaining six, with the exception of the Gibeonites, after protracted and at times successful struggles for supremacy, were made tributaries to the Israelites, some of them not however till the days of Solomon, four or five hundred years after the commencement of hostilities against them by Joshua.

It is assumed in the passage above quoted, that the Canaanites were negroes. Of this we have not the slightest proof; and, intimately as their history is interwoven with that of the Hebrews, it is surprising that the difference of color, if it existed, should not have been mentioned. Especially, if blackness had been a part of Canaan's curse, would it not have been specified as one of the grounds for subduing and enslaving his posterity? Or would not Moses and Joshua have sometimes appealed to the prejudice of color, in their efforts to procure an entire severance of sympathy between their people and the Canaanites? Would the Israelites have been so prone to contract intermarriages with the Canaanites, as they always were from the days of Joshua to those of Ezra, had the barrier of a different skin been interposed? And in the frequent mention of such marriages in terms of reprobation by the sacred writers, must not some reference have been had to the mulatto issue of these connexions? Was Bathsheba black? Was Solomon a mulatto? His mother was the wife of Uriah the Hittite; and the Hittites were of the posterity of Canaan. Moreover the Phœnicians were descendants of Canaan, and Carthage was founded by a Phœnician colony. Was Cadmus black? Was Hannibal black? We do not know; for there is no mention made of their whiteness by any ancient historian. But how is it to be accounted for, that in the detailed narratives, which have come down to us of the Punic wars, no mention is made of the blackness of the Carthaginians, if they were black?

"Some of the other branches [of Ham's posterity] became distinguished for their arts and arms, but not the knee-bender, Canaan." There are a few trifling exceptions to this sweeping remark, which was no doubt intended to be taken *cum grano salis*. In the art of navigation the Phœnician descendants of Canaan took precedence of all the nations of antiquity, and controlled the commerce of the world. In some departments

of mechanical art the Phœnicians were distinguished. Solomon, when about to build the temple, sent for workmen to the king of Tyre ; “ for,” said he, “ thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.” The letters, arts, and civilization of Greece have been generally traced to a Phœnician origin ; and the alphabet used by our brethren of the Southern Review consists for the most part of “ the letters Cadmus gave.” The Phœnician cities and colonies were also renowned for various branches of manufacture ; and the Tyrian purple, if elsewhere equalled, has never been surpassed. We had supposed too that the Carthaginian descendants of Canaan had attained some eminence in “ arts and arms.” The Romans certainly thought so, while the scales of victory so long wavered, and when the future empress of the world left of her own dead, on the plains of Cannæ, a number larger than that of the Carthaginian army. But we will say no more of Tyre and Sidon, or of Carthage, though, if the curse of Canaan were hereditary, they must have had their part of it.

How was it with regard to the Canaanites more immediately connected with the history of the Hebrews ? Were they entitled to any renown in “ arts and arms ?” They were indeed ultimately subdued ; but have we not ample evidence that they were brave and warlike, and that they had made a good degree of progress in the arts of life ? The spies first sent by the Israelites into the land of Canaan reported : “ The people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and very great.” Moses promises his people in that land “ great and goodly cities, and houses full of all good things, wells, vineyards, and olive-trees.” Moses again says to his people : “ Hear, O Israel ; Thou art to pass over Jordan, to go in to possess nations mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven.” Of the Amorites, one of the tribes descended from Canaan, God says, through the prophet Amos : “ Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks.” The very same miraculous victories of Jericho and Ai, that induced the Gibeonites to make their fraudulent treaty of submission, roused all the other inhabitants of the land to prompt, vigorous, and persevering resistance, so that “ they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.” After the entire conquest of the host enlisted in that cam-

paign, and the destruction of five kings, we are told of the surviving kings, that, undaunted by the series of splendid victories which Joshua had gained, "they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many." Nearly two hundred years after the death of Joshua, we find the Israelites under cruel bondage to Jabin, king of Canaan, who "had nine hundred chariots of iron." The Jewish Scriptures throughout recognise the superior strength and prowess of the Canaanites, and ascribe their subjugation and destruction to divine interposition. Their constant testimony is that of the psalmist: "They [the Israelites] got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them." So much for the "arts and arms" of "the knee-bender Canaan."

The identity of the present negro races with the Canaanites is the next point argued by the Southern Reviewer. To establish this point no historical testimony is adduced; but reliance is placed solely upon circumstantial evidence. The negro races, having no records or genealogical tables by which to trace their descent, cannot of course plead *not guilty* to the charge of being descended from Canaan, and the fact, that they are slaves, slaves in condition, slaves in bodily, mental, and moral constitution, is deemed amply sufficient to substantiate the charge. But Ham had three sons besides Canaan. Where are the posterity of Cush, Mizraim, and Phut? We are told by the Reviewer that the posterity of Canaan are always passive under slavery. Have the occasional insurrections among the slaves sprung from individuals of the other races enslaved by mistake? Were Cinquez and his brethren of Amistad fame descendants of Phut? Or was there an over-large mingling of the seed of Cush among the negroes of St. Domingo? If the posterity of the four sons of Ham occupy together the continent of Africa, while the children of Canaan alone are created to be slaves, then must the supercargo of a slave-ship stand in need of special divine illumination, in order to know whom he shall purchase, and whom reject. It is impossible to trace historically the fate of the descendants of Canaan; but, as they were during the whole of their known history intimately connected in their fortunes with the posterity of Shem and Japheth, and as we have no proof that they were ever

black, there is the strongest probability that they have become merged in the existing races of Europe and Asia. The fact, that the thunder-bolts of divine indignation have not yet fully avenged the guilt of negro slavery, may be a sufficient proof at the South, but can be nowhere else, that these negroes are of the doomed race of Canaan.

We will proceed now to examine the alleged marks of his bodily and mental physiology, by which the modern negro is said to be fitted for his menial condition, and by which alone it is attempted to prove his identity with Canaan.

First, we are told that "the nerves of the spinal marrow, and the abdominal viscera, being more voluminous than in other races, and the brain being ten per cent less in volume and in weight, he is, from necessity, more under the influence of his instincts, appetites, and *animality*, than other races of man, and less under the influence of his reflective faculties." This is undoubtedly true of the African races; but it is true, to a nearly equal degree, of the New Hollanders, of the Esquimaux, and of some of the islanders of the Pacific. But whether this physical inferiority is the cause or the effect of the condition, in which the blacks are placed, is an open question. Nations degenerate in their physical structure in consequence of long continued mental and moral degradation. The modern Greeks retain no traces of the superior physical organization, for which we have ample evidence that their ancestors were distinguished. In the old German settlements in the interior of our own country, there are but few physiological marks, which would identify the settlers with the highly intellectual race with which Germany is now peopled. The body is the soul's case of tools; and the tools, which the soul ceases to use, gradually dwindle in the case, but by use may be kept good or restored. But, if inferior organization be of itself a mark of servitude, why are the negro races the only races, whom it is lawful to enslave? One would think that the same consideration might justify the Caucasian race in seeking to enslave all the rest of mankind; and we expect to hear this argument reëchoed from our mother country in justification of the vassalage, to which Great Britain has reduced her millions of Asiatic subjects.

We are next informed that a negro's eye "has an additional expansion of the semilunar membrane, or, in other words, an additional anatomical contrivance, consisting of a membranous wing expanded underneath a portion of the upper eyelid, and,



when the eye is exposed to a bright light, this membranous wing covers a considerable portion of the globe of the eye." The divine purpose in furnishing this extra eyelid is to save slaveholders the expense of supplying their negroes with hats. "The master may forget or neglect to provide his slaves with a covering for the head, to shield the eyes from the brilliancy of the sun, while laboring in the fields. Such neglect would greatly increase the irksomeness of labor under a tropical sun, if God, in his goodness, had not provided the race of Canaan, whom he has doomed to slavery, with the above-mentioned anatomical contrivance or membranous wing, to protect the eyes against the brightness of the solar rays." We are not sufficiently versed in physiology, to confirm or deny this statement; but have consulted several standard scientific works without finding any reference to it. If the negro's eye be really thus constructed, we should regard it as a benign adaptation to the exposures of a tropical climate, as an adaptation much more necessary on the burning sands of Africa, than in the comparatively temperate climate of the Carolinas, and as a physiological feature tantamount to a mandate of Providence, that the Africans should be suffered to dwell upon their own soil. But one would think protection against neglect by their masters an entirely superfluous provision; for we are afterwards told, that "the patriarchal form of government, to which the race of Canaan in the South is subjected, is precisely the same form of government to which the abolitionists subject their wives and children." Now, we doubt, whether the wives and children of our abolitionist friends are in need, even on the hottest summer's day, of an extra eyelid, for lack of suitable covering for the head. We happen to know the wives and daughters of several zealous and devoted abolitionists, and have seen them as sumptuously provided as any other ladies with bonnets and parasols.

We are next told that the Creator has lodged in the negro's nature a principle of protection against the exactions of a hard master, by making it impossible to force from him more than a moderate amount of service. "It is a well known fact, that no four slaves in Virginia or Kentucky can be forced to do as much daily labor, as any three ordinary laborers of the race or Japheth in Pennsylvania or Ohio voluntarily impose upon themselves." This, we doubt not, is true. For, in the free laborer, the soul strengthens the body. The motive, which

inspires his efforts, nerves his arm. He is laboring to keep bright the chain of family affection, and to shield from suffering souls dearer than his own. He is laboring to gain or keep a high and worthy place among the members of the community in which he lives. These moral stimuli augment to an indefinite degree his power of effort and endurance. But take these away, and the white laborer is as inefficient as the black. It is impossible in our penitentiaries to make a prisoner do the work of a freeman. Probably no indented apprentice ever did as much for his master during the last year of his minority, as for himself the first year of his labor on his own account. Pay a man beforehand, or set him to work out an old debt; and the best of our Northern laborers will give you a practical illustration of the deadening influence of slavery upon the physical energies. Some good or reward in prospect is essential, in order to procure the *maximum* result of labor. This principle, it seems from the article before us, operates among the blacks. For, though the Reviewer contends that a negro cannot be overworked, and that no privation or severity can make him do for his master more than three fourths of a white man's daily work, he informs us that the slaves will do extra work on their own account, and that "very few, on our plantations, fail to make less than from ten to an hundred dollars per annum, by raising poultry, making baskets, brooms, gathering moss, &c."

The next topic of remark in the article before us is the oppression and extortion, to which the operatives are subjected in the manufacturing districts of England,—a system that works ill, because it makes Japheth serve Japheth, which is contrary to the divine ordinance. We are told that the English operatives have no principle of self-protection against an exacting master, and can therefore be overworked. This is too true. They are bound by the law, though devoid of the privileges, of free labor. The only good that they know, the scanty food, with which soul and body are to be kept together, they can procure solely by the last degree of toil. They are bound by permanent domestic ties, and the life of those, whom they tenderly love, depends upon their labor. They must either work themselves to death, or starve to death; and, in the latter alternative, the catastrophe is immediate and sure, while in the former, it is somewhat remote and involved in some degree of doubt. Thus the moral motive, which lies at the basis of free

labor, exists and operates in those slaughter-houses of Great Britain, to which our Southern brethren are but too well entitled to look for something more vile and cruel than negro slavery.

But it seems that our free laborers at the North are indebted to slavery for their high wages. "Nothing whatever prevents capitalists from reducing the wages of labor in the United States to a level with the wants of the working classes, or below that level, but our peculiar Southern institutions. While these institutions exist, the wages for labor must, from necessity, be above the level of the daily wants, or slaves would become valueless; and the high price of labor in the Southern States keeps up the wages of labor in the Northern States." We cannot yield our assent to this reasoning. There is not a sufficient amount of white labor at the South to regulate the price of labor for the country. There is no competition between the Northern and the Southern market in the article of labor. Low wages at the North do not drive the Northern laborers to the Southern States; nor, when wages at the North are high and the demand for labor brisk, is it from the South that the supply or any portion of it comes. There are three principal causes for the high rate of wages in the free States. The first is the incessant and growing demand for labor, resulting from the constant activity and enterprise of a population, the great majority of whom are engaged in productive industry, and from the simultaneous construction of many extensive works of internal improvement in various parts of the country. The second is the vast quantity of land, which may be obtained on our Western frontiers at a merely nominal price, and which so constantly invites emigration from the older States, as to keep the supply of labor generally within the demand, notwithstanding the large importations of foreigners continually made. And, thirdly, the wages of labor are tacitly regulated by the necessities, comforts, and luxuries, which the laborer might earn for himself as a new settler in the Western forests, with scarcely any capital but his industry.

The next ground of argument is the fact, that the slaves are entirely contented with their condition, and have no desire for freedom. Is it so? Then has slavery done its whole work. The chains are upon the soul. The lowest degradation is that of which its subject is unconscious; and it is to this point that "the patriarchal form of government, to which the race of

Canaan in the South is subjected," has been constantly tending. This is a result, which must be signally aided by the general prohibition to the slaves of the means of education, by the laws, which make it a capital offence to teach a negro to read, by the looseness of domestic relations, which the system renders necessary, and by the licentiousness, in which the perpetually whitening skin of the Southern negroes proves the white population to be partners. Yet we doubt whether the point of perfect contentment has yet been reached. We are told, indeed, "that the promise of freedom, so far from being an incentive to increased exertion, almost invariably has the opposite effect, making them more trifling and inefficient during the time of service." This effect we once heard described by a slave, who had procured his own liberation from bondage; and his words were nearly these: "When I once got the idea of liberty, it was so constantly on my mind, that I could not work; no, not with the certainty of being whipped for laziness. My hands would drop to my side without my knowing it, and I would stand or lie like a person dreaming for hours together."

But we are told that the slaves are not inclined to insurrection, and "that nothing more than temporary neighborhood disturbances have ever occurred among this kind of peasantry, under the most trying and tempting circumstances, in the most exciting and alarming times." This statement needs qualification. There have indeed been no ultimately successful negro revolts; but there have been several extensive plans of insurrection, laid with great skill and judgment, and conducted by leaders of high resolve and ardent self-devotion to the cause of liberty. Many of our readers must remember the thrill of horror that ran through the whole country, when, in 1823, there was discovered among the slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, a plot for a general massacre of the whites and the burning of the city. Niles's Register, a Southern Journal, says of this: "The plot seems to have been well devised, its operation was extensive, and its intent terrific." It was discovered on the eve of execution, and resulted in the arrest of more than a hundred and thirty negroes, of whom thirty-five were executed, and twenty-one transported. The secrecy with which this revolt had been planned, and the skill and courage of the ring-leaders, left upon the population of Charleston a dread of servile violence, which a score of years has hardly obliterated, and led to legislation of great severity against the instruction of

the slaves, and for the abridgment of liberties and facilities of intercourse which they had before possessed. The Virginia rebellion of 1831 was much more than a "neighborhood disturbance." The whites then massacred fell few, if any, short of a hundred; the blacks concerned in the insurrection amounted to six or eight hundred, most of them mounted and well armed; the militia retreated before them; and they were finally routed only by the aid of United States troops. The article under review was written "on the banks of the Lake Concordia, in the midst of an extensive neighborhood, where the race of Canaan outnumber the white man nearly an hundred to one." The writer draws quite an Arcadian picture of the security, in which this handful of whites dwell, with unfastened doors, among, what he is very fond of calling, "the peasantry of the South," and says that in this spot "peace, quietude, plenty, and comfort have had an uninterrupted reign." Now this "Lake Concordia" is in the very extensive parish of Concordia, Louisiana, and, by a curious coincidence, on the very day on which we received the number of the Southern Review before us, we found quoted from a New Orleans paper the following article.

"Considerable excitement prevails in the neighboring parishes of Concordia, Madison, and Carroll, in consequence of the discovery of a contemplated rising of the negroes. It appears that there are now, in the swamps of that region, about three hundred runaway negroes, belonging to the parishes named, all of whom, it is presumed, are armed. Some fifteen or twenty have been arrested and examined, and from the facts elicited on the examination, it is believed that an insurrection was contemplated about Christmas. The plot seems to have been extensive, embracing in its operation negroes of nearly every plantation in the three parishes."\*

Were there need, we could multiply to a volume melancholy evidence of this nature, to prove that the slaves are not passive and contented in their bondage, and that our unfortunate white brethren of the South are treading upon elements of fearful conflagration, which a mere spark may kindle. What a comment do facts like these furnish upon our author's assertion,

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\* A district nearly or quite as large as the State of Rhode Island.



that "in slavery, the race of Canaan, in general, is the happiest race of men in existence!"

We are told, in order to prove that slavery is a peaceful and happy state, that English laborers break each other's heads, which the slaves never do, and that "surgical or artificial diseases" abound among the laboring classes in Great Britain, as the result of overworking, while they are seldom found among the Southern slaves. That the blacks are not quarrelsome among themselves, is certainly an amiable feature in their character, and must render their condition much less irksome, than if mutual feuds and jealousies were added to the restraints of bondage. But if pacific dispositions mark a slavish spirit, to how degraded a condition of humanity are we looking forward, when we pray for the universal prevalence of "peace upon earth and good will among men!" As to *surgical diseases*, we should suppose that agricultural laborers would be far less liable to them, (however hard their labor or their fare,) than the thousands of human beings, who in England wear out their lives in crowded factories, where their mode of labor keeps them perpetually in a constrained posture, and cramps more sets of muscles than it puts in play, while the very air they breathe carries a scrofulous taint to their blood. But *accidents* must be alarmingly frequent at the South; for a large proportion of the slaves named in advertisements in Southern newspapers are spoken of as marked by scars, or burns, or shot-wounds, or as deprived of fingers, toes, teeth, or ears. These things of course cannot be the marks of harsh treatment from their masters; for we do not observe similar injuries and defects in the persons of the "wives and children of abolitionists," and "the patriarchal form of government," under which the slaves live, corresponds "precisely" to the domestic *regime* of our abolitionist brethren.

Our author reiterates in various forms the assertion, that liberty is a curse to the blacks, that they are incapable of enjoying freedom, and that "unhappiness and discontent," and "the malediction of heaven," follow them whenever they escape from bondage. "There is not a free negro in the whole North, who does not afford direct and positive proof of the truth of an important part of the Bible. Whether called servants, freemen, or gentlemen, if the free negroes, North or South, are serving the people, they are among us as barbers, shoe-blacks, waiters, cooks, &c. They are more or less happy and contented, be-

cause such offices are in the line of duties assigned them in the revealed word of God; but if they are not serving, if they are not acting in obedience to that Scripture, which says, they shall live in servitude, but presume, against God's command, to set up for themselves in any business which is not essentially servile, they are, almost without an exception, the most unhappy, discontented wretches in existence, disturbing the peace of society, filling the prisons, taxing the country, and a nuisance to the neighborhoods around them." That free blacks at the North occupy a disadvantageous position, and are seldom found in the higher walks of business and enterprise, is undoubtedly true; for the prejudice of color is even stronger here than at the South; and neither the initiatory steps, nor the necessary facilities for a professional or mercantile life, are open to a negro. Into what counting-room or law office could a black clerk or student be received? Or if some zealous abolitionist should take a colored youth into his place of business, the contumely, with which he would be treated on all hands, would soon discourage him from prosecuting the enterprise in which he had embarked. At some of our literary institutions a colored lad could not gain admission; and at others, a student with a darker skin than the rest is petted and paraded as a *rara avis*, instead of being placed on a level with his fellow students. Men in the higher walks of business have frequent occasion to travel, and must travel as the equals and companions of the other members of their own professions. But the interior of a stage-coach, the steamboat cabin and table, the accommodations of a genteel hotel, the ease and comfort of railroad carriages, have all been denied to the negro. We have ourselves seen a highly respectable colored clergyman compelled to take his seat on the outside of a coach for a day's ride, in a driving storm of rain, when there were but three inside passengers; and it is not long, since a colored editor, a graduate of one of our Eastern colleges, and his wife, a genteel and well educated young woman of his own color, lost their lives by rapid consumption, the direct result of a wintry night's exposure on the deck of a steamboat, because a person of their color could not be tolerated in either of the cabins. With these drawbacks and discouragements, the wonder is that one in ten thousand should make the attempt to rise above employments both stationary and menial. Yet in some instances the attempt has been successfully made. There have been in the Northern

and Middle States, several colored clergymen of high standing, and respectable talents and attainments. In Philadelphia, there are not a few negroes, who have acquired ample fortunes, have surrounded themselves with the refinements and elegancies of high life, and educated their children genteelly and thoroughly. There sailed, not long since, from New Bedford, a whale ship, of which the owner, master, officers, and crew were all negroes. The recent abolition movement has called out many black orators; and it may be fairly doubted, whether they have not borne away the palm of eloquence from their white associates. We have till recently had little faith in the reports that had reached us concerning negro eloquence; but Messrs. Douglas and Remond effectually dispersed our doubts a few weeks ago. We have seldom heard better specimens of oratory, both as to manner, style, and matter; and, could we have listened with our eyes shut, we might easily have supposed ourselves listening to acknowledged masters of the persuasive art. And then, as for the (so called) menial employments, in which the free blacks are commonly found, why are they universally preferred in these capacities to white men, even by the avowed despisers of the black race? It is on account of their unvarying promptness, diligence, and fidelity, qualities which make any station honorable, and without which free labor loses all its dignity and moral worth. These qualities, ample experience has shown that the blacks can retain in a state of freedom. In the language of Scripture, they "are faithful in few things;" but "who will make them rulers over many," to give them the opportunity of testing their fidelity on a larger scale, and in a higher sphere?

For ourselves, we have seen among the blacks at the North, (downtrodden as they are on the one hand, and injudiciously flattered on the other,) so much of contented industry, honesty, and good thrift, the very best traits which can mark the character of a free man, as to give us great confidence in their capacity for self-government and for rapid progress, under propitious circumstances and with a career fairly open before them. And the history of African colonization thus far shows us, that this confidence is not misplaced. There have grown up on the coast of Africa, within the memory of most of our readers, civilized, intelligent, and Christian communities, which would not suffer by comparison with most of our New England villages. They have magistrates and lawgivers of their own color. They

live under wholesome laws of their own making. They have their own churches, schools, and lyceums, well attended and liberally supported. They have already individuals among them, extensively engaged both in agriculture and in commerce, and possessed of large estates, the fruit of their own industry and enterprise. They are opposing a formidable and in many instances a successful barrier to the slave-trade, and are gradually diffusing among the natives of the Continent the ideas, arts, and laws of Christian society. There have indeed been instances of gross vice and profligacy among the colonists; but where are not such instances to be found? There have been spies, who have made an evil report of the land; but how many scores of foreign travellers have carried back a vile report of our own blessed New England, we will leave it for the Reviewers to say. On the whole, the balance of testimony with regard to the African colonies, (most of 'it, be it remembered, testimony which comes to us through Southern hands, and therefore unimpeachable as regards the fitness of the negroes for self-government,) establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt the capacity of the African race to administer, enjoy, adorn, and perpetuate the institutions of free government, learning, and religion.

The only remaining topic of argument in the Southern Review, which we feel constrained now to notice, has reference to our wars with Great Britain, in which slave-labor proved itself "*the sinews of war*," and during which "the history of the United States abounds with instances, displaying the protecting hand of a superintending Providence, upholding the slave-holders in the darkest hours of trial, and leading them on to victory, to fame, and to glory." The slaves "have an instinct in their nature, making their masters' enemies their enemies, and their masters' friends their friends. Hence, in the war of the Revolution, they had no sympathy or feeling in common with abolition Tories, or British and Hessian prisoners. They knew them to be their masters' enemies; that was enough to make them their enemies also. It was this instinct in Canaan's nature, which *enabled the South to send so many more warriors into the field than the North*. The Northern men may be equally brave and patriotic, but while they are battling for their country, their families may be suffering, their hired servants may desert them, or prove treacherous. Whereas, the slave-holders, on leaving home to fight for their

country, know, if their domestic affairs do not go on as well in their absence as if they were at home, that their families will not suffer, that their slaves will continue to serve them, and be the first to give the alarm, in the event of an approach of an enemy, and help them to get out of his reach." Again, "Negro slavery is *the accursed thing* which enabled the American colonies, without money or credit, to prosecute successfully a seven years' war against the greatest power on earth, and so far from the Southern people having their hands full at home, in keeping their slaves in subjection, *they actually furnished a larger number of soldiers, in proportion to their population, than any other people in the Union.*" Moreover, "*the great captains, who shed the most glory on the American arms, in both the wars with England, were from the South.*"

Now we, firmly believing all wars, even the most righteous, to be opposed to the law and the spirit of the Gospel, should regard these statistics, if true, as affording no apology for slavery. Did we believe slave-labor to be "the sinews of war," it would only give us new zeal in the cause of emancipation. But there was, in the war of the Revolution, a moral, a Christian element, that of self-sacrifice; and our author is right in maintaining that there was much less of this in the Southern soldiery, whose estates would suffer nothing by their absence, than among the patriots of the North, who left the farm, the forge, or the workshop, where they had supported themselves and their families by the labor of their own hands. Yet this element of self-sacrifice is never wanting among men, when it is earnestly appealed to, and always grows with the demand upon it. Such was the case in the war of the Revolution to so eminent a degree, that the statistics of that war are diametrically opposed to the statements italicized in the preceding paragraph. During the Revolutionary war, Virginia was nearly twice as populous as Massachusetts, and more than three times as populous as Connecticut; but Massachusetts furnished between two and three times as many soldiers as Virginia, and Connecticut nearly thirty per cent more than Virginia. The population of North Carolina was larger than that of Massachusetts, more than fifty per cent larger than that of Connecticut, and nearly three times that of New Hampshire; but Massachusetts furnished more than nine times, Connecticut more than four times, and New Hampshire nearly twice the number of soldiers that North Carolina did. The population



of the Southern States then exceeded a million and a half, while the population of New England was less than a million, and that of the Middle States about the same. New England furnished more than one half of the army, and the Southern States furnished but an insignificant fraction more than the Middle States. The proportion of soldiers to the whole population, (taking the average of the years from 1775 to 1783 inclusive,) was in the Southern States a little more than one fourth of what it was in New England, and a little less than one half of what it was in the Middle States. Of the Southern States, Maryland supplied the greatest number of soldiers in proportion to her population; but her proportion was less than one third of that of Massachusetts, was exceeded by all the Northern and Middle States except Delaware, and nearly equalled by Delaware.

By "the great captains" are meant, no doubt, the generals of our armies. We have before us lists of the generals of the Continental army in 1776 and in 1783. Besides the Commander-in-chief, there were, in 1776, four Major Generals, one Adjutant General, and eight Brigadier Generals. Of the Major Generals the South furnished but one, New England two, and New York one. Of the Brigadier Generals New England furnished all but one, and he was from New York. The Adjutant General was from Virginia, making, with the Commander-in-chief, three Generals from the Southern States, while four were from Massachusetts alone. In 1783, there were fifteen Major Generals, and twenty-one Brigadier Generals. Of the Major Generals, five were from New England, three were from the Middle States, four from the Southern States, and three were foreigners. Of the Brigadier Generals, six were from New England, six from the Middle, and nine from the Southern States. As regards military fame, we feel ourselves incompetent to decide which of these "great captains shed the most glory on American arms;" but we had supposed that (Washington alone excepted) no Southern names took precedence in the annals of the Revolution of those of Putnam, Montgomery, Sullivan, Greene, Knox, and Stark.

We here close our analysis of the article, which we have taken for our text, having discussed every prominent head of argument, and given, as we think, an entirely fair statement of the whole chain of reasoning. But there are a few general

remarks, which we would offer concerning the ground assumed in this article. We would first advert to the contrast, which it presents to the current of common opinion at the South on the subject of slavery in former years. The *abolition* doctrines emphatically so called have always been Southern doctrines until very recently. Among the earliest Abolition Societies in this country were extensive organizations under that express name in the slave-holding States themselves. We have before us a Memorial to Congress, in 1791, from the "Virginia Society for the Abolition of Slavery," containing the following words, which he, who should now write or utter south of Mason's and Dixon's line, would probably seal them with his blood: "Slavery is not only an odious degradation, but an outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature, utterly repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel, and inconsistent with true policy and the inalienable rights of man." We have also similar memorials from the Baltimore, Chestertown, and Caroline County Abolition Societies, in Maryland, founded on the principle of "avowed enmity to slavery in every form." These anti-slavery professions were currently made in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, for nearly forty years, not only by avowed philanthropists, but in not a few legislative speeches and reports; nor was there in the more Southern States any strong expression of opinion in favor of slavery, but rather a demand for its tolerance as a necessary evil. Meanwhile, a vast amount of pro-slavery legislation was smuggled through Congress by the apathy of the North, and the very seat of government was gradually made the great slave mart of the Union. But when people at the North began to take Southern abolitionists at their word, and to demand of them conduct in correspondence with their professions, then the tone was changed at once, and slavery became, from a burden grievous to be borne, a pet institution, the pride and glory of the land, and in accordance with the law of nature and of God. We condemn the violent and denunciatory spirit, in which this slave-holders have been of late years assailed from the North; but would suggest that the tergiversation of the South upon the subject, (on which a large amount of earnest sympathy and ardent coöperation was reasonably anticipated from that quarter, when the present Abolition movements commenced at the North,) accounts for and palliates in some degree the severe and acrimonious spirit, which has marked our anti-slavery sayings and doings.

We would next remark, that the reasoning of the article under review, even if sound, does not apply to slavery as it now is. It dooms to slavery the posterity of Canaan alone, not the mingled seed of Canaan and Japheth. Noah did not by his curse bind the daughters of Canaan to bear to Japheth children, whom he should make slaves. And if Japheth was the special subject of Noah's blessing, then does the mulatto stand between the blessing and the curse, and the quadroon and every lighter shade of complexion are partakers of the blessing, and are ordained to be slave-holders and not slaves. We see not how our brethren of the *Southern Review* can escape this inference, or do otherwise than advocate as a religious duty the immediate emancipation of all, who have in their veins more of Japheth's than of Canaan's blood. But this is a process, which would free half the slaves in the country. Northern people, who visit the South, are full of amazement at the light complexion of the slave population generally, and are perpetually taking for white men and women people, whom they ascertain to be slaves. The slave Latimer, whose case has produced such a ferment in Virginia, might pass anywhere for a white man. At least, so it seemed to us, as we saw him in a brilliantly lighted hall, and at a distance of about fifteen feet. He was sitting on a stage with several negroes; and, until he was introduced as the hero of the evening, we took him for some white youth, who for his meritorious services had been exalted to the negro's seat. His countenance is intelligent and handsome; his eye clear and expressive; his hair long and black, with but a slight twist or curliness, just enough to hint a remote cousinhood to the wool of the African race. He gave a brief narrative of the feelings, that prompted him to seek his liberty; and it betrayed that native dignity of soul, that self-consciousness of a right to freedom, that impatience of arbitrary rule, however merciful, in which the posterity of Japheth claim a wide distinction between themselves and the African race.

But the reasoning of the *Southern Review*, while it would free half the slaves that now are, justifies the slave-trade, nay, makes it an imperative duty, a duty of Christian philanthropy. If the Africans are the descendants of Canaan, if they are happy in no condition but that of slavery, and if they are destined by the decree of God to serve Japheth "in the tents of Shem" forever, then does the slave-ship sail on a humane and pious errand, and every friend of man should wish her a Godspeed.

And, as no human legislation can make void the law of God, our fellow-citizens at the South are worthy of all praise for still conducting this traffic, though the civilized nations of the earth, in their ungodly counsels, have agreed to declare it piracy. That the slave-trade is still pursued to some extent from the South we infer from the statement in the article, which has been the subject of our comments, that "in the Southern States, particularly in Louisiana, there are many African-born Canaanites."

One word more. Our brethren at the South are seeking to legitimate slavery and the slave-trade by appeals to the Bible, as the fundamental and supreme law of the world, and particularly to the Pentateuch, as containing under divine sanction the germs of that "patriarchal system," by which the African race is made to serve them. Let them not then take it amiss, that we at the North should share in their reverence for God's revealed word, and for that portion of the divine law which Moses wrote. Let them bear with us, should we hereafter obey, as we undoubtedly shall, the precept recorded in Deuteronomy xxiii. 15, 16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." Surely our fellow-citizens at the South will not claim a monopoly of piety. While they take their position upon the Bible, they will, we trust, give us their support and sympathy in obeying one of its plainest and clearest commandments.

We may perhaps in some future Number present our views of the position and duties of the North with regard to slavery; and we know not how better to close the present article, than by the closing piece in Mr. Longfellow's "Poems on Slavery," which we should have made the subject of a more prolonged notice, had we not been anticipated in the last Number. The piece is entitled "The Warning."

"Beware! the Israelite of old, who tore  
The lion in his path, — when, poor and blind,  
He saw the blessed light of heaven no more,  
Shorn of his noble strength and forced to grind  
In prison, and at last led forth to be  
A pander to Philistine revelry, —

“Upon the pillars of the temple laid  
His desperate hands, and in its overthrow  
Destroyed himself, and with him those, who made  
A cruel mockery of his sightless woe, —  
The poor, blind slave, the scoff and jest of all,  
Expired, and thousands perished in the fall!

“There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,  
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,  
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,  
And shake the pillars of this Commonweal,  
Till the vast Temple of our liberties  
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.”

A. P. P.

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## TO-MORROW.

FROM THE SPANISH OF LOPE DE VEGA.

LORD, what am I, that, with unceasing care,  
Thou didst seek after me, — that thou didst wait,  
Wet with unhealthy dews, before my gate,  
And pass the gloomy nights of winter there?  
O strange delusion! — that I did not greet  
Thy blest approach, and O, to Heaven how lost,  
If my ingratitude's unkindly frost  
Has chilled the bleeding wounds upon thy feet.

*From the Voices of the Night.*



## SONNET,

ON DANNECKER'S STATUE OF THE REDEEMER.

"THANKS to Mrs. Jameson's 'Sketches in Germany,' which made us acquainted with it, we had at Stuttgart the pleasure of seeing a fine statue, representing our Saviour, by Dannecker. It has under it this inscription only, in German : 'Through me to the Father.' I can best describe the effect it produced on us, by transcribing for you a Sonnet, which my young friends think expresses their feelings, as well as my own. Dannecker believed himself inspired for the work by a celestial vision, but prepared himself for it by the diligent study of the Record of our Lord's ministry."—*Letter from an English Lady.*

"THROUGH ME UNTO THE FATHER!" 'Tis thy voice  
Breathes from the stone, my Saviour! I would bend  
In reverence before thee, and attend  
To all thy words, and make thy way my choice.  
Thou wast a man of sorrows, and thy frame  
Bent 'neath the cross, but yet a godlike grace  
Is with thee, and from forth that hallowed face  
Beam wisdom, meekness, and the love that came  
To save mankind. Was it a mortal's thought,  
That gave the marble moulding so divine?  
Or did a bright celestial vision shine  
Upon the sculptor's soul? Surely he caught  
From the Redeemer's life a heavenly ray,  
Then stamped the living image on the clay.

## THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

## NO. I.

## THE FIRST NOTICES OF CHRISTIANITY BY ITS ENEMIES.

THE early literary history of Christianity presents several points of great interest, in relation to its records and its evidences. We propose to discuss them as briefly as their importance will admit.

We anticipate the common objection, that the Christian records and evidences are involved in darkness and obscurity, by first denying the fact, that is to the extent to which its assertion is often carried; and then by accounting for the fact, as far as it is a fact, on the simplest principles of good reason and common sense. Random assertions on such subjects are easily made, and do the same harm to general interests that slander does to private character. They are to be guarded against by exceeding caution, or by just censure, as the case may require.

There is no insurmountable objection presented by history in the way of the admission of the divine origin of Christianity. The faith, which has been so splendidly adorned, and so thoroughly illustrated in the literature of eighteen centuries, does not fail, nor is it feeble in its early literature. Times without number has the whole ground been critically surveyed by honest and learned men, with the most entire satisfaction. Yet it has often been urged that there should have been no difficulty, which it requires learning and skill to remove, put in the way of the simple or the doubting. It is assumed by some that a revelation from God should not require the exercise of human ingenuity and skill.

This assumption would justify us in expecting the fruits of the earth without labor, or a knowledge or regard of natural laws. If we have intelligence, skill, and reason, with which to resolve difficulties, we may attain in the use of them the same clear faith, which we should have had, had there been no difficulties in our way, while the very process of surmounting difficulties invigorates and exercises our minds.

We have said thus much in deference to a common opinion,

too often allowed to be reasonable, that Christian antiquity is perplexed with insolvable enigmas, with dark secrets, and that the utmost ingenuity is baffled in its exercise. This opinion is a mere bug-bear, — a scare-crow, which men are frightened at after having made it themselves. Difficulties, which tax our patience and tease our curiosity, undoubtedly there are. But there are infinitely fewer difficulties concerning the origin of our faith, than concerning any other subject which comes near to it in antiquity. Who can tell us anything satisfactory concerning the history of Egypt, — the Hindoo religion, — the ancient chronology, — the birth-place of Homer, — the tomb of Scipio Africanus, — what route Hannibal took in crossing the Alps, — or concerning the thousand vexed questions of antiquity, which might be named? They all have their difficulties. Christian history has its difficulties, but they are all of little importance, of very little importance, compared with those transcendent facts which are stamped ineffaceably upon the annals of the world.

One more remark may be made in relation to the difficulties of an historical character, in the way of verifying the contents of the New Testament. An objector says, it requires a knowledge of books to explain the questions and uncertainties which arise. Very true. But whence come these questions, uncertainties, and objections? They come from books too. The large majority of unbelievers offer their objections at second hand. They know nothing about the matter from their own inquiries. Those unbelievers, who originally move the objections, obtain them by reading and study. Now if books create the objections, it is perfectly, completely, and thoroughly fair that books should settle the objections. For the old maxim is a true one, that that is a poor rule which will not work both ways. Show us an objection to the truth of Christianity which does not come from books, and without books we will answer it; but if you search books for your objections, we must use books for our reply.

We wish to know how Christianity first presented itself to those, who were out of the reach of oral instruction from the lips of its inspired teachers. The methods by which it first became known were by hearsay reports, and by the circulation of written documents. We look then to the Christian era, and after allowing sufficient time for the religion to become known in a narrow, and then in a wider sphere, we look for notices of it,

at first indistinct, vague, and superficial, and then more at large and exact in the writings of subsequent times. Now it is certainly supposable, that our religion might have come down to us without any records at all. We could not declare beforehand that, if God should make a revelation to men, those who were his commissioned servants, after preaching the religion and planting its roots firmly in the world, would likewise write several memoirs and letters concerning it. This they might do, or they might leave undone, without at all affecting the truth of their religion, or putting it out of the power of subsequent generations to know of it, or to believe in it. It is certainly supposable, that Christianity might have been transmitted to our day by oral tradition, without any records whatever; or it might have had records written by those who had received it through one or more generations, — not by its original witnesses. All this is supposable, and therefore, if we found any disposed to complain of scanty Christian records, we would ask him, what should hinder but that the religion might have been transmitted with no records at all, just as the knowledge of many of the most important arts, sciences, and customs is transmitted with no records at all? The art of building, — of managing children, — of tilling the earth, — of weaving, — and various other subjects of human ingenuity and knowledge, are perpetuated by word of mouth, from father to son, from mother to child. Why might not the same process have perpetuated our religion? Some one may say that there are books on all the subjects which have been specified. Very true, there are; — but very few people read them. And there have been multitudes of good Christians; indeed, we may say, there have been many good Christian ministers, in the church of the early times and of the middle ages, who never owned or perused a copy of the Scriptures. Probably not more than one tenth part of the Christians now living have ever read the whole of the New Testament. Therefore we might say to any, who should complain of the scantiness of Christian records, — be thankful for what you have, for you have more than you had any right to expect, — more, indeed, than is absolutely necessary. And if any one is anxious to inquire for some proofs of the especial care of Providence for the interests of Christianity in this respect of its records, we may adduce some of these proofs; first, as regards the number; second, as regards the preservation of early writings, or notices of the Christians. There are four

Gospels, — one apostolical history, — twenty-one epistles addressed to the first Christian churches, or ministers, — and one book of Christian visions. There is no reason to suppose that a single line written by the hand of an apostle has been lost, and there is the most wonderful and sufficient proof, that we read their works as they left them behind them. We shall, by and bye, read the remarkable passage in the historian Tacitus, bearing the most unquestionable testimony to the numbers, the savage persecution, and fortitude of the Christians, in the lifetime of St. Paul, and the beautiful passage in Pliny's Letters upon their faith, their worship, and their sufferings. Now if we can ever detect special providences, we may in these instances. How should it happen that, when the annals and history of Tacitus, the Roman writer, are preserved to us only in a mutilated state, we should read, incorrupt and in its proper place, the invaluable testimony to Christianity? Again, a large part of Pliny's writings are lost, but the passage in which he refers to Christianity is found in the letters which remain.

He, who, familiar with the transmission of intelligence now-a-days by printing, by daily journals and books, and a taste for reading, should reason back upon these premises to ancient times and records, would soon find himself involved in many errors. We must remember that records, in ancient times, were comparatively very few, very costly, and but little read. They were subject to all sorts of dangers, from which printed books are safe. More than all, we must remember that if a book or record is lost, the next best substitute we can have for it, is a well authenticated extract made from it, by one who wrote before it was lost, who had known of it, and used it.

We are thus led to ask for the earliest literary records of the appearance of Christianity, — the first mention of it on the part of friends or foes. These records do come both from friends and foes; that is, from those who wrote in favor of Christianity, and from those who notice it without being its disciples. For the sake of methodical and distinct treatment, this whole subject may be parcelled out into the five following divisions, which we shall consider in succession.

1. The indistinct and superficial notices of Christianity which we might expect from its first chance observers.

2. The date, authorship, and preservation of its own records.



3. The writings of Christians contemporary with the apostles, and immediately following them.

4. The distinct, particular, and unquestionable notices of Christianity, drawn from Heathen authors, who observed its presence, and its struggles.

5. The first open attacks upon Christianity.

We now ask if there remain for our use any indistinct or superficial notices of Christianity, in its first appearance, made by those who knew but little of it, and cared nothing at all, as to believing in it?

Let us start with the caution which we need in all our inquiries, that we be reasonable and candid; that we indulge no vague fancies, and demand nothing which is at variance with common experience, and the character of men as we know and estimate it.

At first thought we might expect that the moment Christianity appeared in the world, it would excite universal commotion, and draw universal attention. Is this expectation reasonable? No; for it will not abide the test of experience, and of our knowledge of man. The origin of Christianity was humble; — it never sought to draw attention for the mere sake of attention. It sprung up in a despised province, among a despised people, tributary to a foreign nation. All sorts of superstitions then prevailed, together with general immorality, idolatry, and reluctance to make a serious examination of any new religion. We know that even now there are multitudes of Jews, Mahomedans, and heathens, who have an idea of what Christianity is, but do not feel concerned to examine whether it be true or false; — and this in spite of its being the religion of the best parts of the world. How then can we expect that heathens, either in or near Judea, or distant from it, who heard of Christianity, as they did constantly of other wonders, by common report, should have turned their whole attention to it, in spite of their prejudices against it? Besides, how few men and women now among us trouble themselves to examine the wonders of the day, — the ghost-stories of a village, — the prediction of the end of the world by a wandering preacher, — or the marvels of animal magnetism? There are Swedenborg's works, revered by his followers, and asserting for him the most astounding miraculous revelations. How many persons have read them? Let us then ask of ancient times no more than what our best experience and knowledge of men show us

to be natural and reasonable. We expect to find some mention of Christianity in the records or writings of the very first era of Christianity, which may remain to us. If there are any such writings, we turn them over to see if they say anything about the new and wonderful religion. Now, from what sort of writers do we expect these notices? Undoubtedly from all sorts of writers ;—that is, from thorough and from partial converts to the religion, and from incidental, superficial, and also from more attentive and exact observers, who did not believe in it, and also from its open enemies. We put by four of these classes for the present, for their abundant testimony will amply reward our subsequent inquiries. We now ask for the first early, superficial, incidental notices on the part of chance observers. Some are disposed to lay great stress upon such notices. It is usual to set a higher value on the admission, the forced, reluctant admission of an opponent, than upon the claim or assertion of a friend of any disputed doctrine. The testimony of believers we think is not enough ; we must have that of opponents. But why? Let us look at this for one moment.

An unbeliever could not have mentioned Christianity without having bestowed upon it some degree of attention. A little more attention might have made him a believer ; then he would have ceased to be valuable, in our opinion, as an opponent, because he had become a believer. Now are we to value his testimony more before he is converted than after he is converted? This would be a strange standard. But some of the most valuable notices of early Christianity come from converted Gentile observers, who with less attention to Christianity might never have written at all, or if they had written at all, it would have been against it. So that if we have lost the evidence gained from opponents, we have acquired that of friends. Suppose a Pagan author had given us a most minute and exact account of Christianity while he rejected it. Would you not ask why he did not believe it? You certainly would have found a greater difficulty in his want of faith after knowledge, than you would have found in his silence. For instance, Hecateus, a Greek historian, has several passages in accordance with the Jewish histories ; and when Josephus, the Jewish annalist, alleged these passages against his heathen adversary, his argument was met with the reply that Hecateus was in his heart a Jew, else he never would have made such allowances.

Converts we know were of the opposite party, until persuad-

ed of the truth of the facts which they relate. Each of the early Christian writers has given us his testimony as that of a convert ; — they are immensely valuable to us. If we are so unreasonable as to demand their testimony, both as opponents and as believers, we imitate a child who cries because he cannot have the pleasure of playing with a toy, which he has had the pleasure of eating, or of breaking, or giving away.

Let us then be reasonable in our demands, and not return to the Christian writers of the first century the most ungracious compliment, that we thank them for their testimony to Christianity, but should have thought more of it if they had not believed the religion. We cannot have their testimony both ways ; — we have it in the better way of the two.

We may, however, look over the Pagan and Jewish writers of the first century for any mention of Christianity, and account for their silence, if we find that they are silent. The Pagan writers, who lived at that time and might have mentioned Christianity, but do not, in their extant writings, for reasons which we shall afterwards suggest, were Quintilian and Plutarch. Quintilian was born about the middle of the first century, in Spain, and afterwards lived in Rome. There is a passage in his works which mentions “ the author of the Jewish superstition.” Christianity was called by this name universally ; but whether Quintilian refers to Christianity or Judaism, it is impossible to say. He cared little for anything but belles lettres, and as we know of no reason why Christianity should have come under his notice, we should not be surprised at his silence concerning it. Plutarch, a Greek writer, was born, A. D. 50. He wrote many works, about half of which are preserved. Some theologians think they find in him a reference to Christianity, but it is very doubtful. There is no reason to suppose that he ever heard of Christianity. His studies would not lead him to it. Yet possibly it might have been noticed in his lost works.

Flavius Josephus, the historian of the Jewish Antiquities and Wars, was born of a priestly family, in the year 37, after the birth of Christ, and four years after the crucifixion. He was educated as a Lawyer and a Pharisee, and for a time governed Galilee. He obtained the command of the Jewish army, and for seven weeks heroically defended the city of Jotopata, when besieged by Vespasian and Titus, when Nero was Emperor of Rome. Josephus was taken prisoner, and he obtained the favor of the Emperor Vespasian, by

artfully applying to him the Jewish prophecies concerning the Messiah. He was in the camp of Titus during the siege of Jerusalem. He afterwards became a courtier at Rome, and there wrote his works upon the Jews, between the years 75 and 93, embracing their annals from the earliest times till near the close of Nero's reign. He suppressed everything in his writings which might offend the heathen. His own countrymen reproached and despised him as a traitor to his city and temple.

Some importance undoubtedly is to be attached to the questions, whether he took any notice of Christianity, and whether or not his history verifies the general statements of the New Testament. We readily perceive, however, that the importance of the former question may be much exaggerated. Some considerations which have been already mentioned, and others which are to be mentioned in the sequel, make it a matter of but really little importance whether Josephus has referred to Christianity by name. He may or may not have known or heard of it. And supposing he had heard of it, he may have omitted all notice of it intentionally or unintentionally. If he were to decide any important point for us, if he was the sole source of our information, his testimony or silence would be of vast consequence to us. But he is only one of many witnesses, even if he is a dumb witness. In one way or another then we will turn him to some account, finding reason for what he says, or for his silence.

As to the condition and government of Judea, at the Christian era, the state of the people, the general expectation of the Messiah, the religious parties, and the seditious opinions then prevalent, and many other particulars, his writings furnish the most remarkable corroborations of the contents of the New Testament. He has also given a very full account of the occurrences which preceded, attended, and followed the destruction of Jerusalem, amounting to a commentary on our Saviour's predictions.

But there are three important passages now found in his works, — very important in their character, — which have been the subjects of much literary dispute. The first of these passages, however, admits of no just question, and is almost universally admitted to be genuine.

Josephus says, Herod, the Tetrarch, had married the daughter of Aretas, King of Petræa, and had lived some time with

her. On his way for a visit to Rome, Herod formed an improper attachment for Herodias, his brother's wife, made to her proposals of marriage, and resolved to put away his own wife. This brought on a war in which Aretas wholly defeated Herod. Josephus adds: —

“But some of the Jews were of opinion that God suffered Herod's army to be destroyed, as a just punishment on him for the death of John, called the Baptist. For Herod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called upon the Jews to be baptized, and to practise virtue, exercising both justice toward men and piety toward God. For so would baptism be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body, the mind being first purified by righteousness. And many coming to him, for they were much affected by his discourses, Herod was seized with apprehensions, lest by his authority they should be led into seditions against him; for they seemed capable of undertaking anything by his direction. Herod, therefore, thought it better to take him off before any disturbances happened, than to run the risk of a change of affairs, and of repenting when it should be too late to remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this suspicion of Herod, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion that the destruction of Herod's army was a punishment upon him for that action, God being displeased with him.”

Such is the first passage, the genuineness of which admits of no question. It is quoted from Josephus by Origen in about 130 years after the publication of the history. It is also quoted by Eusebius, about 200 years after, in his church history. One or two particulars in the passage are apparently inconsistent with the account in the Evangelists, but in reality it remarkably confirms the Scripture narrative. Josephus says that Herod put John to death, because he feared sedition from him; — the Evangelist says, John was in prison, and was put to death by request of Herodias. But Herod was, perhaps, glad of an opportunity to do what he had already intended to do, and thus availed himself of his oath to put to death one already in prison. Indeed, there is a wonderful accordance, in all that Josephus says, with the information and opinion which he would have concerning such a character as John the Baptist. He refers to the unlawful contract of marriage which Herod had made, to the character of John's doctrine, to his rite of Baptism, to his preaching the necessity of inward, as well as



of outward purification, and to the general interest which he had excited in the people. All these particulars are in strict conformity with the Gospels. Again, Josephus does not implicate himself as a believer in John. He says nothing which indicates him to be the forerunner of the Messiah. St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, (xix) in the year 53, met with twelve Jews at Ephesus, who had been baptized by John, and believed in him, but had not heard of Christianity. This first passage of Josephus then, is highly valuable to us. There is nothing to be said against it, and it says nothing against itself. In the same book of the Jewish Antiquities by Josephus, but in a previous chapter, is another remarkable passage, which is found in all the printed and manuscript copies of that author's works now known to exist. It reads thus : —

“ At that time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a man, for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ. And when Pilate at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this time.”

Many learned men have received this passage, but general opinion has decided against it. The objections to the admission, that Josephus wrote this passage, are these.

1. It is never quoted or referred to in any way till the time of Eusebius, two hundred years after Josephus wrote. Eusebius does quote it, but he is the first to mention it. Not the slightest reference is made to it by the Christian writers before him, who would gladly have made use of it, had they known of its existence, in their controversies with the Jews and Gentiles. They do quote the passage concerning John the Baptist. Eusebius twice quotes the passage concerning Christ at large, and after him, A. D. 315, it is constantly referred to.

2. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, about 860, revised, critically, the works of Josephus, and he did not see fit to admit the genuineness of this passage.

3. Josephus is very methodical in his style and transitions, but this passage, by interrupting the connexion of his narrative, appears suspicious. The paragraph before it refers to a disturbance, occasioned by an attempt of Pilate to bring water to Jerusalem from a distance, and to pay for it from the Temple money ; the following paragraph refers to the banishment of the Jews from Rome by Tiberius, on account of misconduct. The mention of Christ then seems out of place.

4. The passage asserts either too little or too much ; too little, because if Josephus could have said as much, he might have said more, and to his honorable testimony concerning Jesus would have added some notice of his miracles. Or he has said too much, because by allowing that Jesus taught the truth, was the Messiah, and rose from the dead, he ought to have given some reasons for not believing in him.

Such are the objections to this second passage. The third passage says that "Ananus, the High Priest, called a council of Judges, and bringing before them James, the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the Laws, and had them stoned to death."

There is more evidence for this passage than for the second which we have quoted, but learned men have doubted the genuineness of the words about James. The earliest Christian authority asserts that James perished alone, not with others ; that his death was inflicted in a tumultuous manner, not by judicial decision. It is therefore probable that the mention of James was interpolated into the account which Josephus gave concerning some Jewish transgressors.

Such are the three passages in Josephus. The first we admit as genuine, the second we must question, concerning the third we must hesitate. Two questions then present themselves to us. 1. How came that second passage in the works of Josephus, if he did not write it ? Most probably, before the time of Eusebius, the owner of one or more manuscripts of Josephus wrote this passage as a note in the margin, and it was subsequently read by the possessor of such a manuscript, as part of the text accidentally omitted. Though Eusebius is the first to mention it, there is no reason to suppose he fabricated it. He might have found it in some copies, and heard of it in others, while still other copies did

not have it, either as note or text. 2. The second question is, how shall we account for Josephus not having mentioned Jesus Christ, or the Christians, throughout his works. For if both these passages are corrupt, the Saviour and his followers are not mentioned by name. We might reply to this question, that Josephus may refer to Jesus and his disciples, if not by name, still as belonging to the various sectaries of the time, among the impostors, the false teachers, wonder-workers, and deceivers, who abounded during the period. But not to lay any stress on this, we may say that Josephus was born four years after the crucifixion, that there is no reason to suppose he had ever seen a Christian, or that he wrote his works in Judea. While his countrymen in general circulated false and malicious accounts of Christ, and his doctrine, Josephus may have preferred silence about it. His city and Temple had been destroyed, and the Christians had had no concern in the desolation. They had fled and been scattered about. Here and there one of the sect might be seen in an obscurity, which Josephus would not care to bring into notice. He knew that the scorn of the Romans for his race was already bitter enough. The preaching of the Christians was generally connected with popular tumults, in which the Jews were concerned, and Josephus might not wish to publish their trivial disorders. We will add two remarks and then leave this author. It will be perceived that, if we allow that Josephus did not write the passage concerning Christ, there will be a difficulty in deciding who introduced it into his works. Eusebius, who quotes it in all honesty, would scarcely have dared to do so, if he himself had interpolated the passage; for then an opponent might have turned against him, saying, "you fabricated that passage." We are inclined to agree in an opinion which has many judicious supporters, such as Heinichen and Gieseler, that Josephus wrote something about Christ, some part of the passage, which has been more or less altered, diminished, or enlarged. Its original form we cannot know, unless an ancient Manuscript should be discovered. Again, we may say that, if we miss from Josephus all testimony for the Saviour, we find here none against him, no description of the country, its people, or its history, which is at variance with Christian authorities.

Jesus Christ was put to death by the authority of Pontius Pilate, who was appointed to his station of Procurator of Judea,

by the Emperor Tiberius. We naturally inquire if there is any vestige of a state document, public record, or official proceeding connected with the transaction. It would appear that it was the custom for the Governors of Provinces to send to the Emperor and Senate, Acts and Memoirs of remarkable occurrences, which transpired under their respective rules, in their territories. The only specimen of these reports, which remains to us, consists of the Letters of Pliny, the Governor of Bythia, to the Emperor Trajan, which do notice Christianity. Other official reports are mentioned, but none are preserved. We have good reason to suppose that Pilate made such a return to Tiberius, though as to the existence of such a document, and as to its contents, we must rely, not upon the possession of it, but upon the evidence of those who had seen it. Such testimony, when coming from honest and competent witnesses, we have no authority to deny. Justin Martyr, one of the most ancient of the early Greek converts to Christianity, educated in the Platonic Philosophy and Greek learning at Alexandria, was at Rome, in the year 140, about the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, when a severe persecution was going on against the Christians. There he wrote a defence or Apology in favor of his brethren to the Emperor and Senate. In that defence, after a mention of the Saviour's crucifixion and some of its attendant circumstances, we read these words ; — “ And that these things were so done you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.”

Again, after a mention of some of the Saviour's miracles of healing the sick, and raising the dead, we read as follows ; — “ And that these things were done by him, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.”

Tertullian, the earliest of the Latin Fathers, the son of a centurion at Carthage, was liberally educated as a Pagan, and converted to Christianity, before the year 200. He likewise has left most valuable writings upon Christian antiquity, including an Apology or Defence. After mentioning the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, in the presence of the very disciples whom he had commanded to preach his Gospel over the world, he adds ; — “ Of all these things, relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Jew, sent an account to Tiberius then Emperor.”

Again, he says ; — “ There was an ancient decree, that no

one should be received for a deity, unless he was first approved of by the Senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had its rise, having received, from Palestine in Syria, an account of such things as manifested our Saviour's divinity, proposed to the Senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favor, that he should be placed among the gods. The Senate refused, because Tiberius had himself declined that honor. Nevertheless the Emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered that, if any accused the Christians, they should be punished."

Tertullian adds, " Search your own writings, and you will there find that Nero was the first Emperor, who exercised any acts of severity towards the Christians, because they were then very numerous at Rome."

Eusebius, A. D. 315, enlarges upon these particulars, but adds no new ones. At a later period some pretended Acts of Pilate were forged, full of gross calumnies by the heathens upon the Christians. This is to some extent additional evidence for there having been true documents from that Governor. This is all that we know relative to any official narrative of the transactions in Judea. Let us see to what our knowledge amounts.

It has been objected to these ancient testimonies as follows ; — " Is there any likelihood that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death ? And if he had written them, is it probable that Tiberius should propose to the Senate to have a man put among the number of the gods, upon the bare relation of a governor of a province ? And if he had possessed it, who can make a doubt that the Senate would not have immediately complied ? So that, though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false, yet it must be reckoned at the least doubtful."

We all know enough of the kind of reasoning, which in critical inquiries is often made to pass for argument, to estimate mere objections and doubts for what they are worth, and for no more. There is not a shadow of argument in this extract against the fact, that Pilate wrote such a document to Tiberius. Those early writers, who boldly refer to it, are of good credit ; and unless the existence of the document is allowed, they must be charged with supreme impudence and falsehood. Again, if Pilate wrote anything to Tiberius



about Jesus, his communication was undoubtedly in harmony with the good opinion, which he had expressed of Jesus, when reluctantly and by compulsion forced to condemn him. He had said, "I find no fault in him;" — he had taken water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." If he wrote his good opinion to Tiberius, and added, moreover, that Jesus was believed by some to have reappeared, and was highly revered by them, there is not the slightest difficulty in admitting, that a proposition might be made to deify the Saviour among the thousand gods accepted by the Senate and people of Rome. This step, on the part of the Emperor, would be far from proving that he was a Christian, or even that he knew anything more of Christ, than was contained in the document from Pilate. He probably knew very little concerning the mythological histories of the gods of his own and other nations. There is no difficulty in supposing that the Senate might have denied his proposal; for in other matters we know they acted contrary to his opinion.

On the whole, therefore, we are satisfied to repose some confidence in the integrity of this reference. After this survey of the Literature, which was hostile to Christianity, or unobservant of it, let us again call to mind, that the larger part of the literature of those times has perished, — that the Christian part of it which survives is nearly the whole of it. The portion of it has perished in which we might have looked for the most frequent notices of Christianity; such as diaries of daily occurrences, last testaments, family registers, private letters, &c. Christianity had not, as yet, in the eyes of the heathens, become worthy of notice in extended histories, even if we had any such histories in our possession.

It would be a most weak and idle fear for any one to regard this want of Pagan testimony, as a deficiency in Christian evidences. No single fact in the history of ancient times is established by such accumulated, overwhelming evidence, as the appearance of Christianity at the beginning of the Christian era.

We are now left to account for two things; first, for the heedless, erroneous, and insulting notices of Christianity in those times, if any such were made; and second, for the total silence of those who might have mentioned it. These apparent difficulties have often been exceedingly exaggerated.

Let us answer them both together. An illustration, afforded by the supposition of a case somewhat parallel, will be our readiest answer to any objection on these grounds.

Suppose that 1800 years hence, a question should arise as to the origin, existence, and character of a certain religious sect said to have existed in this country, at this very time, and suppose that the works of only three of our numerous writers, the three most eminent of all in several departments, were then remaining in the world for use. Let us suppose that sect to be the Mormons, and those three writers most eminent in their departments, to be Webster, Irving, and Channing. The question then, 1800 years hence, is to be, whether there was such a sect as the Mormons at this time; who and what they and their pretensions were; and the works of Channing, Irving, and Webster are opened for the search. Now we know that there is such a sect; that the founder pretends to miracles in his favor. We know that they have written books called sacred; they have founded settlements, made many converts, and have caused fightings, skirmishes, and even violent deaths. We know all this; but we are supposing that those, who are to examine the subject 1800 years hence, do not know, but are inquiring about it. They take up the works of Channing, Webster, and Irving. It is plain from the works of those writers, that each and all of them have been to the West, the very region where the Mormons sprung up, and where they live in great numbers. Those writers have visited the West, have read about it, spoke about it, and written about it. It is altogether likely that each of them has seen a Mormon, at least as likely as that Josephus ever saw a Christian. It would seem that Dr. Channing especially could scarcely avoid speaking of them,—for one of his Letters is addressed to a minister in that region, and is devoted to a discussion of the state and prospects of religion in that region. Here then critics, inquirers, and doubters take their stand. They hold up the works of these three authors, and say they shall decide whether there was such a sect as the Mormons, and what sort of people they were. And what would be the consequence? They would not find the slightest mention of the Mormons, in any one of the works of either of those three writers. As far as those writings are concerned, there would not be a shadow of proof, that the Mormons ever existed. But if the newspapers, the almanacs, the private letters, and the judicial proceedings of our time had been preserved, as well as the

writings of those three authors, for the men of 1800 years hence, then, — *then*, — there would be abundant information concerning the origin, pretensions, and number of the Mormons.

We leave it to our readers to follow out the application of the case, which we have supposed, to that which we have in hand. We will only suggest one or two particulars, in which the cases are parallel. Christianity at first, when feeble, disgraced, and obscure in the land of its origin, could not certainly interest the learned men of Rome, any more than Mormonism interests our learned men. Christianity might be talked about in private, by those who wandered from place to place, and caught the news of the day; but this class of persons has left no document or record. Again, the West is now, as the East once was, the region of many religious extravagances, which are often noticed only in the lump; and as Mormonism is now included under the general title, without especial mention, so was Christianity. Nor will it destroy the parallel between the two cases, if one should say that the miraculous character of Christianity would draw attention to it. Its miraculous character would not draw the attention of those who were distant from the scene; indeed, the hearsay of its wonders would create a prejudice against it. Mormonism, too, claims its miracles, of golden books discovered by revelation. For a time, the story passed current, but when the books were demanded, nobody could find them. On the contrary, when attention was fixed on Christianity, then it was mentioned continually. On the whole we must say that its reception was just such as our best knowledge of human nature would lead us to expect. We have the very records written by its first teachers; these we are next to examine. We have the writings of those whom its first teachers converted. As regards those who were its adversaries, at the proper point of time, we have their testimony, full, explicit, and valuable. Before that proper point of time, we find, on the part of opponents, silence, indifference, or mere superficial notice. This proves nothing more than that the Christian Church had a beginning; strong in the hearts of its disciples, feeble in the prejudices or insults of its adversaries. Christianity was sent into the world, like every thing else which comes from God; in its infancy, and with a power to grow and increase. If we witness its development, let us not doubt that it had a beginning.

## THE SHADE OF CORNELIA TO PAULUS.

PROPERTIUS, BOOK IV., ELEGY XI.

WE present to our readers a translation of the closing Elegy of Propertius, a writer of the Augustan age. It is a *Héroïde* from the dead. The version is quite literal, and line for line. We offer it for three reasons. One is, the intrinsic beauty of the original poem. Another, that it has never — so far as we know — been translated into our own tongue. The last, which is, indeed, the leading reason, is the opportunity that it gives of comparing some of the purest sentiments of classical antiquity, respecting the state of the dead, with those of the simplest minds that have had the advantage of a Christian Education. This Elegy has often been called “the queen of Elegies.” We think that it deserves the title, which has thus, as by the common consent of scholars, been awarded to it. As an expression of those domestic affections, which belong to no time or country or institutions, but to the common heart of man, it takes rank above every thing of a like kind among the poets of that cultivated period. We know of nothing, within the same compass, that approaches it, as a picture at once of Roman pride, Roman opinion, and Roman manners.

## CORNELIA TO PAULUS.

CEASE, Paulus, with thy tears my tomb to pain ;<sup>1</sup>  
The black gate opens to no prayer. 'Tis vain.  
When once we've passed beneath death's lower sway,  
Relentless adamant bars up the way.  
Though Dis should hear thee from his dusky halls,  
The silent shores would drink each tear that falls.  
Vows move Celestials. When the boatman's paid,  
The dismal door shuts in the parted shade.

So sang the funeral trumpets, when my head  
Found, o'er the funeral torch, the pyre its bed.

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<sup>1</sup> The ancients supposed that the dead were troubled by the immoderate grief of their friends.

What profit to be Paulus' wife ? to claim  
 Ancestral cars, and living heirs of fame ?  
 Would Fate for these extend Cornelia's days ?  
 Lo, I'm a weight that five small fingers raise.<sup>1</sup>

Detested glooms, thou grim flood's sluggish sheet,  
 Ye weedy waves that tangle round my feet !  
 Too soon, but guiltless, hither have I come ;  
 The Sire here grant my bones a gentle doom !<sup>2</sup>  
 Or, if an Æacus in judgment sit,  
 Let urn and balls protect me, and acquit.<sup>3</sup>  
 Nigh let the brother sit ; and Minos nigh ;<sup>4</sup>  
 And the fell Furies stand as listeners by.  
 Stop, stone of Sisyphus ; Ixion's wheel,  
 Hush ; and let Tantaleus one slow draught steal !<sup>5</sup>  
 Let cruel Cerberus scare no ghosts to day ;  
 And let his unlocked chains their clanking stay !

<sup>1</sup> This line brings before us the image of the urn, into which the ashes were gathered.

<sup>2</sup> "The Sire here" is Pluto.

<sup>3</sup> The "urn and balls," or lot, decided who should sit Chief Judge in the case. For this judicial custom, see Heyne's *Virgil*, *Æneid* vi., 430, and *Excurs.* xi. We are not to suppose that the guilt or innocence of the parties arraigned was left to the decision of a lot. And yet Dryden has fallen into this mistake, in his strangely loose version of the *Æneid*, at the passage referred to :—

"Round in his urn the blended balls he rolls ;  
 Absolves the just, and dooms the guilty souls."

<sup>4</sup> "The brother" is Rhadamanthus.

<sup>5</sup> Our poet, who rather affects singularities, gives the Greek termination to the name of Tantalus. Ovid has described in the 10th book of the *Metamorphoses* a similar respite to the sufferings of the tormented ghosts, to Sisyphus, Ixion, and the rest, at the music of Orpheus. The description is familiar to the English reader, through the imitation of it in Pope's *Ode on St. Cecilia's day*. The two Roman poets are at variance, however, in the case of Tantalus. According to Ovid, he ceased to catch at the water, so charmed was he by the sounds of the lyre. Propertius allows him to taste a little, as it flows less rapidly by. The difference seems not wholly unworthy of notice, in an æsthetical point of view.



'T is I my cause that plead ; — if aught I feign,  
May the poor sisters' vase my shoulders strain ! <sup>1</sup>

If praise in ancient trophies any see,  
All Afric speaks Numantine sires for me.<sup>2</sup>  
With this my mother's Albine line may vie,  
And lifts my house on twofold titles high.  
When soon the maiden robe I ceased to wear,  
And bound the bridal riband round my hair,  
I joined thee, Paulus, — thus to leave thy bed ; —  
Yet write it on my tomb-stone : but once wed.<sup>3</sup>  
Witness, O ashes, by thee, Rome revered,  
Beneath whose surnames, Afric, thou liest sheared ; —  
And he, who laid thy homes, Achilles, bare,<sup>4</sup>  
And Perses crushed, Achilles vaunting heir, —  
He, my forefather. Spotless did I shine,  
Nor blushed my hearth for any stain of mine.  
Cornelia never shamed such noble birth,  
But copied, as she could, its brightest worth.

Nor did time change me ; — pure was all from blame,  
Between the nuptial torch and funeral flame.  
Me Nature governed through ingenuous blood,  
Lest I could grow, by fear of judgment, good.  
Spring from the urn whatever lot austere,<sup>5</sup>  
None sits dishonored by my sitting near.

<sup>1</sup> Allusion is here made to the punishment of the daughters of Danäus.

<sup>2</sup> Scipio the younger, surnamed Africanus and Numantinus, after he had destroyed Carthage and Numantia, was the ancestor of Cornelia.

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Maximus tells us, that women who took no second husband were held in particular honor. II. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Æmilius Paulus, surnamed Macedonicus, is meant, who vanquished Perses, the last of the Macedonian kings. These traced their line from Achilles. See the Æneid vi., 840.

<sup>5</sup> According to the interpretation given above, this must mean, let the most rigorous judge be assigned to me.

Not thou, whose girdle freed the ship aground,  
 Claudia, chaste priestess of the Turret-crowned ; —  
 Nor thou, whose snowy robe relumed the fire,<sup>1</sup>  
 When Vesta came, her hearth-flame to require.

Thee I ne'er grieved, dear mother, soon or late.  
 What wouldst thou wish me changed in, — but my fate ?  
 Scribonia's tears are praises ; Rome's sad moans,<sup>2</sup>  
 And Cæsar's sigh, are poured upon my bones.  
 A sister, worthy his own daughter, dies,<sup>3</sup>  
 And a god's grief flows chiding from his eyes.

But yet I've worn the matron's prize-array ;<sup>4</sup>  
 Not from a sterile house been snatched away.  
 Thee, Lepidus ! Thee, Paulus ! — still my blest !  
 My dying eyes were closed upon your breast.  
 My brother twice the curule honors wore ;<sup>5</sup>  
 I saw him Consul, — and then saw no more.  
 My daughter ! image of thy Censor sire,<sup>6</sup>  
 Like me, approach but once the marriage fire,  
 And so sustain thy line. — From the unmoored bark  
 I shrink not ; no more ills my lot shall mark.

<sup>1</sup> The vestal virgin, Aemilia, whose story is told by Dionysius Hal. and Valerius Max.

<sup>2</sup> Her mother Scribonia became the wife of Augustus Cæsar, and made him the father of the famous Julia.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelia was of course the half sister of that celebrated beauty, whose scandalous life and wretched end appear in singular contrast with the flattering mention of her in this passage, and with the character of her chaste eulogist.

<sup>4</sup> There were honorary distinctions for matrons, who had borne three children to the state. Frequent mention is made of the "jus trium liberorum" by the Roman writers. What the "vestis honores" here mentioned consisted in, is not, however, very clear.

<sup>5</sup> P. Cornelius Scipio was ædile and prætor before he arrived at the consulship. These were the required grades of succession.

<sup>6</sup> Here again is rather an unfortunate instance of praise ; for Velleius Paterculus informs us, that the Censorship of Plancus and Paulus was spent in quarrels, and was neither honorable to themselves nor useful to the republic ; Paulus being wanting in authority, and Plancus in morals. II. 95.

O'er the quenched pile when praise is full and free, —  
That is the loftiest prize of woman's victory.

Our sons, love's pledges, now to thee I trust ;  
This care still breathes, burnt in upon my dust.  
Father, fulfil a mother's part ; my share  
Of the dear burthens now thy neck must bear.  
When thou giv'st kisses as they weep, add mine ; —  
The weight now rests on thee of house and line.  
Let them not hear it, when thy sorrows speak ;  
But kiss them, as they come, with unwet cheek.  
Enough the night with thoughts of me to wear,  
And dreams, as if my living face was there.  
And when thou talk'st, my Paulus, to my shade,  
Fancy to each kind word an answer made.  
Should e'er an altered bride-bed face the door,<sup>1</sup>  
A step-dame sitting where I sat before,  
Your father's choice, my children, bear, — commend ;  
Subdued by goodness she will be your friend.  
Nor praise too much your mother ; lest from thence  
A rival feeling kindle to offence.

Or if content with memories he remain,  
My ashes worthy deemed such rank to gain ;  
Learn how to soothe his age, as on it steals,  
And comfort every care the lonely feels.  
What fails from mine be in your years enrolled !<sup>2</sup>  
Paulus in you be happy to be old !

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<sup>1</sup> "The nuptial couch was placed in the hall opposite to the door. If it had ever been used for that purpose before, the place of it was changed." Adam's Roman Ant.

<sup>2</sup> This natural and beautiful thought is found also in Martial, at the 37th epigram of the first book :—

"Diceret infernas qui prior ïsset ad umbras :  
Vive tuo, frater, tempore, — vive meo."

All's well. No mourning weeds the mother clad,  
But every child my funeral farewell bade.

My cause is pleaded. Rise, ye pitying Powers,<sup>1</sup>  
While friendly earth pays back life's honored hours.  
Heaven is unclosed to Worth. Me worthy find,  
And bear my bones to rest with their illustrious kind.<sup>2</sup>

N. L. F.

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## THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WORLD BY FIRE.

THAT a violent end is appointed for the present system and order of created things has been a theme of poetry, and even of philosophy, from the remotest times. It can be traced in the usages and the fictions of the oldest nations on earth. And to it was added, for the most part if not always, the doctrine of a retribution then to take place, and the belief of a nobler and more glorious creation to spring out of the ruins of this. It may appear singular to claim so great an antiquity and prevalence for ideas, which are commonly supposed to have taken their birth from Christianity. The claim, however, cannot be disallowed; and it would indeed be extraordinary, if an apprehension so general, recognised by the traditions of the Jews and the customs of the Pagans, and lying spread over all those great portions of the globe where Mahometanism is professed, should have been derived from two or three passages of the Scriptures of the New Testament.

We propose first to inquire into the origin of such an opinion. We shall then endeavor to trace its history through different ages and tribes of men; from the feeblest intimations of it in the earlier periods of society down to those glaring

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<sup>1</sup> "Rise," that is, to pronounce your award.

<sup>2</sup> The critical reader will perceive that the conjectural emendation of Heinsius has been adopted in this line. In two other instances, lines 21 & 39, 40, the text of Burmann has been deserted for the more recent one of Kuinoel.

errors connected with it, which have found advocates even in modern days. We hope to close what we intend to say with those practical principles, which the subject ought to suggest.

We are to inquire first, then, into the origin of the opinion. What should have suggested the thought, that this solid earth and this stupendous frame of nature were one day suddenly to perish? No signs of dissolution, certainly, were discernible on the newly peopled globe, nor among the eternal stars. It seems natural to look for the cause in some terrible revolution which befell the old world, and in the impressions of dread which it must have left on the minds of men. Such a revolution was the Deluge. The tradition of that event is not peculiar to Moses. It is presented to us in different forms from many sources. It is the united voice of antiquity, coming to us, as it were, across a waste of overwhelming waters. It is perpetuated in the records or the monuments of people the farthest apart from one another. The physical researches of modern days justify the tradition. The present appearances of the earth correspond with it. Various marks on the surface of the globe, and in its structure, its inland parts and mountain tops containing shells and marine substances, — the organic remains that lie scattered in climates, of which the living animal could not have been a native, — all these things prove the reality of some awful convulsion and destruction by flood. The event, it is easy to conceive, would leave deep traces of sadness and anxiety behind it, and might well become connected with the expectation of another convulsion, to be attended with like fatal consequences. Men would naturally associate the memorials of one with a looking for of the other. And positive indications are not wanting that they actually did so. These two ideas are closely bound together. Even in the New Testament, we read in the second epistle of Peter the following remarkable words; “By the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.” We are aware that some interpreters have been willing to see, in this picture of a flaming universe, only a description in



bright colors of the destruction of Jerusalem, or of great political convulsions. Such an interpretation betrays a great inattention to the history of ancient opinions, and is one of a thousand proofs to show how easily men find that only in the Bible, which they are predisposed to find.

The first impression, then, must have been one of mere mournfulness and alarm. It probably was. But it could not long remain so. Moral sentiments and a religious persuasion would soon mix with it. Was it not sin, that brought down on the world before the flood that devouring judgment, from which only a few righteous persons escaped? That future visitation, therefore, would come when iniquities should sufficiently abound and for their punishment. This is expressed in the Scriptural passage we have just quoted. But such a day of recompenses must have come to be regarded also as one of reward for the righteous,—of joy and glory for those who had been unjustly oppressed, or laboriously deserving, or without fault unhappy. It would thus assume a less appalling character, and even an inviting one. Men would anticipate in that great consummation a display of the divine perfections and providence, the triumph of light and happiness, the end of all the evils here below, and the commencement of a new era, a nobler order of things. And all this did in fact happen, as will be shown more circumstantially as we go on. The Sybilline oracles, after describing the final conflagration, conclude with this remarkable exclamation; “O thrice blessed the man who reaches that time!” To the same effect the author of the Scripture already cited adds, that we should be “looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, expecting the new heavens and the new earth, in which shall dwell righteousness.”

We have said nothing, as yet, on the point why fire should have been designated as the instrument of this general ruin. It was not universally conceived to be so. The theology of the Hindoos, perhaps the oldest of which we have any record, represents the floods as the means of the destruction. Their Deity, they say, incarnate for the tenth time, will descend on a white horse, and the earth will be sunk by the first stroke of his hoofs. The opposite opinion, however, that of destruction by fire has been by far the

most prevalent. For this several conjectures may be very probably assigned. The principle of contrast alone might have led to it. It was natural also, that the mightiest of the elements should be chosen for the accomplishment of so tremendous an overthrow. There are besides many appearances on our planet and beyond it, calculated to inspire apprehension from this agent, rather than from the other. When we look upon the waters, we can scarcely believe that they should ever have lain like a shoreless sea over the fair creation. They have shrunk to their appointed place, and a decree seems set upon them that they shall return no more to destroy. The torrents that are sometimes poured out from the skies soon exhaust themselves ; and the rainbow, that is refracted from their drops after the storm has passed by, has been of old interpreted into a promise of the Almighty, that the world shall not again be overwhelmed. But no such bounds have been fixed for that fiercer element. There is no promise to spare upon the tongue of flame. Internal fires are laboring, we know not how deep, in the heart of the earth. They break out in volcanoes. They show the marks of their action in numerous ways and on all sides. Lights are flashing up through our atmosphere, and meteors explode in it, of which even the improved philosophy of modern days has been able to give but inadequate account, and which were fearful portents to older times. At immeasurable distances over our heads the heavens are crowded with blazing orbs ; and the very age, in which we live, has not wholly outgrown the panic, which the approach of a comet used once to spread over the nations.

The origin of the idea, that the world is to be destroyed by fire, has thus been accounted for, and set forth as distinctly as our narrow limits will well allow.

We undertook next to trace an outline of its history. The doctrine of the dissolution of the world, and its reproduction in a more perfect form and under happier auspices, has been seen already to be extremely ancient. We cannot now enter minutely into its details. We have no time to follow it back to Phœnicia, Chaldea, Persia, and countries still farther east, among the obscure observances and doubtful mythologies of the earliest tribes of men. We will only present it in a few of its most striking and prominent forms. Even those will have comparatively but little interest for us, till we come

down to the notions entertained by the earliest Christians and their Jewish contemporaries.

We may begin this part of the subject with another glance at the religion of India. It foretells the sudden perishing of the present scene of things. But not as if all was to be thus ended. On the contrary, it declares that all is thus to be made new. One of its leading principles is, that nothing is utterly lost. There is change, but no annihilation. The Creator is also the Preserver and Regenerator of the substances that exist. Herein is the Trinity of that old form of belief. It holds out the promise of a golden period, in which every pollution shall have been washed off, and the sorrows of life swept away forever. From this religion, in some of its features so sublime, let us turn to another ; one of the most opposite character, of the wildest and fiercest shape, that ever entered into the imagination of man. We allude to the faith of the Northern nations. They believed that the great powers of the universe were in conflict with one another, and that the malignant were even now with difficulty kept in subjection and confinement by the good. They believed that this subjection was not always to last, that this confinement would at length be violently broken. They looked for a destined day, when the frightful forms of evil should burst forth, ascend into the upper regions, and make war against heaven and earth. This period they called "the twilight of the gods ;" and it was to end in one general ruin. Thus far their terrible system seems to be all gloom. It apparently gives the final victory to what is bad and destructive ; and we are ready to ascribe such a startling peculiarity to their stern climate and savage manners. But on looking farther, we find that a new and magnificent scene is unfolded afterwards. Those contending and perishing gods did but represent the elements of this visible world, and after their destruction the universal Father, (Alfador,) was to take under his sole charge the remodelled creation. The system, thus completed, does not differ widely, except in its imagery, from that of the Hindoos just recited. We may also observe, that but in that same respect it approaches very near to the refined mythology of Greece, and the opinions of its most celebrated men. The disciples of Pythagoras, the first who assumed the name of philosopher among them, maintained the belief of a general conflagration. This was held also by

many, who did not acknowledge themselves to be of that sect. It was particularly taught by Zeno, and always continued to be regarded as a leading doctrine among his followers, the Stoics. There seems thus some ground for the quaint remark of one of the old divines, that “we have heard as it were a cry of fire, through all antiquity, and among all the people of the earth.” This consuming flame was thought destined to fall upon the gods as well as on mortals; for the classical deities, like those of ruder idolatry, were little more than personifications of the powers of nature.\* All was to be overthrown together. All was to give place to a diviner administration.

Intimations of this kind are the clearest and most frequent in those classical writers, who lived just before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, or immediately after that momentous event. Virgil, who died a few years previous to it, sings in his fourth eclogue of “the last age predicted by the Cumæan Sybil;” and then goes on to describe a period of perfect bliss, in which the most injurious things shall change their qualities, and there shall be nothing left to hurt or offend. Such a period was to be preceded, according to all tradition, by a mighty revolution. Ovid puts these words into the mouth of Jove; † “He remembered that it was in the fates, that the time was coming, in which the sea and the earth and the very palace of heaven should be on fire.” The poet Lucan writes, ‡ “when the world shall feel its last hour come, all things shall return to chaos; stars will clash with stars, and the blazing constellations will plunge into the deep.” Again, speaking of the dead as they lay strown over a field of battle, he exclaims, || — “if there should now be found for them no funeral pile, they shall burn with the land, they shall burn with the ocean streams; their pile shall be that of nature itself, and the planets shall be mixed with their bones.” The writings of Seneca, as we should expect from his Stoical philosophy, abound with pointed expressions of a similar belief.

We come now to consider this opinion in the most remark-

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\* Senecæ Trag. *Thyestes*, Act. IV. Chorus, 828–843. *Æschylus* *Prometh.* 915–935.

† Ovid *Metam.* I. 256, &c.

‡ *Lucani Phars.* lib. 1, 72–76.

§ *Pharsal.* lib. 7, 812–815.

able of its aspects; one, in which it entered the Christian Church, and for several centuries disturbed the good order of society. Towards the beginning of our Era, men's minds were seized with the apprehension that the end of all things was at hand. The world had stood, according to some obscure computation of theirs, six thousand years, and the seventh was to usher in the great consummation. The Jews read in the first book of their law, that the work of creation was finished in six days; and they read in the psalms of David that one day was with the Lord as a thousand years. They were thus confirmed in the expectation of mighty events about to take place with the opening of the seventh period. We learn from the letters of the apostles, that in their time there was a general alarm spread, as if the day of judgment was hastening on. As soon as we enter upon the history of the church, after the decease of those holy men, we find the notion of a millennium prevailing, and supported by the authority of many leading names. The doctrine was, that a visible reign of the Messiah in person was presently to be set up on earth, which should last a thousand years. During this interval the saints, — by whom the Jews meant their nation and the Christians their sect, — were to enjoy perfect felicity; and at its close nature was to be destroyed and reproduced. Amidst all this expectation and terror, — this looking for of Christ's descent — whether to establish his earthly kingdom or to put an end to earthly things, — the world went on in its usual order. Nothing threatened or promised a change. Still the imaginations of men, once agitated so deeply, could not rest. They sought out new dates, to which they might refer their prophecies. We are told by one of the Fathers of the church in the fourth century,\* that the year 365 was designated by some as the fated season; a calculation suggested, no doubt, by the number of days in a year. It passed over, however, and left all safe and the same. The idea afterwards arose, that one thousand years must first be waited for, to complete the great week of the ages. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were thrown into consternation by hearing the approaching ruin everywhere proclaimed. The rich and the great were seen stripping themselves of their possessions and their power, that they might find mercy during that

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\* August. Civit. Dei, 18, 53.



awful visitation, or obtain afterwards a larger inheritance in heaven. Pierre Jean, a Begard, fixed the end of the world at 1335 ; Arnold, a Spaniard, at 1345 ; Vincent Ferrier, a hermit, at 1403. Mainfroy preached up the catastrophe again in 1418. The character of this impression is plain from the first lines of that celebrated Service for the Dead, which is supposed to date from the thirteenth century, and is still in use with the Romish church :—

“The Day of wrath, that dreadful day,  
Shall the whole world in ashes lay,  
As David and the Sybil say.”

The minds of men ever since have been occasionally disturbed by fanatical predictions, that such an event was soon to happen. Some people are agitated with it at this very time, in a community that ought to be better informed. The apocalyptical arithmeticians are as confident as ever, and the people almost as credulous. The great mind of Milton gave into the idea of a millennium, and he closes his work on “Reformation in England” with an invocation to “the eternal and shortly expected King.” That doctrine is still regarded as sacred by very many. The effects of it may be largely seen over Christendom, breaking out, as they have, down to our own days, in extravagance and disorder. But all the years come to a close, and hand over the torch of the Sun to their successors. Time continues on its even way, marking out as before the fates of mortals. The “mighty angel” of the Apocalypse, with his right foot on the sea, and his left on the solid ground, and his hand lifted to heaven, has not yet sworn that there shall be no more delay ;—or, as our version renders it, “that there should be time no longer.”

3. We have left ourselves no room to enlarge on the practical part of this subject, though it is the most important part. There are two or three plain reflections, however, that naturally offer themselves, and deserve more attention than they have commonly received. We mistake our province, when we attempt to trace the beginning or look to the end of things created. We mistake our interests, when we consider ourselves concerned with such unfathomable themes. We mistake our duty, when we think that it requires us to understand them or to make them a part of our faith. How this lower world was made, and what were its earliest fortunes, it is im-

possible for us to know ; for “ where were we when the measures thereof were laid, and the line stretched upon it, and the foundations thereof fastened ? ” What shall become of it we cannot tell, for we are men and not God. It may wax old as doth a garment, and perish like its inhabitants under the weight of years ; or a sudden calamity may overwhelm it and change it utterly, or it may go on in its own bright order forever. What is that to us ? It is our part to contemplate and enjoy it, to improve its capabilities, to draw wisdom from its thousand sources, and to open our hearts to the living spirit of God, which is breathing continually through his matchless works. We cannot prophecy what shall befall in the latter days. But we need not that knowledge. And we need no gift of prophecy to teach us that the latter days of our own lives are those for which it becomes all of us earnestly and chiefly to prepare. Let us take care of ourselves. He who made it will take care of his universe. All that terrific minuteness, with which poets and preachers have loved to set off their descriptions of the last scene of nature, is but a vain and foolish labor. It never did any good. It never will. Take away from us that glare of a heated imagination, that glowing imagery of dismay. Let men be made to attend to what belongs to them, — to their life’s duties, and their life’s end. There is a nearer concern for them than whether this material system is to be wrapt in fire ; it is that their good principles and affections should not consume away ; — that their moral nature, created in the likeness of God, should not be made a ruin. Let them see to it that the inner man is not inflamed by evil passions, nor the veins scorched by feverish indulgences, nor the tongue “ set on fire of hell.” The rest may be left with the eternal Providence.

N. L. F.

## GREENWOOD'S SERMONS.\*

It is impossible to open such a volume as this, for the purpose of doing our duty as public examiners, without feeling the difficulty of our position. We are bound to set aside all the influences of personal connexion, and personal partialities, and judge the book, and speak of it as if we had picked it up in some distant place, and had never heard of the author. We are also bound, — as in all cases, but doubly so in cases like this, — to have sacred regard to the rights and feelings of the author, — neither to annoy him by extravagant panegyric, which he shall feel to be owing rather to his position than his merits, nor to mortify him by unnecessary severity, in the needless exposure of imperfections and blemishes, such as are incident to all human composition. It is impossible for this Journal to forget its connexion with the author of these sermons. But it will not, for fear of being suspected of undue bias, neglect to welcome their publication, and recommend them to the world; and will strive to maintain that tone of absolute justice, and discriminating approbation, which shall prove that no undue bias has deprived them of their right to attention and confidence.

A volume of sermons may be regarded in either of two points of view, — as containing specimens of preaching, or as designed for religious edification, — and a very different judgment may be passed upon it, according as it is examined with reference to the one or the other of these objects. That may be highly admirable, when tried by the rules of art, as a literary or rhetorical performance, which would be worthless for religious instruction or exhortation; and, on the other hand, that may be worthy of great praise, as adapted to religious impression, which has no merit of literary execution. It cannot be denied, that much of the preaching, which has most truly accomplished the object of the pulpit, has been of a character which the laws of criticism would regard as beneath notice. The favorite sermons of devout readers are not counted among the classics;

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\* *Sermon's of Consolation*: by FRANCIS W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. 12mo. pp. 335. Little & Brown. 1842.

while many of the discourses, which criticism would approve as works of art, have been of little interest to those who read for religious gratification. The best sermons will bear scrutiny in both particulars; will satisfy, at once, the requisitions of taste, and the desire of religious faith. In this class we place the volume before us.

If any should doubt whether all these discourses are worthy of their author, and fair specimens of his best powers, let him remember that they are not published as specimens of the art of sermonizing, or of literary composition; but expressly as addresses for Christian consolation. The design is singly to put into the hands of religious readers a volume suited to their wants, in seasons of trial. Of course, therefore, it cannot present a selection from the preacher's best sermons alone. He has sacrificed to his great design the reputation which he might have gained, if reputation had been his object, by substituting for the least felicitous of these his most successful efforts on other themes. Thirty discourses, on kindred themes, cannot be all in the writer's most finished manner; to produce such they must be carefully culled from his happiest, on various themes. So that if we will have the benefit of unity in the volume, we must forego the gratification of seeing only the choicest productions of its author. We approve very cordially the preference given to the contents of this volume. There is no monotony in the choice of subjects, and the diversity of merit in the discourses is not such as to leave any of them in a very uncomfortable inferiority.

We have said this merely for the sake of suggesting a hint to those, who have been accustomed to listen to the preaching of Dr. Greenwood, and who may be disappointed at not meeting in print some favorite sermons which dwell in their memories. There is another thought which always suggests itself to our own minds, when we attempt to judge, and when we listen to judgments expressed by others, of published sermons. It is this, — that, from the nature of the case, it is extremely difficult to do them anything like fair justice. So small a part of the sermon can be brought before us by the printed page, that our opinion is formed from an acquaintance wholly imperfect. It was meant to be judged by the ear, and we judge it by the eye. If we leave out of view that it was designed to be spoken from a pulpit, as part of religious service; that its whole

idea, its course of thought, its style of expression, and everything which makes it, has been determined by that consideration ; and further, that all these, in intention and effect, were connected with the voice, modulation, attitude, gesture, of the speaker, and the personal relations in which he stood to the hearers and the occasion ; — it will be seen that the paragraphs of the printed book, are but a small part of the sermon ; that the very essence and spirit, which made it what it was, which gave it all its charm, have been abstracted from it. The justest emblem of the published discourse of a gifted preacher is a tree or a fine landscape in winter ; where we see the bare outline, the general form ; but the canopy of green leaves, the garlands of flowers, the harmonies of color, the indescribable beauties of light and shade and motion, which give it soul and expression, are all wanting. We can say that there is a grove, and a meadow, and a rivulet, and distant mountains ; but we cannot guess whether it be one of the scenes which Claude has copied to the admiration of the world, or some ordinary spot that no artist has looked at a second time. The sermon that comes only to the eye, without the characteristic tone, the beaming look, the trembling lip, the discriminating emphasis, the audible soul of the speaking author, is little else than this disrobed landscape ; no competent judgment can be formed of its real beauty and power, and criticism becomes impertinent. If we would know what is the majesty of Handel's Messiah, we do not try it on our flute, or even rest satisfied with the performance of some skilful pupil on a tolerable piano forte. We must have an organ, an orchestra, a loud-voiced choir, and an ample space. Then only can we learn what that divine work is. And then only can we learn what a given sermon is, when we are present to the very utterance of that sermon by him who spoke as well as wrote it, and know the very inflexions and pauses which contributed to make it his, and without which it might have been another's. Hence he, that never heard the preacher, cannot well presume to judge of the sermon ; that is, not as passing an opinion on the preaching. Why do you say, that is poor and empty ? — you did not hear it, and you cannot tell how much thought and feeling were crowded into it, by the expressiveness of the speaker. And why do you laud the soundness of thought, and beauty of style of another ? If you had been present at the delivery, you would have found that it fell heavy and ineffective on the audience, through



certain fatal deficiencies, which the machinery of the press does not exhibit, but which the pulpit betrayed. The press gives you but a part of the preaching.

A preacher, then, who is judged by his printed volumes alone, is sure to be more or less misjudged. He can be but partially known. Whitefield was a powerful preacher; but his published sermons do not inform us of it. Therefore, volumes of sermons are improper subjects of criticism, if the purpose be to describe and show forth the preaching, and not simply the logic or the style. Who can know Dr. Greenwood, the preacher, by reading these discourses? That he thinks with clearness, and writes with grace, that he is a lover of pure and severe simplicity, that he is unostentatious, unartificial, whose earnestness glows and never flashes or storms, who melts by the gentle urgency of affection without vociferation or passion, and whose prose is musical as verse; so much might be seen. But this is not to know him, as those know, or to see the attraction of his ministry, as those see, who can read these pages with his tones ringing in their ears, and the image of his thin form standing up before them, while every fibre of their hearts is thrilling with the inexplicable influence of his sonorous cadences, suggesting a multitude of thoughts, sentiments, and emotions, which no printed page can suggest.

We do not mean, therefore, to attempt any description or criticism of this volume. We only express our pleasure at its publication, and our confidence that it will be acceptable to those for whom it is designed, both through the attractiveness of its spirit, and the beauty of its diction. Many of the sermons are finished poems. Their general character is that of serene and soothing gentleness, — calm in spirit, because strong in faith; animated and joyous, because strong in hope, — which should belong to the “son of consolation.”

It would have been easy to have introduced some higher topics of philosophical discussion, and to have displayed profoundness and acuteness in reasoning, on some of the perplexing mysteries connected with the dispensations of Providence. There are minds which covet such speculations, and who will esteem it a deficiency in the book, that it has declined to enter upon them, and has confined itself to views of life and truth, which are simple, and accessible to all. The preacher has done as he should, since his purpose was usefulness. We know that the common are the most important; that in realities of trial and

grief the simple are the powerful views ; that then, novelty is distasteful, and metaphysical subtleties, and ingenious speculations revolting. If he had sought the admiration of restless or worldly minds, he might have found it by flights over regions where few could follow him ; but he would have gone where the Christian pulpit had no errand ; he would have left the afflicted unconsolated, for the sake of gratification to those whom the gratification could not profit. A far nobler, as well as more appropriate task was it to fix attention upon the familiar, fundamental, and essentially strengthening thoughts of Providence and Christianity, by the attractiveness of new illustrations, and a graceful and sympathizing address. The best thing a preacher can, in most cases, do for the benefit of his fellow men, is to describe to them things perfectly familiar, in such manner that they shall have a new perception of them.

This is the task performed in the sermons before us. It is characteristic of the author's preaching. And it is no small thing to be able to put the mind of the hearer or reader into the state of calmness and elevation, into which it is brought by representations like these. He, who can do it well, accomplishes the errand of the stated preacher. To him belongs the description given by Moses : " His doctrine drops like the rain ; his speech distils like the dew ; like the small rain upon the tender herb, and like the dew upon the grass." Like his great Master and Pattern, he does not strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. It may be true that the violent, harsh, and vociferous ; that the metaphysical, philosophical, and mystical ; that the exclamatory, colloquial, dramatic, and even fantastic, shall sometimes have their appropriate place, and do good service to the church ; but the calm, and affectionate, uniformly simple, and always grave, that always interests but rarely excites, is more becoming the speech of dying men to dying men, and more persuasive to the multitude of needy souls.

Of the subjects of these sermons, of which we have already said there is no want of variety, the writer thus speaks in his preface, —

" But while I have given my collection of discourses unity, by restricting it to this one object, I am conscious that I have at the same time exposed it to the charge of containing repetitions, not of thought only, but of phrase. Repetitions, doubtless, there are ; but I know not how they could easily have been avoided, and I trust they will not prove tiresome. The discour-

ses were written separately, at distant intervals, and with no idea, at the time, that they would ever be brought together. Moreover, the great sources of consolation are but few, and remain the same from year to year and age to age; because they are sufficient for their end, and for our condition. Not being able to avoid repetition entirely, I have, however, obviated the difficulty as far as possible, by introducing a large variety of topics within the prescribed limits; the end being always that of consolation." — pp. vi., vii.

We accordingly observe that many of them treat but indirectly on consolation. They are engaged not in expressly applying the truths or motives of religious solace; but in laying the foundation for them, and confirming a faith in their reality and strength, so that they shall be ready for application whenever the necessity may arrive. Such, for example, are the discourses on the Being, Power, Incomprehensibility, and Guardianship of God, and the folly of Atheism. These are fundamental and preliminary truths. One is not prepared to receive Christian consolation, until these are fixed deeply and impreguably in the soul; for it is in the attributes and relations of the Deity, that all confidence, peace, and hope reside. Let us present one extract, as a specimen of the tone in which these sermons are conceived and written. It is from the discourse "God All-Powerful."

"But whose power is it? for we perceive not only power, but designing power. Where did it come from? for when we look on the great streams, we inquire for their source. Who can go out in the hushed and serious time of night, and raise his regards to the spangled firmament, with the knowledge that each point of light there is a ponderous world, steadfast in itself and in its relations to the great whole; and that those of them which are moving, are moving with a velocity which confounds thought, and yet with a certainty of revolution which can be calculated to a second; who, when the winds are abroad, making the ocean to rage mightily, can view the tumult from the shore, conscious of his own safety, and that bounds are appointed to the threatening waves, which they cannot pass; who can observe the travelling clouds pouring out their showers as they are needed upon the grateful earth; who can mark the seasons as they come round in punctual and yet ever-varying return; — who can see and understand such things, and refuse entrance to the conviction, that they were intended; that there is a purpose at work in them and over them; that these operations are directed

by some intelligent existence ; that there is some controlling and designing being to whom all this power belongs ?

“ ‘It belongs to the things themselves,’ is the discordant cry of a few, and happily but of a few. ‘The power is in the machine itself. The universe is god, its own god. Why pretend to look further than you can see ? Use your senses, which are the only means of knowledge. Be not superstitious, and concern not yourself about a being who does not exist, because the senses do not apprehend him.’ Well then, I will use my senses, since that is the word. I will go to them obsequiously, and implore them to let me know where the intelligence is, whose designs are everywhere around me. They can tell me nothing. I look, and I see nothing, I hearken, and I hear nothing, I reach forth my hands, and I feel nothing, in the whole congregation of material existences, which appears to me to possess mind and intelligence of itself. In the clods beneath me I perceive no self-governing wisdom ; in the stars above me I perceive no spirit of order ; in the waves of ocean I am apprized of no ruling mind. I see, I hear, I feel nothing in matter, like a planning, organizing, directing principle ; and that is the very reason why I believe that there is such a principle, or Being, separate from matter, and superior to it. For one thing I do perceive, and that is design ; of one thing I am certain, and that is, that there is somewhere a mind intently at work ; the proofs of intention are too plain to be mistaken ; and therefore when I use my senses, as I am requested to do, and receive no information from them that matter can rule itself, I form the direct conclusion from this silence and negative evidence of my senses, that there is a Being, a Supreme Being who rules it ; for sure I am that it is ruled. I will not be so superstitious, therefore, as to believe in the contradiction of an unintelligent system acting of itself intelligently. I am advised not to be credulous. I will not be. I will admit nothing but on fair proof. Because my senses show me no visible, audible, tangible intelligence, I shall not therefore believe that there is no intelligence, but the very reverse, that there is one ; one whom the senses cannot show me, one whom I cannot see, nor hear, nor feel, except in the wise and beautiful order of the universe, and in the beatings of my heart ; one who is indivisible, inaudible, intangible, but to the eye of my mind, and the ear of my spirit, and the demonstrations of my reason. In following my senses, therefore, I am brought to my God ; because they show me design, and cannot show me the designer. Now it is that the dumb works of nature break their silence, and utter speech of their Creator, and of mine. Now it is that the mountains echo to the sea, and

earth repeats to heaven, the holy name of Him who ordains their order and rules their motions. Now it is that their voice becomes the voice of God himself, proclaiming and reiterating his divine supremacy. 'God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God.'" — pp. 26 – 29.

Of a similar class with the discourses, just referred to are those which relate to the evidences of the Christian Faith, and the history and character of the Saviour. These, too, without directly addressing topics of consolation to the afflicted, are employed to teach truth and excite sentiments, which prepare the way for their efficacious reception, by filling the soul with a steady faith and holy love. Let the power and loveliness of Christ be appreciated, and the mind is in a state to be strengthened and soothed by those spiritual truths, from which all satisfying solace and sound tranquillity must flow. "Nothing without Christ;" "The Perpetuity of Christ's Kingdom;" "The Crown of Thorns;" are among those which belong to this class. How surely do contemplations on the Master, under relations like these, tend to impart a calmness and tenderness favorable to the influence of the great words of religious comfort. We must cull a specimen hence also. We take it from the sermon entitled "Nothing without Christ."

"But this is only the first and most general view of our dependence. When we turn to an examination of ourselves and our religious state in direct and immediate relation with the Saviour, it is then that the conviction is most forcibly impressed upon us, that we can do nothing without him. We arrive at our most intimate, consoling, and elevating knowledge of God the Father, through his Son Jesus Christ. We acquire our simplest, clearest, kindest, and most practical views of duty, from him and his life. We learn from him distinctly, what is the acceptable worship and service which man is required to render to his Maker. We know through him and his resurrection, what we could not otherwise have known, whatever we might have hoped, that we are immortal, that we shall live after death and forever. By him we are brought into connexion with that bright community of angels and sainted spirits, whose voices we hear on earth by faith, cheering us in our journey, and inviting us to the enjoyment of their society and his own, everlastingly in heaven. While we continue with him, studying his life, meditating on his image, listening to his words, imbibing his spirit, we are possessed with all this knowledge, faith, and power; but away from him and without him, where is it to



be found, and what can we do? I confess I know not. If I could dismantle my own heart of all traces and memorials of the Saviour, I know that I should be startled at its emptiness and desolation, and finding in it but little to repair the melancholy loss, be forced to weep in despair over the ruin I had made. And as empty and solitary as my heart should I find the domains of ancient philosophy and religion. What should I get there but evil mixed up with good, hope glimmering through darkness, and doubt enfeebling all conclusions? Whom should I discover there, among the best and greatest, who could give to my soul that divine security, that heavenly rest which is so freely offered by Christ, or who could reflect upon my soul that image of purity and holiness, which is revealed in the person of Christ? Every system and treatise into which I might look, every face to which I might turn, would seem to ask me in wonder why I came to them for that divine authority, purity, and beauty which they lived too early to see, and for that light beyond the grave which they were searching for so anxiously themselves.

“Christ is my companion and guide in the path of my mortal life, through all difficulty and danger, always ready and efficient with his counsel, sympathy, and assistance. Am I in doubt concerning some question of duty, some rule of conscience? I have only to refer to his word, or his example, and my course is plain. Am I in peril from some lurking and besetting temptation, almost irresistible from the appeals which it makes to my weaker nature? One glance at his pure countenance, one touch of his invigorating hand, and I am my better self again, and have strength to spurn the assaulter away. Have I neglected to seek my helper in season? have I wandered from the right way? and do I at length see and deplore my fault, confused and ashamed? I hear his voice, not repelling me by harsh accents, but gently accepting my repentance, and inviting my return. Is my heart deeply pierced by disappointment or any grievous sorrow? or is my flesh troubled by racking pain? I look to the man of sorrows, to the suffering Lamb of God, to his bleeding temples, to his agonizing cross; and his wounds are the healing of mine. Do I stand by the bedside of a departing friend, feeling that I am wretched, and that when the final breath is breathed I shall be more wretched still, but striving to restrain my tears, in the fear of disturbing the last moments of one I love? Christ is with me where I stand, assuring me that my friend will not die, but only sleep, and that I shall meet him again, and be parted from him no more. I bless the sacred accents, and my tears gather silently, and my bosom

is calmed. And so when I come myself to the brink of the river, Christ will be with me then, who has been with me always, and the warmth of his dear and glorious presence will dispel the chilly vapors, and he will lead me safely through. What then could I do without him? How can I live, how can I die without him?

“Master! to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. Thou hast said we can do nothing without thee. Son of God, it is true! Saviour of men, it is true! Thou art the vine, we are the branches. Our spiritual life is nourished and invigorated from thee; and if we bear fruit, it is because we abide in thee, and still receive the vital streams which flow from thee alone.” — pp. 148 – 152.

“The Crown of Thorns,” is the subject of a very characteristic sermon, in which the preacher, looking with a poet’s eye, and speaking with a poet’s sensibility, spreads out the sentiments which belong to the contemplation of that mock royalty, and thus calls up the emotions of admiration, trust, and love, with which a believer’s heart should glow. “What other crown,” he asks, “would we wish to see upon his brow? Among all the wreaths and diadems which have been fashioned by human love, admiration, or servility, or assumed by human pride or power, which would we select as worthy to be bound on the Messiah’s head?” Not the crown of flowers, which belongs to the festival; not the crown of monarchs, conquerors, heroes; No; —

“Take away the toys. Let them not come into this hallowed presence. They would only show how dim and worthless they are, near to that unearthly majesty, and by the side of that crown of thorns. Take away the laurel wreath — it is stained with human blood. There is blood too upon the thorns — but it is the Saviour’s own. It is his own blood which he now begins to shed for the liberty and the happiness of his brethren, and not the blood of his brethren, poured out after the manner of conquerors, for his own aggrandizement. It is his own blood, dropping down, not for dominion or fame, but for truth, and peace, and virtue. He fought; but not with carnal weapons, and not to enslave the bodies of men, but to emancipate their minds, and to redeem their souls. He fought; not at the instigation of the lusts of the flesh, and in obedience to them, but undauntedly and perseveringly against them. He conquered; but not to increase the power of death, but to weaken and destroy it, to overthrow the hosts of darkness, to burst the bonds of sin and

the grave. In this warfare he endured hardship, hunger, and thirst, pain, reproach, and contradiction. Humility, patience, meekness, long-suffering, forgiveness, it was by these that the battle was fought and won. Take the laurel wreath away. It tells not of struggles and victories like these. The bare and rugged thorns are a more expressive and befitting crown for him who loved us and gave himself for us, and by his death destroyed death. Neither bring the gemmed diadems of royalty instead. They have been too much degraded and soiled by the hands which have usurped them, and the heads on which they have descended. They have clasped brains which were on fire with mad ambition, or teeming with dark schemes of tyranny. They have sat idly on heads which were empty of thought, or only thinking of some selfish indulgence; careless of others' wants, and studious only to create or gratify their own. Why should they be brought here? At best they signify but a partial, fluctuating, and temporary authority, however well improved and exercised, which human fancy and will may overturn, which a few hours may transfer, and which death will soon cover up in dust. Why then should they be brought here? Here is a king anointed directly from on high, with the unmeasured Spirit of God. Here is a ruler who rules over the spirits of men, and will rule forever; for his voice hath gone forth into all lands, his words unto the ends of the world. Here is a monarch unto whom power has been committed, real, permanent power, over nature, over fear, and over time. And it is through suffering that he holds it; and in endurance and self-denial that he exercises it; not consulting his own will, but that of his Father, nor his own ease, but the welfare of all men, yea, of his enemies. Here he stands, in the hall of a Roman viceroy, who, with all his power, has weakly, and against his own wish and judgment, surrendered a just and innocent one to a furious multitude, and a bloody death. Here he stands, amid insulting cries and ferocious blows, supreme and kingly in suffering love; bound, and yet the only free one there; a prisoner, condemned to the cross, and yet redeeming countless spirits from captivity and death, through the grace of his righteousness, and the royal might of his overcoming fortitude. Compare his crown of thorns with Pilate's royal cincture — and say which is the truest emblem of dominion, majesty, and victory. Is there not in every firm-set, pointed thorn, more self-conquest, more spiritual might, more endurance, and more victory, than ever glittered within the compass of a diadem? That twisted bramble is the true crown. Displace it not from the head of the conqueror of death, the redeemer of men, and the king of Israel." — pp. 209–212.

Several other discourses are of a similar poetical structure and expression ; as for example, "Voices from Heaven," "Lessons of Autumn," "Peaceful Sleep," "Offices of Memory." Another class of subjects leading more or less indirectly to consolation, through the state of mind which they induce, contains such as the following, among others :—"Dwelling in the Temple ; The Good Revealed ; Walking by Faith ; Lessons of Autumn ; Peaceful Sleep ; Christ our Fellow Sufferer ; Christ with us at Evening."

The sermons directly and immediately consolatory have titles such as these ; "Death an Appointment ; The Time of Death ; The House of Mourning ; Consolations of Religion ; Blessing God in Bereavement ; Recognition of Friends." We take a passage from "Consolations of Religion."

"And this is, in fact, the essence of the doctrine of grace ; the doctrine that God is with us and within us, and always ready, not, however, interfering with our liberty, to assist and guide us ; to suggest to us those thoughts of purity and virtue, which are powerful, like spells, to drive away the dark spirits of sin and despair ; to inspire us with strength in the hour of weakness, and fortitude in the time of distress, and to shed light through the intricate and gloomy passes of our earthly pilgrimage. What can be more consolatory than to believe, as Christianity would have us believe, that the infinite and eternal God takes this direct interest in our happiness, and that he is, in reality, watching over us and in us, every moment, to mark how we improve the merciful intentions of his discipline, and to aid every good disposition which we may manifest, and every good resolution which we may form ? Can that spirit yield, or yield long, before any shock of misfortune, which realizes its intimate union with the Father of spirits ? Can that soul remain without comfort in any affliction, which hears within itself the still small voice of God, whispering compassion and peace ? Can it sink in the stormy waters, when it may call upon its Lord ? Can he murmur, who can pray ? Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, when the bridegroom is with them ? When God communes with us, and we with God, does not an elevation, a calm dignity, a holy reliance follow that communion, which no grief can disturb ? Is it fit that the friend and companion of the Almighty should be dismayed at outward and temporary ills ? Is it possible that he should ? Is it not comfort enough to an humble and contrite and sorrowing heart, that the Holy Spirit dwells in it as in a temple ? Shall the voice of complaint, shall an accent of distrust, be heard in that consecrated place ? Shall fear and

despondence appear before that gracious presence? None of these things can be. The Spirit of God is even now, as once at the holiest of baptisms, in the form of a dove. It sheds divine peace in every receiving bosom. It broods over the confused elements of the agitated mind, till darkness becomes light, and chaos is transformed into order and beauty." — pp. 114, 115.

Our readers will be glad to see a few other characteristic passages. Here is one from "Lessons of Autumn."

"The very grass itself as it withers, and the flower as it fades, seem to express such a trust, in their humble manner, and to inculcate it on their withering and fading human brethren. How quietly the grass withers! How submissively the flower bows its head on its stalk; how sweetly it exhales its last odors; how peacefully it fades! — Nature dies gently. — Listen! Do you hear any discordances in her parting sighs? They are all harmonious; — as musical, though with a different character, as the melodies of spring. You may be affected with sadness as you listen, but it is a sadness which soothes and softens, not disturbs and terrifies. I can sympathize with the man who relieves his full heart by weeping amidst the autumnal emblems of human dissolution; but I must only wonder at him if he weeps tears of anguish or despair. I could not weep so, surrounded by such mild and uncomplaining monitors. I perceive that the honors of the forest are resigned without a struggle. Wherever I turn, all is acquiescence. There is no questioning the will of Heaven. There are no cries when the leaves part from their stems, and sink to the ground. How can I do violence to the spirit of submission and trust which is diffused about me? It rebukes my misgivings, if I have indulged any; it silences my repinings, if unthinkingly I have uttered any; it steals into and hushes my heart. Why should we not receive the lessons which nature is, even though unconsciously, teaching us? Why should we break the general peace? Let us trust in the word of God, though it sends forth the decree, 'Return, ye children of men!' Frail, fading, perishing, — what are we without trust? The support of the soul is trust in God, trust in the eternal, undecaying word of God.

"And in nature's decline at this season, it may be observed further, there is not only the expression of quiet submission, but of hope and joy — such joy as they should feel, who, though in extremity, know that the word of the Lord endures forever. There are no richer hues than those of autumn. Though the leaves wither, shrivel, and turn to darkness and dust, they wear their brightest colors just before they die. The trees are not



clothed in mourning, but in triumphal robes; in scarlet and gold, like kings. Do they not prefigure the deep and solemn joy which may invest and imbue the soul, the trusting soul, in the prospect of the last change? The trees cannot anticipate the new dress which they shall put on, when the warm influences of spring return the sap into their branches; but man may contemplate the season when 'mortality shall be swallowed up of life;' the season not only of restoration, as to nature, but of inconceivable addition; the time when a new earth shall be under him, and new heavens over him, and glories, of which he cannot now form any distinct conception, shall clothe the spirits of the redeemed." — pp. 281 – 283.

Again, "Remembrance of the Righteous."

"But these are far from being all who are remembered. Each circle of friends, each separate family has a memory; and the forms, which are retained by it, are, of all others, the most distinct, the most vivid, and the most dear. What numbers, what numbers are they, of whom the world has never heard, and never will hear, but who live forever in the bosoms of kindred. Beneath every domestic roof, there are more than are counted by the stranger. Spirits are there, whom he does not see, but who are never far from the eyes of the household. He does not see the sprightly child, who once was there in mortal health and beauty; but the child is yet there in spiritual presence, before the vision of father and mother, and wherever they may go, will go with them. He does not see the venerable form which once sat there in placid love and dignity; but it has not departed from that house; son and daughter behold it; it looks on them with wonted kindness, and speaks to them still the words of counsel. He does not see the devoted wife, whom once he might have seen there, the presiding spirit of order, and comfort, and peace, ruling her children with gentleness and discretion, and causing her husband to realize what a refuge, and sanctuary, and heaven-on-earth is home; but from that home she has not wholly departed, nor will ever depart, for her remembrance is there perpetually. Though the body has been borne for the last time from its doors, her spirit remains in its influence over the affections and deportment of the living. To them she utters her voice, and by them she is heard; and the husband is not wholly alone, and the tender minds of the children are moulded insensibly by the very name of her who watched over their infancy. There is something of this in every house, which love and virtue entitle to the name of home; in every family where mortality has taught the lessons of immortal faith and hope. Steps are on

the stair, but not for common ears; and familiar places and objects restore familiar smiles, and tears, and acts of goodness, which are seen by memory alone.

“Who shall enumerate the blessed multitude of those, who, dead to all on earth beside, live always in the hearts of those who knew them and loved them. The body may be far distant, but the spirit is brought near by remembrance, and dwells ever at home. The mortal remains of a friend may be covered by a foreign soil, and strange and heedless feet may tread on the spot where they lie; but the soul returns to its own country, and communes with its own kindred. That which was corruptible may have been committed to the deep, and the track of the receding vessel be the only path to the place of its sepulture; but the waves cannot roll over the uplifted and imperishable spirit.” — pp. 136 – 138.

#### Once more, “Offices of Memory.”

“Who will say that they have never committed sin, and therefore cannot be annoyed by its remembrance? If there be any such, they must be answered in the words of St. John, ‘If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.’ It cannot be true that we have no sin. The most obstinate self-deception alone could induce us to maintain an assertion so easily refuted, and so contrary to all experience. What! Have we never wasted our time; never abused our faculties and privileges; never disobeyed, with the full knowledge of the wrong, a commandment of God? Have we never raised expectations, and then idly or intentionally neglected to satisfy them, thereby causing disappointment and pain? Have we never failed to state the clear and open truth, through fear, or pride, or some other motive worse even than those? Have we never detained what was not rightfully our own; never taken an unfair advantage of our neighbor; never perverted the power of authority or love which has been placed in our hands, so that instead of a refuge, it became a torment? Have we been guilty of no secret faults or crimes? — But I will ask no more questions of this nature. Surely we have sinned and done wickedly. Let us not aggravate our offences by denying that we have offended; but when memory repeats to our hearts the history of our misdeeds, let us receive the rebuke patiently, nay, even reverently, that we may be profited, perhaps saved. \* \* \*

“But have we repented of sin, and felt that we have been forgiven? Even then let memory come and tell again the history of error and disobedience. The recital will remind us of our frailty, convince us of our sinfulness; and we shall thus be put

upon our guard against future acts of folly and rebellion. A shield will be given us against impending danger ; a motive to increased precaution and vigilance. Beacon lights will gleam out from the past, to guide our present course, and warn us of the old and sunken perils. In times of excitement, of delusion, of trial, when the enemies of our virtue and constancy are out upon us with their forces, and we waver in the conflict, happy will it be for us then, if the memory of former guilt rise up and interpose itself between us and them, point to the melancholy consequences of defeat, and stimulate us to the victory. Good reason we shall have to render thanks to God, and ascribe to him the power and the praise, crying, ‘ Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory.’ ” — pp. 308–311.

We have endeavored in a hasty survey, to give some idea of the general contents and character of this volume ; esteeming the best recommendation of a good book to be its introduction to the knowledge of those whom we desire to read it, rather than a mere description. Here then we leave it. May it give the pleasure which it ought, and do the good for which it is designed.

H. W., JR.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of Muhammedans :* by Rev. JUSTIN PERKINS ; with a Map and 27 Plates. Andover : Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1843. 8vo. pp. 512.

OF this large and imposing volume, of more than five hundred pages, we cannot pretend, within any limits now at our command to give a full and satisfactory account. We have not been able to read it with such attention, as to feel competent to decide very confidently either upon the merits of the book, or upon the manner in which the author and his fellow laborers discharged their duties as Christian missionaries, and fulfilled the just expectations of those who commissioned them. Nevertheless we have read it with sufficient attention to perceive, that the work contains a large amount of valuable information about a country, with which we are little familiar, about manners and modes of life always interesting from their relation to those of the ancient inhabitants of Asia, and concerning the Nestorian Christians, a small remnant of those who, in the 5th century, followed into banishment the excommunicated bishop of Constantinople. It would give us pleasure to watch the course of action adopted by the missionaries to note their methods and state their results, and this we may do at another time. At present the pleasure of the reader will be better consulted, and his profit also, by gleaning from these ample pages a little of the information which the author of the work has been eight years in accumulating.

The seat or field of the mission lay in the northwest part of modern Persia, between the Black and the southern end of the Caspian seas, but much nearer the latter. The station was first for a short time at Tabreez, but permanently afterwards at Oróomiah, a city on the shore of a lake of the same name. Of the situation, aspect of the country; population, &c., let the author speak.

“The district of *Oróomiah* consists of a magnificent plain, situated at the eastern base of the Koordish mountains, and extending from them to the beautiful lake of the same name. The *lake* of Oróomiah is about eighty miles in length and thirty in breadth, lying in direction a little to the west of north and east of south. Its waters are very salt, perhaps as much so as the waters of the Dead Sea. No fish are found in

it; but fowl, particularly the duck and flamingo, frequent it in great numbers. The *plain* of Oróomiah is about forty miles in length, lying upon the central section of the lake, and in its broadest part, is about twenty miles wide. Imposing branches of the Koordish mountains sweep down quite to the waters of the lake, at the extremities of the plain, enclosing it like a vast amphitheatre. This great plain, with the adjacent declivities of the mountains, comprising an area of about six hundred square miles, contains at least three hundred and thirty villages. It is amply watered by three considerable rivers, (i. e. considerable, for *Persia*, each being from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet wide,) besides many smaller streams. Its soil is extremely fertile, and is all under high cultivation. Its staple productions are wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco, and the vine. It also abounds in a great variety of fruits. Besides its ten or twelve species of the grape, it yields cherries, apricots, apples, pears, quinces, peaches, plums, melons, nuts, etc. in most ample abundance. And such is the number of orchards and trees, planted along 'the water courses,' on all parts of the plain, as to give much of it the appearance of American forests.

"About twelve miles back from the lake and about two miles from the mountains, is the *city* of Oróomiah. It is the ancient Thebarina, the birth-place, as tradition says, of Zoroäster, the founder of the ancient sect of fire-worshippers; a tradition which is rendered, perhaps, the more credible, from the fact, that there are, on different parts of the plain, several artificial mounds, each covering an area of an acre or more, and rising to a height of fifty or seventy feet, which seem to be vast piles of ashes, that accumulated during the lapse of centuries, under the 'perpetual fires,' before which they paid their adoration. This is the explanation which the native inhabitants give of these monuments; and I see no particular reason to question its accuracy. The city contains about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. It is nearly four miles in circumference. Like other cities of Persia, it is surrounded by a mud-wall and a ditch; and most of its houses are built of unburnt brick. Its markets are good, for this country; its streets are wider than are common, in Eastern cities; and it has a very agreeable air of comfort, from the great number of shade-trees, interspersed among the houses.

"From elevations back of the city, the beholder, as he looks down upon the gardens directly below him, — and then, upon the city, half buried in shrubbery, — and next, over the vast plain, studded with its hundreds of villages, verdant with thousands of orchards and hedges of poplars, willows, and sycamores, upon the streams, and gleaming with almost illimitable fields, waving a golden harvest, — and farther still, upon the azure bosom of the placid lake, beaming and sparkling like an immense mirror, under the brilliancy of the pure Persian sky, — and finally, upon the blue mountains, far in the distance beyond the lake, — one of the loveliest and grandest specimens of natural scenery is spread out before him, that was ever presented to the eye of man.

\* \* \* Not more than six hundred Nestorians reside in the *city* of Oróomiah. They are principally in a compact position, adjacent to which the premises of our mission are situated. There are about two thousand Jews in the city, and the remaining part of the population are Mūhammedans." \* \* \*



"To the Christian scholar, the *language* and *literature* of the Nestorian Christians are objects of much interest. Their ancient language is the *Syriac*, — by some supposed to have been the common language in Palestine in the days of Christ, and the same in which the Saviour himself conversed and preached, and probably not differing much from it. This language is still the *literary language* of the Nestorians. Their Books are nearly all written in it. They conduct their epistolary correspondence in it; and though a *dead language*, the best educated of their clergy become able to converse in it with fluency. \* \* The *vernacular* language of the Nestorians is a modern dialect of the ancient Syriac, much barbarized by inversions, contractions, and abbreviations, and by the introduction of a great number of Persian, Koor-dish, and Turkish words, each class prevailing respectively, in a particular district, in proportion as it is situated near to the people using either of those languages. Though thus corrupted, however, as now spoken by the Nestorians, the body of the language comes directly from the venerable ancient Syriac, as clearly as the modern Greek comes from the ancient. It is a softer language than the ancient Syriac, its guttural words being fewer, and its nouns even more extensively ending in open vowel sounds. The accent is almost invariably upon the penult syllable." \* \*

"The few books which the Nestorians possess, however, are objects of deep interest. Among them are found the *whole of the Holy Scriptures*, with the following exceptions, viz., the epistle of Jude, the second and third epistles of John, the second of Peter, and the Revelation; also, the account of the woman taken in adultery in John viii, and the much discussed passage in 1 John v. 7, none of which are found in any of their Ms. copies, or seem to have been known to them until introduced by us, in the printed editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society; i. e. the *Peschito* is the only version of the New Testament with which they seem ever to have been acquainted. They make no objection to these portions of the Scriptures, as introduced by us, but readily recognise and acknowledge them as canonical. Their Scriptures are not found in *one volume*, but are usually in six, the division being as follows, viz., 1. The Pentateuch, copies of which are not so rare as some other portions. 2. The remaining books of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms, with the exception of the two books of Chronicles, copies, few. 3. The two books of Chronicles, copies of which are very rare. 4. The Psalms, copies comparatively numerous. 5. The Prophets, copies rare. 6. The New Testament, copies more numerous than of any other portions except the Psalms. In the *second book*, in this list, occurs the apochryphal work, *Ecclesiasticus*, or the *Wisdom of Sirach*, and most of the other books of the apochrypha, as known to Europeans, are mentioned as existing in the mountains. The Nestorians have also, in a separate volume, a work purporting to be the *Revelation of Paul*, which is said to consist of communications of the 'unutterable words, which,' he tells us, 'it is not lawful for man to utter,' that he heard, when he was 'caught up to the third heavens.'" — pp. 7–14.

Mr. Perkins speaks of manuscripts of the Bible, whose claims to great antiquity one would desire to see learnedly investigated.

“Among the books of the Nestorians are some very *ancient* manuscripts. There are copies of the New Testament, for instance, written, some on parchment and some on paper, which date back about six hundred years. Some of these are written in the Estrangelo, and some in the common Nestorian character. The very ancient copies of the Scriptures are regarded by the Nestorians with much veneration, and are used with great care. They are kept wrapped in successive envelopes, and when taken into the hands, are reverently kissed, as very hallowed treasures. In the village of Kówsee, is a copy of the New Testament, which purports to be fifteen hundred years old. A few of the first parchment leaves are gone, and their place is supplied by paper, on which that early date is recorded, with how much authority is uncertain. The *rubrics*, in most ancient copies, moreover, betray a later origin than tradition or their dates would claim for them. I tried to borrow the revered copy here mentioned, to bring with me to America, as an object of interest; but the Mūhammedan master of the village interposed, and forbade its being taken away, apprehending that some dire calamity would befall the inhabitants, should so sacred a deposit be removed from among them. And such is the reputation of its antiquity and sanctity, that Mūhammedans, as well as Nestorians, are sometimes sworn upon that New Testament.” — p. 16.

There are nine ecclesiastical orders among the Nestorians. Celibacy is required of all the Episcopal orders, and abstinence from animal food. The bishops are supported by a small tax, but are poor, and live in the simplest manner. “The religious belief and practices of the Nestorians are much more simple and scriptural than those of other oriental Christians. They have the deepest abhorrence of all image worship, auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, and many other corrupt dogmas and practices of the Papal, Greek, and Armenian churches; while they cherish the highest reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and, in theory at least, exalt them far above all human traditions. Their doctrinal tenets, so far as I have learned them, are, in general, quite clearly expressed and correct. On the momentous subject of the divinity of Christ, in relation to which the charge of heresy is so violently thrown upon them by the Papal and other oriental sects, their belief is orthodox and scriptural.” They are described also as charitable towards other sects of Christians.

These facts are drawn from a general introduction to the work, in which is condensed much general information. Our remaining extracts shall be from the body of the work, after the missionaries were established in their quarters. To read the following paragraphs should bring a blush of shame upon the face of New England distillers and traders. They are in answer to inquiries propounded in letters from America.

“To the several points on which you request information, I will

reply in the order in which you state them. *What are the habits of the people with regard to temperance?* While I search in vain among the people around me for a single trait that ennobles my native country, one circumstance, which is characteristic alike of Persia and America, is almost daily thrust upon my view, viz. beastly intemperance. *What are the principal means of intoxication?* Among what classes and to what extent does that vice prevail? The intoxicating article, most used here, is the wine of the country, which is almost as plentiful and cheap as the springs of water. Another article, considerably used, is arrák, (Asiatic brandy,) distilled from dried grapes, or from the residue after the wine is extracted. European liquors are also rolling in upon the country like a flood. Our missionary brethren, who have just arrived, were preceded but one week by a caravan, bearing among other poisons of the kind, *eighteen barrels of New England rum!* What an indignity cast upon the poor brutes even, that are made to plod their way over a journey of near seven hundred miles, crossing almost impassable mountains, and groaning beneath their almost intolerable burdens, which tend only to degrade the species that drive them incomparably below themselves! I see no other article of American manufacture, in the markets here, than New England rum. Can the enterprising of my country send to Mūhammedan Persia no better commercial representative! Well may the American churches multiply their missionaries to this country, if it were merely to repair the evils that are sown here by *New England rum!* I may say in general that intemperance prevails among all classes in Persia. Many—a great many, of the Nestorians are intemperate; and the Armenians are still more fearfully so. The Mūhammedans too are becoming intemperate. Though their Prophet forbade the use of wine, and as he supposed, of all intoxicating drinks, inasmuch as the art of distillation was then unknown, still multitudes in Persia, in the face of what they assert to be a *divine prohibition*, give themselves up to habitual intemperance. While they despise the Christian population, as they detest the dogs in the streets and the swine upon the mountains, they still shamefully wallow with these same nominal Christians in this filthiest of their vices.

“The extent to which intemperance prevails, among the nominal Christians of this country, may be inferred from two or three facts. The *Sabbath* is particularly devoted to dissipation. The mummery of their religious forms is repeated at a very early hour in the morning, and the rest of the day is given up, by the mass, to festivity and carousal. During some of their numerous *fasts*, the more rigid part abstain from the use of wine. But in anticipation of the abstinence, and to make up for it, each fast is introduced and followed by a drunken revel. And such is the impression, which the intemperance of the nominal Christians makes upon the Mūhammedan neighbors, that often when a Mūhammedan is seen intoxicated, his countrymen tauntingly exclaim, *that man has left Muhammed and has gone to Jesus!*

“Among the Mūhammedans also, particularly among the higher classes, many of whom are becoming lax and skeptical in regard to the claims of their religion, intemperance prevails to an appalling extent. I sometimes see respectable merchants falling down in the streets, or reeling in the arms of their companions. Soon after Dr. Grant's arrival, I accompanied him to the palace to introduce him to the governor of

this city. His Excellency was ill — broken down by hard drinking — and he requested the Dr. to do something for him. Dr. G. examined his case and made out a prescription, directing, that while taking the medicine, he should eat no stimulating food and drink no wine. The governor replied, I cannot go a day without my wine. This poor man is young, amiable, and intelligent; but like numbers of his rank in Persia, is a self-immolated victim to the bloody shrine of Bacchus.

“*Is intemperance on the increase, or has it within a few years been diminished?* The evil has of late rapidly increased in Persia, particularly since the importation of European liquors commenced. The Mūhammedans make no virtue of *moderate* drinking. They regard it as the peculiar privilege of Christians, to drink alcohol, and think they live greatly below their privilege, if they fail to drink it to intoxication. And whenever they themselves break over their scruples and fall into the use of intoxicating liquors at all, they act in full consistency with these principles. The *rapid increase* of intemperance among the Mūhammedans is the consequence.” \* \* \*

“Still there is hope even for Persia. One of the most animating scenes that I have witnessed since my return to America, was the Washingtonian celebration, in May, 1842, in Boston. As I stood upon the beautiful common, and watched the vast procession, moving on with manly step to the martial airs, and read the various appropriate mottoes on their shining banners, a thrill of moral sublimity kindled in my bosom that I had seldom if ever experienced. I was saddened, however, when I thought of *Persia* in contrast; but again I was cheered; for in that procession I saw a pledge, as I thought, that *Boston*, at least, would inflict on Persia little more *New England rum*; and round the world the star of temperance moves.” — pp. 225 — 227.

We select a scene truly oriental — a Nestorian marriage; it was in a neighboring village.

“We started about 9 o'clock in the morning, Mar Yohannan accompanying us. The weather was mild and very fine, — almost like a morning of September in America, though the tops of the lower mountains were clad by a recent fall of snow. As we approached the village, a great concourse came out with trumpets and drums to escort us. *Welcome, Welcome*, echoing from the multitude of voices and mingling with the rattle of their rude music made the whole region resound. And not the least agreeable circumstance was the frequent salutation of *good morning*, from numerous boys belonging to the English school, which priest Abraham had opened in this, his native village. After passing half way round the village, in a crowd of men, women, and children, so dense as often completely to hedge up our horses' way, we reached the house of the chief man, where the wedding was to be celebrated. The bridegroom, on the occasion, was his adopted son. A fat buffalo had just been knocked down before the door. When we entered the house, the bride stood like a veiled statue in the farther corner of a very large room, which was soon filled to overflowing by the rushing multitude, — the bridegroom with red feathers in his cap among the rest, — who had been out to welcome our coming.

“It is the practice of the Nestorians to have the marriage ceremony



performed in their churches and very early — commencing at least an hour before day — because the services are long, and the nuptial parties and all the ecclesiastics, who participate in the performance, are obliged to abstain from food, on the wedding day, until after the ceremony. But in this instance, to gratify us, they had deferred the marriage till our arrival — 10 o'clock, A. M. — and instead of assembling in the church, they had for our better convenience prepared to perform the service at this dwelling.

“As the crowd drew up around us, in anticipation of the commencement of the ceremony, Mar Yohannan gave direction, that inasmuch as strangers were present, they should all be careful to make much less noise than is usual on such occasions. Priest Abraham was the principal officiator, but was assisted by two other priests and several deacons of the village, who joined with him in reading the prayers and select portions of Scripture — such as the account of Abraham’s sending after Rebecca for his son Isaac, Jacob’s serving for Rachel, and all the other venerable scripture authorities that enter into their marriage service; the whole of which would doubtless be more interesting, if not more instructive, were it not read in an unknown tongue. The bride retained her place veiled in the farther corner of the room about an hour, the bridegroom meanwhile standing near the officiating ecclesiastics. They then arrived at a point where hands were to be joined, this being made known by the ecclesiastics who alone understood the service. Several women instantly caught hold of the still veiled bride and pulled her by main strength half across the room toward her intended husband; and several men at the same time seized the bridegroom who was at first equally resolute in his modest resistance, but finally yielded and advanced toward the bride. A smart struggle ensued in his efforts to secure her hand; but he at length succeeded, and both, with great apparent submission, then took a standing attitude near the officiating clergy. The regular routine of reading occupied another hour or more, when, first the bishops and after them the multitude — we of course among the rest — advanced and kissed the married pair.

“In the course of Mar Yohannan’s visit in America, a clergyman with whom we passed a Sabbath, had an application to marry a couple at his dwelling a few moments before the bell rung for a third meeting. He performed the ceremony in our presence, with all due solemnity of course, but in a formula so comprehensive and brief that he occupied, besides his short prayer, I think only a minute and a half. The bishop, remembering the Nestorian marriage service, by way of contrast, humorously asked, ‘Do you *marry* people on *rail-roads* too?’ I regretted that my esteemed ministerial brother had not — at least in that instance for the sake of the bishop — attached to his marriage formula a small quota of the length of which the Nestorians have so much to spare.” — pp. 234, 235.

A marriage among the Persians is afterward described.

“In the evening, we attended a Mūhammedan wedding, to which we had received a repeated invitation. The bridegroom is the son of a Khān, very high in rank, who resides quite near us. We called at the door by which we had been accustomed to enter the Khān’s



mansion, but were informed that the house was filled with *ladies*, who had assembled there to celebrate the wedding; and we were directed to the next door — the house of the Khàn's brother. Persian females are not allowed to be present with males at weddings. The guest-chamber, to which we were conducted, is a splendid room, fifty feet long and twenty feet wide, elegantly carpeted. Carpets, and the mangel, (*fire-pan*,) in winter, are the only articles of furniture used by the nobility in Persia. Sitting upon the floor and eating with the fingers are *economical* customs. A row of Persian nobles sat shoulder to shoulder around the great hall. At the head, was Jenghàir Khàn, eldest son of the governor. As we entered the room, he rose and beckoned us to seats by himself. Thus seated, we had on one hand this son of the governor, a high Moollâh, a Koordish Pashâ from the region of Mesopotamia, Khâns, begs, sultâns, and so on, in a descending order, down to the servants who stood around the door. On the other hand sat the chief Moollâh of the province; next the commander of the troops of Oróomiah; after him a younger son of the governor, and Khâns, begs, etc., descending in gradation as described on the other side. The utmost precision is observed in being seated in company according to *rank* in Persia, an observance which imparts peculiar vividness in the injunction of Christ, 'When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down at the highest room, (place,) lest a more honorable man than thou be bidden of him; and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.' As we sat among these high Persian dignitaries — *they*, easy and graceful in their loose flowing robes — *we*, girded and constrained in our tight coats and pantaloons, with a feeling of *nakedness* by the contrast, and tilted in the half sitting Persian posture upon our *fect*, which would soon have become clamorous enough in remonstrance, could they have uttered half what they *felt*; they, so fluent, bowing, and profuse in their compliments — and we, scarcely able to command expressions enough to acknowledge their civilities, and these only in the stammering, broken accents of a foreigner with but a smattering of their language, — it must be confessed, that we were in our own eyes, however we might appear in theirs, *very small men*. And, if I mistake not, many a foreigner in the east, experiences these feelings. They, however, with at least a *show* of real politeness, took no advantage of our embarrassing circumstances, but seemed to study to render themselves agreeable and us comfortable.

"Our entertainment, prepared and served in Persian style, was rich but perfectly plain. The liquors could not have offended a temperance agent in America. The principal one was sherbét — water sweetened with loaf sugar and flavored with some aromatic. To the reproach of the Christian name, the Mūhammedans are the most temperate class in Persia, the Koran forbidding the use of wine. At present, however, as has been remarked, intemperance is making terrible inroads among the followers of the False Prophet, as their reverence for their religion is diminishing; and to a great extent, by foreign influence. It has not, however, yet acquired respectability enough among the Mūhammedans to lead them to hazard the introduction of wine at a wedding. Will Christendom present to the Persians, as they relax their hold on the system of Mūhammed, no better substitute, than the most fearful of her vices?

"The fact of our being admitted to a Mūhammedan wedding is so novel, that the reader will indulge me, in going a little more into detail, in relation to our entertainment. Soon after we were seated, upon the carpet, gül-aub, (rose-water,) was passed around in small china cruets and poured into the hands of each guest, with which he moistened and scented his beard. Next, water and napkins were carried around, that each might wash his hands in preparation for the meal. The Persians, like the Jews, except they wash oft, eat not. A cotton tablecloth, four feet wide, and long enough to extend around the great hall on all the sides except the one which is entered by the door, was spread upon the carpet; and the dishes, brought in upon circular copper waiters, perhaps three feet in diameter, were placed upon the cloth. A cluster of four or six individuals, as the case may be, eat in common from the dishes upon a single waiter. The large wooden trays, or waiters, used by the Nestorians and the Mūhammedan peasants, are employed, by the higher classes, for presenting sweet-meats, at public entertainments, but not for the dishes at a regular meal. Those used by the latter, are often six or eight feet long, elegantly wrought and neatly varnished. First came the sherbét, in cups like tea, sprinkled over with a delicious mucilaginous seed. Next was brought the principal meal, the main article of which was pilâv\* — boiled rice, (next to bread, the Persians' staff of life,) — served up with baked lamb and fowls. For plates, we used the very thin large bread cakes of the country; and for knives and forks, our fingers, reclining on the left elbow and using only the right hand. At the close of the meal, water was passed around, and we again washed our hands. The conversation had all the while been lively, but dignified. The two high Moollâhs now retired, from a sense of propriety, as it afterwards appeared, just as clergymen in America are accustomed to retire, before recreations, savoring of levity, are introduced.

"We also rose to retire with the Mūhammedan ecclesiastics, but the ruler of the feast importuned us to stay a little longer, and to gratify his wishes and amuse our own curiosity, we remained. 'Music and dancing' were soon introduced. The musicians were three in number, two using tambourines, and one, a rude violin. They played plaintive, oriental airs, and accompanied their instruments with their voices, in shrill, screeching tones, that to an American or European ear sound

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\* This favorite oriental dish is difficult to describe, and yet more difficult to imitate, though it is simply, *cooked rice*. The rice is first boiled, but in such a manner that the kernels are preserved whole, though fully swollen. The water is then poured off, after which the rice is further cooked with a plenty of butter; and if roast lamb or chickens constitute a part of the meal, these are laid upon the rice, which adds to its delicate seasoning. Onions, of which the Persians are very fond, are sometimes boiled or fried, and laid also upon the rice — the latter in all cases forming the substratum and the essential part of the meal. I must be allowed honestly to testify my attachment to Pilâv, though not particularly fond of rice as cooked in America. And I may say in general, that it is not, in my opinion, merely an *acquired* taste, which renders several oriental dishes as great favorites with Europeans and Americans, who reside in the East, as the dainties of their native countries.

most like the cries of distress. There was only a single dancer, but he a very nimble one, now whirling upon his heels with the velocity of a top, and anon leaping all over the room, assuming the most eccentric attitudes and grimaces, and occasionally turning a summerset. This dancer is a Lesgi, by nation, from the south-eastern corner of the Caucasus. Numbers of these people have from time immemorial strolled over these regions in the capacity of minstrels. The music and dancing continued about half an hour, at the close of which we retired. The main zest of an American wedding was wanting in this, viz. the presence of the married pair. Among the Persians, the nuptials are performed privately by the Moollâhs, at the mosks. The wedding was grand and imposing, however, and vividly reminded us of the force of the parables of our Saviour, in which he represents the kingdom of heaven under the figure of an Eastern noble making a 'marriage for his son.' — pp. 267–270.

#### Funeral customs among the Nestorians and Mūhammedans.

"This forenoon, we attended his funeral [the son of a priest]. The Nestorians always bury their dead as speedily as practicable after decease. A large number were assembled in the church-yard, where the funeral service was read, which was simple, but solemn and impressive. One part in particular was very affecting, in which the bishop took his stand on the grave, after it was filled, and repeated, 'Farewell, my brother; thou hast departed from this to the other world; thou shalt suffer no harm nor loss; Christ will raise thee up at the resurrection!'

"After the funeral, priest Abraham, on my making some inquiries, relative to their funeral service, proposed that we should translate it into the vernacular language, for the benefit of the people. The suggestion is a good one, though parts of it would need to be omitted, as it embraces prayers for the repose of the dead, to be recited at the grave three days after interment. That period is observed, in memory of the visitation of the Saviour's tomb on the third day, by the pious women. On the seventh day after burial, the relatives of the deceased receive visits, and the males shave their heads, and all wash and change their garments, as an emblem of the *seventh* period which is to be ushered in and gladdened by millennial rejoicings. For all their religious observances the Nestorians can assign *reasons*, though many of them are singularly puerile.

"'Going to the grave and weeping there,' is even more common among the Mūhammedans than among the native Christians, especially among the females. The great cemeteries around the city of Oróomiah are thronged, on some of their festival days, and more or less on other occasions, and present affecting scenes, not less in the thoughtless levity of the mass, than in the dolorous lamentations of the few. I have frequently observed a circle of women, sitting on the ground, around a grave, in a cold winter's day, and wailing most piteously over the dust of a departed friend." — pp. 405, 406.

On Persian schools we find the following.

"I have nowhere described the native Persian schools and colleges. Of the common schools Malcolm remarks, 'Almost all the tradesmen

and many of the mechanics have received some education. There are schools in every town and city, in which the rudiments of Persian and Arabic are taught. The child who attends one of them, after learning the alphabet, is made, as a religious duty, to read the Koran in Arabic; which he usually does, without understanding a word of it. He is next taught to read some fables in Persian, and to write a legible hand. Here his education commonly ends; and unless he is led by his inclination to study, or his occupation requires that he should practise what he has learned, his lessons are soon forgotten. But this education, slight and superficial as it may seem, has the effect of changing the habits, and of introducing a degree of refinement among those who use it, unknown to their ruder countrymen.' It is a grateful sight to witness the beautiful Persian children, boys and girls, with their satchels on their arms, going to school. They are, however, as Sir J. Malcolm further remarks, 'often under the management of ignorant pedants.' These pedagogues, who are usually from the lower classes of the Moollâhs, or the candidates for that profession, sit in the school-room, writing lessons or letters, or copying books, upon the knee, while the scholars are scattered promiscuously on the rush-mat over the room, all reading aloud — each a different lesson — at the same time; the learners constantly swinging the body back and forth, as they sit upon the knees and feet, to keep from weariness, and the whole presenting a scene of singular confusion. The master, however, with his long rod always by his side — no despirer of Solomon's counsel — deals out a bountiful quota of stripes for anything in his view approaching to irregularity; and the indomitables are not unfrequently bound to the small Fällék (whipping-pole) which is kept near for the purpose, and bastinadoed, though mere children. Imperfect as is their education, however, they do, as above suggested, acquire an ease and grace of manners, a propriety of deportment and polish of expression, which they carry with them through life.

"The higher *Madrâssehs*, or colleges, formerly so renowned in Persia, are at present, for the most part, in a low state — another proof of the waning tendency of Mūhammedism. The edifices usually resemble the caravanserâis, in the apartments of which the students and professors often reside. Most of them are in a dilapidated state, and present a cheerless aspect. Arabic and Persian literature, and the Mūhammedan law and religion are studied in them." — pp. 436, 437.

The volume is illustrated, but scarcely adorned, by numerous engravings. Costume is well enough represented; but the arms and hands of the figures are like those that have been contracted and distorted by palsy.

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*The Christian Name and Christian Liberty*: A Sermon preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, October 30, 1842. By SAMUEL K. LOTHROP. Boston, 1843. pp. 39.

THIS sermon was called forth by an anonymous note, requesting the author "to define his position and opinions as to two



points; First, as to the measure of faith that constitutes a man a Christian, that is, gives him a claim to the Christian name and privileges; Secondly, as to the principles of Christian liberty; What are they? How to be applied?"

We propose to give a cursory analysis of Mr. Lothrop's answer to these questions, using his own words, where the necessary brevity of this notice will permit.

"To determine what constitutes a man a Christian, we must determine what Christianity is. It is 'a religion of facts,' — 'a positive and authoritative revelation.' The objection to placing Christianity on its historical foundation applies with equal force to all branches of human knowledge, even the most common and the most useful. All may not indeed be able to investigate testimony and weigh authority; but all can understand the character and validity of the kind of testimony and authority alleged, and the less informed may, in religious as well as in secular knowledge, take the minute details of proof as established by the general consent of those competent for their investigation. But, were we to leave authority out of the question, and to make the 'moral sense' the sole basis of faith, Christianity is no less a religion of facts, and Christian faith necessarily implies and includes a belief in those facts. There is no such thing as separating the didactic and historical, the natural and supernatural, in the records of the Evangelists, without a result, which on the one hand outrages historic probability, and on the other shocks the moral sense. Make the attempt with the eleventh chapter of John's Gospel, where the resurrection of Lazarus is described. 'Say, if you can, where is the break in the story, the point of transition from truth to falsehood, from history to fiction.' In separating them, you make the scene at the sepulchre one, which could by no possibility have occurred, and degrade the majesty and sublimity of the Saviour's mien and words into pretension and rhodomontade. Who then is a Christian as to his belief? He, who 'receives the Gospel as historically true.'"

"This," says the author, "I conceive to be the broad and distinctive foundation of Christian faith. All who stand upon this foundation I am ready to acknowledge as Christians. Let their creed be what it may, if they go to the teachings of Christ, to the New Testament as a record of facts, for authority and proof to establish and sustain that creed, I call them Christians, embraced among the disciples of Christ. More than this I am not disposed to demand, less than this I dare not concede as sufficient. If a man merely bow to Christ as an extraordinary religious genius, whose character, though distinguished for its moral elevation and purity, was yet marked, he thinks, by some inconsistencies and imperfections, which, however, he is



willing to overlook, as, *considering the youth of the man, very venial errors*, if he does not regard him as invested with any direct divine authority, as no more inspired than we all may be, *if we will pay the price*; if he places Jesus Christ and the Scriptures upon the same platform with Plato and Socrates and their writings, and receives and approves his instructions simply because he thinks them pure and good, the best he finds; if this is the extent of his faith and acknowledgments, I am not prepared to give such latitude to the appellation of Christian, so to destroy all meaning and force in it, as to apply it to him. Christianity is either a direct divine revelation, or it is not. It is historically true, or historically false. If it be a divine revelation, historically true, it must be admitted to demand a more respectful acknowledgment, than simply that its system of ethics is pure and its author an extraordinary religious genius; and if a man deem it historically false, and no more directly a revelation than the teachings of all eminently gifted minds are a revelation, there seems to be neither reason nor propriety in his claiming to be, or wishing to be called a Christian believer."— pp. 19, 20.

With regard to the second question, there is a wide distinction between *religious* and *Christian* liberty. Our civil institutions concede, as they ought, to every individual "the utmost liberty, compatible with public safety, to adopt and enjoy what religious faith he chooses." But, while, in accordance with sound principles of religious liberty, no man is forced to be a Christian, or made to suffer for not being one, "is there, or is there not, any line of demarkation between Christian believers and those who are not Christian believers?" If there is, where is the line to be drawn? Shall it be drawn, so as to entitle to the name and privileges of Christians all, who receive as truth the substance of what Christ taught, whether they believe or not the supernatural facts connected with his history? No; for a line thus drawn would involve manifest absurdities. Truth is eternal. "The substance of what Christ taught has been floating in men's minds, apprehended with greater or less distinctness, held to with stronger or weaker faith, ever since man was created. We are not to look in a revelation for new truths, — truths that are absolutely and entirely novel to the human mind, never before thought of and inquired about." On all the subjects of the Christian revelation, the truth has been received by many, who were ignorant of the name of Jesus, and by many, who have scornfully denied his name. A line drawn on the principle that "the substance of faith is faith," would embrace "the most noted deistical writers of the last three centuries," would adorn them with a name which they despised, and ascribe to them a faith which they denied and opposed. Moreover, how are we to get at "the substance" of what Christ taught? He is his religion. He taught more by his life than

by his words; and the supernatural element runs through the whole tissue of his life. His life, therefore, as it stands in the records of the evangelists, is essential to the identification of the substance of his teachings,—it must ever be the standard of Christian belief; and to draw the “line of demarkation” without reference to it is to “overturn the foundations of faith.” “The question, which is vital to Christianity, is whether the apostolic testimony be true or false,—whether God did, or did not, raise up Jesus of Nazareth, and send him to enlighten, bless, and save the world, as the Evangelists have testified. This is the vital question; here is the line of demarkation; here is the grand foundation of Christianity.”

“My brief answer then to the question, what is Christian liberty? is, it is liberty to be a Christian. It is liberty to go to the New Testament as a genuine and authentic history of the teachings, conduct, and character of Christ, and according to the best lights of reason, history and criticism, interpret that record, and gather and deduce from it such truths and doctrines, as such interpretation seems to the individual to sustain and establish. It is liberty therefore to be a Catholic, if one thinks he finds, in the teachings of Christ and his Apostles, enough to sustain the pretensions of the Catholic church. It is liberty to be an Episcopalian, if one thinks that the doctrines and administration of that church are those Christ and his Apostles established. It is liberty to be a Baptist, if one finds there that which convinces him that immersion is the great sign of sanctification and redemption. It is liberty to be a Trinitarian, if one finds there that which satisfies him that the doctrine of the Trinity is revealed truth. It is liberty to be an Unitarian, if one finds there that which makes him believe that the Trinity is not true, and that Christ the Son is inferior to and dependent upon God the Father. It is liberty to hold any opinions and truths, and to be earnest and zealous in their advocacy, which one believes that book, rightly interpreted, establishes. It is *not* liberty to disparage the record, to deny its most momentous facts and set them aside as fables, and yet claim to believe in a religion, of which we can have and can procure no satisfactory knowledge, save from that record. It is *not* liberty to call Jesus Lord, and yet maintain that he had no special inspiration, that he spake with no more authority than that which the bare annunciation of truth gives to every one that utters it, that he did not work which no man could do save God were with him in the world,—and thus make, either him an impostor, or the Evangelists and apostles false witnesses and participators in a pious fraud.” pp. 37, 38.

In conclusion, we cannot but express the hope, that a sermon so able, sound, judicious, and discriminating, and, we are sorry to add, so *timely*, may have an extensive circulation; for it can hardly be read without interest and profit.

*A Letter to the American Peace Society, from a Member of the Committee of Peace in Paris.* Paris. 1842. 8vo. pp. 31.

THE writer of this Letter is George M. Gibbes, Esq. of Charleston, S. C., resident in Paris for twelve years past. His object is to recommend to the patronage and employment of the Peace Society an "*International Daily Journal*," which it is proposed to establish in that city. The proposal is one of large and philanthropic interest, and deserves to be universally known, that it may receive the countenance which it deserves. Mr. Gibbes has evidently given the subject a good deal of attention, and, as far as can be judged from this document, has the promise of effectual aid. The Journal is to be always under the control of three directors, natives of the different nations, [England, France, and America,] whose interests it is intended more particularly to represent; by which arrangement it is hoped to secure it from narrow and party biases, and to render it the organ of the most enlarged, generous, high-principled views in politics, morals, and philanthropy. The connexion of these three nations for the preservation of harmony with one another and with the world, and for the more rapid and secure inter-communication for the promotion of knowledge, civilization, and happiness, seems to be the prominent object. "Guarantees are to be provided against its perversion to ignoble purposes; its impartiality in the discussion of international disputes is to be secured; and the promulgation of truth made, not only an interest, but a necessary condition of its existence." A noble design; if faithfully carried into execution, it promises to be one of the noblest of the age, and well deserving the countenance not only of the Peace Society, but of all who sigh for the progress of mankind. We would do our best to disseminate knowledge of the project, that a fair experiment may be made, if possible, and that at least it may not be destroyed at the birth for want of a sufficient general attention being drawn toward it.

The proposal is, to establish a "*Daily Journal in the French Language*, at Paris, under the auspices of his Excellency Henry Wheaton and Dr. John Bowring; for the purposes:—

"1. Of promoting peace, and international philanthropy. 2. Of fostering and strengthening the alliance between England and France; and, as connected therewith, the amicable relations of both countries with the United States of America. 3. Of advancing the interests of England and America upon the continent of Europe; and those of France generally.

"An organ in the capital of continental Europe for representing the interests of England and America, and for facilitating the communication of the people of both countries, with those of France in particular,

is a desideratum to which sufficient importance has not been attached. \* \* \* The establishment of an independent journal, representing the combined interests of the three great constitutional nations of the western world, who, by their united maritime force, unbounded pecuniary resources, and moral energy, are capable at any time of dictating pacific laws to the universe, must be considered by every enlightened mind, as one of the noblest enterprises of modern intelligence; calculated at once to preserve peace, award justice, circulate knowledge, and advance prosperity. \* \* \*

"Projected upon a larger scale than any paper now existing in Paris, and organized under the direction of individuals, already distinguished for their disinterested benevolence, and enlightened views, as expressed in their respective writings upon international law, liberal institutions, and commercial policy, the great cause of civilization must be signally promoted by its extensive circulation. It is not too much, indeed, to anticipate, that the benignant principles, intended to be propagated through its medium, may lead to the formation of leagues for the exercise of brotherly affections between nations, such as are now found inoperative. The application of the true principles of international law, the abolition of the African slave trade, and of piracy, with the extinction of maritime war itself, are dependent mainly upon the active concert of the three powers in question."

From a letter of Mr. Wheaton we obtain his views on the subject, which must always have weight, and we quote a few expressions.

"I have long regretted that we have no regular channel through which the misrepresentations and misunderstandings, as to our manners, customs, pecuniary credit, and the practical working of our institutions, could be refuted on the continent of Europe. It appears to me that this important object could be best effected by a journal published in the widely diffused language of France, at Paris, a city which may be regarded as in some degree the capital of continental Europe. Such a journal might, at the same time, be made to promote the more comprehensive aim of uniting together the efforts of the three great western nations, who, by their freedom, intelligence, and commercial activity, may be considered as the pioneers of civilization in the Christian world. America, France, and England have doubtless interests, in some respects diverse and conflicting; their political institutions are not precisely the same; and a conflict between them is one of those contingencies, to the possibility of which a practical statesman is not at liberty to shut his eyes. At the same time, it is the duty of the statesman and the philanthropist to use every possible means of averting such a calamity, which, in the present state of public credit, the widely extended relations of commerce, the vast expenditure occasioned by military operations in the present improved state of military science, involving the necessity of contracting new debts, or of crushing the people with taxation, would render such a calamity as war between France and England, or between England and America, immeasurably greater than any which history records.

"One of the principal aims of such a journal ought therefore to be,

to plead the cause of peace, by appealing to such practical motives as influence the conduct of states and of individuals.

"One of the most distinguished statesmen and moralists in France having consented to coöperate with Messrs. Wheaton and Bowring in the direction of the Journal, whenever the necessary funds shall have been subscribed, its control will be beyond the reach of either national or local influence.

"The amount to be subscribed, in shares of 1,000 francs each, is 600,000 francs, which will be distributed in as equal proportions as may be in the three countries. The subscriptions not to be called for, until the whole amount is engaged. As regards the profits likely to accrue from a journal, such as that contemplated, it may be sufficient to state, that one of the leading newspapers in Paris is estimated to derive a nett annual revenue very nearly equal to its original cost, and is now valued at from six to seven millions of francs; and that the shares of another, which were subscribed for at one thousand francs each, have since been sold for upwards of two hundred thousand francs, and are now valued at one hundred and sixty thousand francs each. Neither of the above journals have more than eight thousand subscribers who receive the paper, and their circulation out of France is inconsiderable; whereas it may be calculated, that an organ, of the character now projected, will be received generally, wherever the French language is understood.

"None of the parties engaged in establishing this journal have, or can have, any pecuniary interest in its success; and their services, and the expenses incurred in promoting it, are entirely gratuitous."

We have spread before our readers all that is essential to their perceiving the purpose and promise of the great project before them. Whatever may be the actual result, it is an encouraging sign of the improvement of the world, that politicians and philanthropists are beginning to unite in large and disinterested exertion for the good of nations and the growth of the world. We refer to the letter of Mr. Gibbes for some important statements respecting the character and power of the Press in France, which at once show the demand for a movement like this, and so much to encourage the attempt to meet it.

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*The Neighbors*; a Story of Every-day Life: by FREDERICKA BREMER. Translated from the Swedish, by MARY HOWITT. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 259, 223.

THE "Neighbors," is already widely known, and by all who have read it, admired. It is certainly a highly original work, and deeply interesting, and for its moral and religious tone worthy of all commendation. But we notice the work at this late hour not for purposes of criticism, but simply to publish and recom-



mend the very neat edition of it, in two duodecimo volumes by James Munroe & Co. Those who half-destroyed their eyes by reading the wretched reprints which came from the newspaper presses in the form of loose-stitched quarto pamphlets, with a little ink here, and a little ink there, but no where much, will perhaps be glad to read the book over again with more comfort, and in a form which, when read, can be placed upon their shelves, among volumes to be preserved.

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1. *Fourth Report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts. Counties of Franklin and Middlesex.* By HENRY COLMAN, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers. 1841. 8vo. pp. 533
  2. *The Improvement of Agriculture as an Art and a Profession: an Address at the Annual Cattle Show and Fair of Munroe County Agricultural Society in Rochester, New York, October 26, 1842.* By HENRY COLMAN, President of the Society. Rochester, 1842. pp. 35.

WE cannot pretend in a periodical like ours to take a proper notice of publications, such as those whose titles are given above. It would be difficult among our contributors to find a sufficient knowledge of the subject, and were that discovered, to provide sufficient space for the display of it. We content ourselves, therefore, with a few observations. We first express our surprise at the small number of copies of an important work, like the "Fourth Report," ordered to be printed and distributed, if, that is to say, the number named in an order of Council prefixed to the volume, be the whole supply from every source, for the State of Massachusetts, not to speak of other parts of the country, which must desire a few copies at least. A great part of the benefit to be derived from the survey one would expect to proceed from a knowledge of what has been done on the part of the Commissioner, being communicated to the farmers at large. Yet here is an edition of but three thousand volumes for a population of seven hundred thousand souls! We cannot understand why, having been at the expense of the survey, the results of it are locked up from the people. We cannot well conceive of more interesting, or more useful volumes for the farmer's library and fireside, than these Reports of Mr. Colman, especially this last. They are overflowing with information on the subjects coming more especially under his care, and abound in hints and counsel on matters of taste, manners, and morals, which come in as an agreeable variety in the midst of matters purely agricultural, and cannot be read with-

out pleasure and advantage. If every town were supplied with a single copy, which is as much as the present edition would allow, it would make but a wretched approximation to what ought to be done. Every farmer should possess a copy, not through any gratuitous distribution, but through the opportunity to purchase, offered by large and cheap editions. In its present form the Fourth Report is a large and unwieldy volume, and, if sold at only a moderate profit to any publisher, expensive. We presume that all the four reports might be issued in two volumes for considerably less than the cost of this last report alone.

In our notice of another publication of the Commissioner more than a year since, we expressed a wish, that when the survey of Massachusetts should be completed, the same gentleman might visit other States of the Union, and report to his fellow-citizens their methods of cultivation, in the belief that it would be of more advantage to our community to be instructed in the practices of strangers, distinguished for their success in the arts of husbandry than, as in the reports of our Commissioner, in their own. Such reports, we think, would have been of great service. A still greater service, however, to the interests of agriculture, we are led to believe, will result from the European tour which Mr. Colman now proposes to undertake, the express object of which is to visit the districts most remarkable for their successful cultivation in England, France, Germany, &c. and, from time to time, to publish reports of his observations, similar to those already issued on the agriculture of Massachusetts. We give Mr. Colman's plan in his own words, as we find it at the close of his Rochester Address.

"Several gentlemen, interested in the advancement of Agricultural science and improvement and of Rural education, have proposed to Mr. Henry Colman, late Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts, to visit Europe for these objects. The plan is for him to spend a year in England in the examination of the Husbandry and Rural Economy of that country, and a year on the Continent in the examination of French, Flemish, Swiss, and German Husbandry, and especially the Agricultural or Manual Labor Schools and the Experimental Farms.

"It is thought that such an examination, as yet never undertaken by an American, might, if well conducted, essentially conduce to the advancement of agricultural knowledge and improvement in this country; and especially serve the cause of rural and practical education, which is now exciting great interest throughout the United States. The general plan of the Survey will conform to Mr. Colman's Survey of the Agriculture of Massachusetts.

"It is proposed to publish his reports in successive numbers. The first number is expected to appear by the first of January, 1844, and

sooner if practicable. The rest of the numbers will follow in convenient succession at intervals of two or three months.

"The whole work will be comprised in eight, or at most, ten numbers of at least 100 pages each, handsomely printed in octavo form, stitched and covered, and embellished with necessary and useful drawings and engravings, title pages and index.

"The cost will be 50 cents each number to subscribers. Gentlemen who subscribe are understood as subscribing for the whole work.

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*Hints on Modern Evangelism, and the Elements of a Church's Prosperity: a Discourse delivered in the Charles Street Baptist Church, [Boston] October 9, 1842. By DANIEL SHARP. Published by request. 8vo. pp. 24.*

If it were not for seeming to interfere with the matters that concern other denominations, and of which they should be left to judge and determine according to their own conscience and wisdom, we should be disposed to go somewhat at large into the very important topic upon which the preacher speaks in the beginning of this Discourse—Modern Evangelism—a fruitful and most momentous question. Dr. Sharp states strong views in objection to the system, in clear, manly, decisive language. They are such as do credit to his well earned reputation for candid and sober-minded devotedness to the most substantial interests of religion. His views of the Elements of a Church's Prosperity, which occupy the larger portion of the sermon, are such as might profitably be addressed to any church in Christendom.

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*The Sleepwaker; A Tale from the German of HEINRICH TSCHOKKE. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842. 18mo. pp. 224.*

THIS is a quite interesting love story, founded on the phenomena of the sleep-waking, or mesmeric state. Believers and unbelievers in the reported wonders of the new science will be alike pleased with this little tale, and acknowledge the ingenuity with which the *matériel* furnished by Animal Magnetism has been converted to the purposes of fiction. Those who are fond of metaphysics too, or of groping in regions of speculation, where

there is no excess of light, will be pleased with the discourses of the beautiful Hortensia, who attempts, in her sleep-waking state, the solution of diverse psychological problems. The translation — by a lady — is made into pure unaffected English, and we cannot doubt is faithful to the original.

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*A Sermon before his Excellency John Davis, Governor, &c., at the Annual Election, on Saturday, January 7, 1843. By SAMUEL C. JACKSON, Pastor of the West Church, Andover. 8vo. pp. 55.*

AN excellent discourse — well designed — well written — sound and judicious in its topics, as should be those which the pulpit addresses to the authorities of the Commonwealth, — respectful to the State, and faithful to the Church. The subject, “Religious Principle a source of Public Prosperity.” The text, “Fear God : honor the King.”

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*Extracts from Periodicals, Intelligence, &c.*

*The Christian Teacher* (published in London and Liverpool) for January, contains five articles, the last only — a review of discourses on the death of Dr. Channing — of general interest. It notices and presents liberal extracts from four of our American sermons on that occasion, viz. Mr. Gannett’s, Mr. Parker’s, Mr. Bellows’s, and Mr. Ellis’s. “On every account,” says the reviewer, “Mr. Gannett’s address at the funeral, and discourse on the subsequent Sunday, claim our first notice. He was addressing Dr. Channing’s people, and his own relations with him were the most intimate. His services are properly marked by these circumstances, and stand out from all the others in the overflowing expression of love, tender and sacred sorrow, and the deep sense of loss and bereavement. The world has lost a light on which it gazed from afar, but to his own people the altar fire is quenched, and accordingly these addresses of the remaining Pastor to the afflicted Church are as the domestic agony and throb to the general lamentation.” Mr. Parker’s is termed a very “striking discourse.” “In the admirable Discourse delivered at New York by Mr. Bellows,” the reviewer remarks, “evincing a true understanding of Dr. Channing’s mind, and a true sympathy with his spirit (there is no higher praise), we find a sentiment which was the first that came over ourselves when told of his death, though we are not sure we should have

had the courage to express it. 'But he is dead! and we feel at first as if the world were only half as well worth living in — since our nature has lost its best defender and illustration; our cause its chief strength and ornament; humanity its most courageous, enlightened, and skilful champion. We look around in vain for the shoulders on which his mantle may descend.' Yet the influences and ministry from God, in Nature and Providence, under which he formed his spirit, and sustained his unworldly life, remain to us as to him. The world is as sacred as before, as true a nursery for noble natures.' "Mr. Ellis's Discourse, which views Dr. Channing as a Christian Philanthropist and Divine, is a very able and interesting production. There is a notice of the kind of influence which he possessed, which echoes what we have already quoted on this subject, and shows the universal agreement among his brethren as to this highest evidence of Power and Love." The Review itself presents quite an able and discriminating view of Dr. Channing's character and writings. The following paragraphs present the principal criticism of the article.

"We would venture to say a few words on the distinguishing character of his mind, and this, we think, lay in what, perhaps, cannot be described in any other way than by calling it '*spiritual discernment*.' It was not by slow inductions that he reached his perception of moral Truths, nor by an elaborate chain of mediate proofs that he communicated them to others. He spoke as a Prophet, — as from immediate vision, — as one who had come from the oracle of his spirit, where he had listened to the everlasting Voice. All true Light he regarded as proceeding from the higher sentiments of the soul, receiving and manifesting God's spirit. To keep his own nature pure, reverential, loving, unstained by the passions, unsullied by appetite and sense, so that God might find it ready for his impulses, and be able to breathe his Holy Spirit through it, — this he regarded as the highest and surest preparation for the reception of Spiritual Truth; and the sense, proceeding to him from such states, of the goodness of God; of the destination and true happiness of man; of an all-embracing love as the only principle of a beneficent connexion with one another or with the universe; of the blessedness of obeying conscience; of the sure triumph and eternal vindication of Righteousness and Mercy, — was not, to him, a mere human or fallible impression, but the solemn affirmation of Almighty God. Religion, and the practical spirit of Christianity, were not to him the products of mere reasoning, but a light struck out by the direct action of God on all the purer states of the human soul. The sentiments of a mind that had striven to purge itself from selfishness and passion, to obey the Laws, and rise to the dignity of its Nature, were to him the ultimate appeal on all subjects of moral and religious truth; divine seeds planted by God in man, to be ripened by unwavering fidelity into the powers and fruits of a heavenly life. 'Faith,' to use his own words, he regarded, 'not as an intellectual exercise, an assent to propositions, but as a spiritual aspiration, a



thirst for perfection, a trust in Christianity as commissioned by God to give us perfection, to inward, moral, celestial, and eternal life.' Now it is this character of mind that displays genius of the highest order, and from which his wonderful power of attraction was derived. He never discusses a question on debateable ground, but at once pours on it a flood of light, by an exposition of the everlasting principles with which it must be brought into harmony. Argument, in the common sense of that word, was not his instrument, no logical power his characteristic, nor in his writings is there to be found much of consecutive thought, — perhaps not a single subject systematically treated, and according to the laws of a philosophical arrangement. It was not that he was deficient in such powers, for his mind was eminently clear, but they were not his highest instruments; he had diviner, brighter, fuller evidences; he rose more freely into the light of those spiritual faculties, sentiments, and aspirations, in whose precepts and revelations there is felt to be no uncertainty. His writings, beyond all others in the language, are marked by a moral inspiration, — he fans the soul of his reader, and elevates it to pure vision, sentiment, and insight. When you close his pages, you may not feel that all the materials of a subject have been placed within your reach, or that you have been made capable of systematically developing it for yourself; — but you feel that *your spiritual nature has been brought into right relations* towards it, that the great principles, the holy and merciful sentiments which ought to determine it, have received from him a new glow of life. His power lies in making you *feel* rightly towards God and man; and few are the questions, in Theology or Social Morality, that require anything more for their settlement than the heart being brought into this right spiritual frame.

"His style partakes of this character of his mind. He presents you with a series of moral intuitions, which are found to exhaust the essence of the subject. Yet the single features are rather taken up numerically, than in any organic connexion. There is no necessary sequence in the order of his topics. His mind emits Light rather than developed thought, and flashes out its intense revelations, often in the fewest possible words, — though his unexhausted interest in a great subject frequently leads him to repeat himself, but never without renewing in his reader the glow of kindred sentiment. He never repeats but to rekindle. His style is a true image of his mind; the spiritual outshines the philosophical faculty; but still the philosophic element is never absent. You are never in any doubt as to the soundness of his views, — however intense may be the light of his sentiments, you always feel that the truths, which are the basis of this interest, are as living Rock." — pp. 106, 107.

*The Reformer* for January notices the same American discourses, and makes the following comparative judgment on the sermons of the two countries. "The English publications on this subject are fewer, we believe, than the American. A comparison of the respective productions of the two countries will not, in our judgment, feed our national vanity. Taken as a whole, there is more talent displayed in the American sermons,

and, with some exceptions, we fear, a stronger and purer *English* style. The divines of both countries may, it is clear, take some useful lessons from each other."

*The London Eclectic Review*, (the organ of orthodox dissenters,) for February, contains a review of the life of Dr. Carpenter, by his son, in its usual Christian and liberal spirit. After praising the manner in which the book has been prepared, the reviewer says, "We do not affect indifference to the point in relation to which the denomination to which he belonged differed from what, in our view, is apostolical Christianity. The reality and magnitude of that point, as entering into the very vitalities of Christian truth and human godliness, this review has ever maintained, though by speaking the truth in love, it has sometimes excited the suspicions of some who cannot think a man in earnest unless he is in a rage, nor give him credit for loving the truth unless he hate heretics. Nevertheless we do rejoice, and express our joy, that while the public and polemical labors of Dr. Carpenter are likely to be the subjects of extensive notice and investigation from his fellow men, they are now enabled to take a nearer and better view of him in other and more interesting and amiable capacities, fulfilling his private and individual course, and discharging the functions of home and friendship. Such a life as his deserved to be written, such a character demanded exhibition, and it is pity that his theological repute and ecclesiastical position should prevent, as they will do, multitudes from reading the one and beholding the other who might greatly profit by both."

This is said in the finest spirit, — equally so is what follows. But this is not the first time the *Eclectic* has given Magee his due.

"As a polemic [Dr. Carpenter's] productions were far more numerous than the natural character of his mind would lead us to expect. Though differing from him on most momentous subjects, on which he wrote as a controversialist, we accept the testimony of his son, that he was more anxious to promote a love of truth, than his own particular opinions. He was certainly free from many of the things, that but too frequently disgrace and disfigure theological combatants. In patient perseverance, clear thought, and honesty and mildness, there are but few superior to him. His style was generally more or less loose and awkward — a circumstance rather remarkable, when his constant habit of writing sermons, and his great practice as an author are recollected. His principal controversial work was his reply to Magee. The learned Bishop's book on the atonement, containing

an immense amount of valuable matter, was in some respects one work of the most singular, and in others one of the most sorrowful works ever published. As a defence of the atonement, the learning and mental vigor of its author make it worthy of a high place in the theological literature of our country, a place which it has obtained and is likely to keep; but its worth is greatly diminished, by its ill arrangement, and especially by its exhibition of a most evil spirit, and all the petty and dishonest arts of controversy. We never met with a work (gladly would we if possible use another language) containing more opprobrious invectives and disgraceful misrepresentations. \* \* \* \* He was hurried on to the employment of methods which nothing can justify or excuse. Dr. Carpenter's temper and spirit are a striking contrast to those of his antagonist, forming but one of too many instances in which the heretic has had the advantage of the orthodox."

The reviewer goes on to give Dr. Carpenter credit for "strong religious tendencies and a remarkable devotional temper," but expresses his "deep and solemn conviction that Dr. Carpenter was a contrast to, rather than a representative of his fellow Unitarians in these respects."

*The Princeton Review* for January furnishes eight articles, and twenty-nine critical notices. The principal articles are upon "Education," "Instruction of Negro Slaves," "Edwards's Works," "The evils of an unsanctified Literature," "The familiar Study of the Bible," "Church Music." In the article on Edwards's Works a parallel is run between the two Edwardses, father and son, which we quote.

"As it is common to compare him with his father, we have no hesitation in declaring him to be, in all essential respects, decidedly his father's inferior. Dr. Emmons in one of those mystic responses, which are so much revered by his admirers, said that 'the father had more *reason* than the son; but the son was a better *reasoner* than his father.' This, like many of his oracular sayings, was more smart than true. As the father's mind was confessedly more prolific and brilliant; as it swept a wider compass and embosomed greater resources; as it was more profound and far-sighted, as it illuminated a greater variety of subjects, and was surer to avoid all deflections from the true orbit of evangelical doctrine; so he was the more powerful reasoner, and formidable antagonist in a controversy. If the son was seemingly more nimble and dexterous in some of his logical movements and evolutions; the father was the more sure-footed, ponderous, and irresistible in his onset upon his foes. If the father sometimes seems more languid and faltering in movements, it is only because he descries some snare or pitfall, by his masterly insight into all the aspects of the case, which it requires great caution and circumspection to shun. If it be granted that with prem-

ises equally good, the son would outstrip the father in reaching the conclusion, it must also be granted, that the father, by reason of his deeper insight, was more sure of having his premises unquestionable, and therefore his conclusions were more impregnable. And as securing the premise is the most material part of good reasoning, the father was the greater reasoner. A still greater superiority appears in all the father's sermons, and writings on practical godliness, above those of the son. They are far more rich, scriptural, tender, moving, instructive, and nutritious; they have far more unction and spirituality; they are less metaphysical, frigid and jejune. The father resorted to metaphysics, because he was driven to them for the refutation of error; and when he could avoid them, preferred the style and teachings of scripture, to the method of the schools. The son resorted to metaphysics, because he loved them, and his mind inclined to cast all subjects in their mould. Such is our view of the relative rank and attributes of these remarkable men."

From the London Atheneum we learn that the Antiquities secured by Mr. Fellows, while in Asia Minor, have safely arrived in London.

"The marbles discovered at Xanthus in Lycia, by Mr. Fellows, have at length reached the British Museum in safety, though from want of a room wherein to place them, they must probably remain for some time unseen by the public. From a hasty glance during the process of unpacking, we have no hesitation in pronouncing them a valuable acquisition to our national collection of art; compensating in some degree for our loss of the Ægina marbles, with which many of the Lycian Sculptures correspond in style, though of an earlier age. A large portion also possess great merit as works of art, though of course far inferior to the Elgin marbles. They include probably some of the earliest efforts of Greek art, which have come down to our time. Foremost in the collection, in point of antiquity, stands the Tomb bearing the reliefs of the Harpies carrying off the daughter of Pandarus, figured in Mr. Fellows's work on Lycia, and probably older than the time of Cyrus. Independently of the mythological interest of the subject represented on it, it is important as an example of the Arabic style of art, which as in Italy is called Pelasgic; the drapery lying in plaits rather than folds, clinging to the body like wet cloths. The eyes have a vacant stare, the faces are without expression, and the hair is like rolls of maccaroni. There is a Persian character about the arrangement of the hair, the pointed beards, and the accessories, which gives a value to the monument in relation to the history and origin of art. We venture to foretel that it will furnish subject-matter for most of the learned societies of Europe, in the discussion of its art and mythology. Beside this there are six or eight friezes, or fragments of friezes in relief, consisting of a great variety of subjects illustrating ancient

manners, dresses, &c. One represents the siege of a walled town, which is delineated with its towers and battlements thronged with soldiery, who are issuing out on a sortie armed with stones to attack an enemy, while in the background appear the watching wives and daughters of the citizens. On another part the walls are being scaled by the enemies, who are mounting the ladders protected by their broad shields. The combatants in this and other instances are represented with great vigor. A hunting scene occupies another frieze, the game being the lion. Then comes a bas-relief of combats, in one section of which, singularly well preserved, the marble being pure white, a wounded warrior is portrayed with great truth and expression leaning on the arm of a female, who bears him off the field. A procession of prisoners with their arms tied behind their backs, resembling in costume and character of the countenance some of those on the Persepolitan sculptures, are led in another frieze before a king, or chief, seated under an umbrella. A long line of figures, carrying offerings of game, poultry, &c. to an altar, where the priest is performing sacrifice, forms a subject by itself; and then fragments of a large frieze of equestrian combats. The riders sit on their horses in a different style from those of the Parthenon, with their heels down, and legs well forward, and some knowledge of horsemanship, of which the equestrians of Phidias seem to have been ignorant. Besides all these, there are several single statues, headless, and mutilated, but distinguished by fine parts, and by an easy flow of complicated drapery. In many instances the colors, with which the backgrounds—perhaps also the figures in the bas-relief—were covered, still remain in the angles and grooves formed by the outline, throwing light on the question of polychromatic decoration. These traces will doubtless soon disappear in a moist climate. Portions of the metal clamps remain; in one instance the leaden reins of a charioteer were found by Mr. Fellows, still adhering to his grasp and attached to the horse's bit. The chariot, it may be remarked, is drawn by the collar, and not by the yoke, as was the practice of the Greeks, a distinction which, together with the tufts, and top-knots on the horses' heads, has a Persian air about it.

“No European museum has received so important and remarkable an addition for many years, as the “Fellows Marbles,” for we trust that name will be applied to them,—as those of the Parthenon are styled the Elgin,—as the proper testimony to the zeal, enterprise, and self-sacrifice exhibited by the gentleman, who first called the attention of the government to them, and with no prospect of reward, beyond the gratitude of all



lovers of the arts, volunteered a third journey into Asia Minor, solely for the purpose of superintending their removal."

*Roman Antiquities.* The *Progressif Cauchois* announces, that the Abbé Cochet has just had some excavations made in the Loges wood, near Chateau Gaillard, a place celebrated in the ancient legends and traditions of the country, and has discovered a Roman dwelling, apparently belonging to a family in the middle ranks of life. This circumstance adds to the value of the discovery, as hitherto only villas of the wealthy have been known to the learned. This habitation is composed of four compartments, three of which are sitting-rooms. The first — the hypocaust or stove-room, is in an excellent state of preservation, and shows clearly the manner of heating employed by the Romans in their northern provinces. About a score of brick pillars are still standing, generally about four fifths of a yard in height. On these pillars the flooring was placed, composed of flat freestone flags, and a considerable portion of it still remains. The walls, which are formed of roughly cut stones, are in some places nine feet high. They are covered over with a thick layer of cement, perforated in a number of places, to allow the hot air to pass into the room from channels, which run round in various directions from the stove. The ceiling is ornamented with fruits and flowers roughly painted on rough mortar. The second room is also flagged with freestone, and has in one corner a pipe to let off the water. This pipe was found stopped with a large cork, when the discovery was made. The third room was unpaved, and in it M. Cochet found fifteen bronze medals of the time of Trajan, Faustinus, and Antoninus. — The *Memorial des Pyrenees* also gives an account of some excavations lately made at Bielle. A fine piece of Mosaic having been discovered by a peasant, while digging his land, further researches were made, and an entire house was laid bare, the walls still standing to a height of three feet. This residence also consists of four chambers, but with the addition of a circular piece, which was at first thought to be a bath room, from the fact of two large pipes of water being made to communicate with it. On removing the floor, however, a tomb of white polished marble was discovered below, containing a skeleton in good preservation. The floors of the chambers were paved with handsome mosaics. Some pieces of pottery, burnt earth, and two columns about nine feet high, one of white, the other of colored marble, have been found, as well as a finely sculptured capital. Excavations and discoveries have also been lately made near Salle, on the road to Limoges, among which may be mentioned a stone mill, for grinding

corn, a small figure in copper of an armed warrior, and some medals, one of which represents a chained crocodile; and a gold medal has been found at Bruneval, of the size of an English half-crown, and the weight of a sovereign, which refers to an interesting epoch in English history, having been struck to commemorate the descent of Edward of York into Great Britain, at the time of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. — *Athenæum*.

*Scandinavian Antiquities.* A letter from Copenhagen states that a peasant of Bœsland in the island of Zealand, whilst ploughing, discovered two gold urns filled with ashes, chased with foliage and fruit, and bearing on the top of the cover, a figure of Odin, the Jupiter of the Scandinavians. This figure is represented as standing, bearing on one shoulder the two crows, Hunin (thought) and Munin (memory), and at its feet two wolves, symbols of its power. The urns are exactly alike in preservation, and admirably wrought. The gold is exceedingly thin, except at the edges. They are about six inches in diameter, including the cover, but not the figure, and their weight is a little more than two pounds. They have been deposited in the Museum of Copenhagen. They are supposed to belong to the fifth century. — *Athenæum*.

*The Spanish Character.* "To the honor of Spain be it spoken, it is one of the few countries in Europe, where poverty is never insulted nor looked upon with contempt. Even at an inn, the poor man is never spurned from the door; and if not harbored, is at least dismissed with fair words, and consigned to the mercies of God and his Mother. This is as it should be. I laugh at the bigotry and prejudices of Spain; I abhor the cruelty and ferocity which have cast a stain of eternal infamy on her history; but I will say for the Spaniards, that in their social intercourse no people in the world exhibit a juster feeling of what is due to the dignity of human nature; or better understand the behavior which it behoves a man to adopt towards his fellow beings. I have said that it is one of the few countries of Europe, where poverty is not treated with contempt, and, I may add, where the wealthy are not blindly idolized. In Spain the very beggar does not feel himself a degraded being, for he kisses no one's feet, and knows not what it is to be cuffed and spitten upon; and in Spain the Duke or Marquis can scarcely entertain a very overbearing opinion of his own importance, as he finds no one, with perhaps the exception of his French Valet, to fawn upon, or flatter him." — *Borrow's Bible in Spain*.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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MAY, 1843.

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THE PHILANTHROPIC ELEMENT IN LITERATURE.

IN what we now term the infancy of literature, Solomon said, "Of making many books there is no end." But of the books, which he found extant, there probably remain in being only the Pentateuch, the Book of Job, and a few of the poems of his own royal father. What a vast freight of promised immortality have these three thousand years carried away as a dream! Of the lost books, which Solomon may have read, the Pentateuch preserves the name of one, with a short extract. It is the "Book of the wars of Jehovah," that is, of great, famous wars, — a poetical work, probably the Iliad of its day, commemorative of heroic darings and achievements, the bard's tribute to men of might and renown, whose world-honored names, he trusted, would bear his own down to the end of time. Why has his book perished? Why is his name, why are the names of his heroes dropped from the memory of man? Probably because the book was a mere war-poem, — an eulogy of deeds that had made men wretched, — of deeds, the praise of which was cherished among the posterity of their heroes, or until the tribe which had achieved them was disbanded, but which had no hold upon the general heart, nothing to call forth the sympathy, or to enlist the affections. Why have the writings of Moses and of David, why has the Book of Job survived, and gone forth into all lands, and been translated into every tongue? Because there was that in them, which appealed to the universal heart, and which found an answering chord in every breast. They addressed man as man, and in tones of love and of sympathy. They revealed the common parentage,

both earthly and heavenly, of all men. They breathed compassion for the poor, kindness for the exile and the stranger. They opened the bosom of eternal love for the repose of the weary, for the refuge of the oppressed. They spake of the unslumbering Shepherd. They drew around the tried and stricken children of earth the mantle of a watchful Providence. They encompassed men's dwellings and daily walks with the hosts of God and the sympathy of heaven. Therefore was it, that, long before literature was wont to pass from nation to nation, and from tongue to tongue, these books were translated and circulated among nations, whose theology differed the most widely from that of the Jews. The philanthropic aim and tendency of these writings preserved and diffused them.

In the present article, we ask the attention of our readers to the philanthropic element, considered as the life-giving and life-preserving principle of literature, as that, without which taste, genius, and eloquence can leave no extensive or enduring impress. By the philanthropic element we mean sympathy with man as man, — a spirit, which surmounts natural barriers, which forgets factitious differences, which regards our common nature as essentially sacred and venerable, and which utters itself with tenderness and love, — in fine, a spirit, which brings the reader, whoever he may be, into face to face communion with the author, and which makes the process of perusal a blending of heart with heart. The motto of the writer, who would give his book free course and length of days, must be, *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

But our theory encounters at the outset a formidable objection in the ancient classics taken collectively. They have little or none of this philanthropic element. They recognise not the intrinsic dignity and worth of the human soul. They are contracted and exclusive in their sympathies. Hatred, contempt, or revenge often gives them their key-note. Even Socrates (in Plato's Dialogues) speaks scornfully of those, who, in humble life, practise the quiet virtues that adorn their station, denies that they can partake or approach the divine nature, and promises them no more worthy fate after death, than transmigration into the bodies of ants, wasps, and bees. Yet those old Greek and Roman writers have survived the nations and languages of their birth, — they enter into all liberal culture, — they nourish youth, — they are the delight of age, and the wreath of their renown is as fresh and green as

when it was first woven. How is it that they still live, if philanthropy is the breath of life to literature?

We reply, that the history of the classics is not even an exception to the principle which we have laid down; but, on the other hand, strikingly illustrates and confirms it. For, in the first place, how exceedingly small a proportion, (probably much less than a thousandth part,) of ancient classical literature has come down to us! What a multitude of philosophers and of poets, renowned in their day, have transmitted only as much knowledge of themselves, as may be compressed within five lines of a classical dictionary! The Alexandrian Library contained *seven hundred thousand* volumes, most of them, undoubtedly, single copies of works, which had ceased to be read or known, which, even if works of genius, never had any permanent hold upon the interest or sympathy of mankind, and to which, already dead, the fanatical Christians who burned the library only added the honors of a funeral pile; for, even before the art of printing, the conflagration of a single library, or of a score of libraries, could not have destroyed a *living* literature.

The strongest proof, that classical literature had no intrinsic vitality, may be drawn from the history of the civilized world in the interval between the dismemberment of the Roman Empire and the revival of letters. For the citizens of the empire transmitted to their rude conquerors from the North, not the literature which was indigenous among themselves, but a provincial literature, full of foreign idioms, which they had borrowed from despised Judæa. This was not because the conquered people were religious devotees. Primitive piety then burned low in the church, and the senseless glitter of mere form had hidden the power of godliness. The Scriptures were but partially diffused, imperfectly understood, and superficially obeyed. Their direct influence upon individual character was hardly perceptible. But yet, by their catholic, humane, philanthropic spirit, they had so inwrought themselves into the body politic, and so leavened the whole mass of society, as to sustain the fiercest shock of revolution, nay, the entire disintegration of the social system, and to mingle anew with its chaotic elements, as they were fused into other forms, and a life more hardy, though less refined. Now, as it was barely the social and intellectual influence of the Scriptures, which thus survived the rush of desolating hordes, and subdued the con-



querors, had classical literature taken any strong hold upon the general mind and heart, there is no conceivable reason why that also should not have penetrated the new organization of the social elements, and impressed its traces deep and clear upon the history and monuments of the dark ages. But we discern no such traces. The age immediately preceding that of the barbarian inroads had lost all purity of taste and beauty of literary execution, — the time-hallowed imagery of the classics had become time-worn and obsolete, — the forms of the Augustan age had been racked and warped, its idioms diluted, its graphic terseness of diction beaten out into a verbose and lumbering dialect, an attenuated, enervated Latin, which Cicero would hardly have recognised as his native tongue. Classical literature had lost its power over those of its own household ; and, when aliens overran its home, liberty of concealment, undisturbed oblivion was the highest boon which it could obtain, and that only for a few of its master-spirits. There was no transfusion of its harmonious breathings into a new literature, or into the life-blood of the nations that entered upon its heritage. No strains from Mantua or Tibur were taught to blend with the hoarse war-cry of Goth and Hun. No Athenian or Roman culture moulded the manners or formed the minds of the invaders. But the writings of the Galilean fishermen worked their way with inconceivable rapidity into the hearts and habits of those fierce idolators, quenching the fires of their often bloody superstitions, infusing a spirit of humanity, cherishing pacific counsels and arts, and mingling even with the savage code of war principles of honor and forbearance. To be sure, the sacred writings themselves were soon hidden from the people, nay, from the very priests, hidden in cloister libraries, and in a tongue which was fast growing obsolete. Yet they inspired and pervaded what little of literature, what little of eloquence there was. Their teachings, though *travestied*, were not utterly obscured in the legends and homilies of those days. Their spirit, though with much base admixture, breathed in all that was courteous and beneficent in the institutions of chivalry, in the respect, before unknown, with which the female character was regarded, in the growth of hospitality, in the establishment of public charities. We call those ages dark ; yet the darkness was not that of a starless night, but rather that of a cloudy day. And the clouds were one by one dispersing, — the light was perpetually

waxing brighter,— the written word was gradually disenthraling itself, and breaking forth in the purer teachings and holier lives of its guardians. The sun at length cast clear, full rays upon the dial-plate of the ages, and the shadow trembled towards the high noon of the Reformation. It was not till then, that the surviving fragments of ancient literature came forth from the hiding places, which religion had furnished them; and they were sought out and called forth by the extension to the departments of taste and mental culture of the same quickening influences, which had led on the Reformation.

But the revival of letters (so called) was an isolated phenomenon, fraught with no far-reaching results, exerting no extensive sway over the destiny of the race. In saying this, we are, indeed, running counter to received theories; but facts are on our side. For classical learning in its revival took its first start, and reached its highest point, in its own soil of Italy; yet there the intellectual impulse was of narrower extent and shorter duration than elsewhere, and was closely followed by an age of literary imbecility and plagiarism, and of political and religious profligacy, which gave place only to the death-shadows of universal ignorance and degradation. The reason of this was, that the Italian mind, when roused from its long lethargy, found in the department, to which it applied itself, nothing to expand and elevate its highest powers, nothing adapted to awaken heart-interest and heart-sympathy, nothing diffusive in its nature, and fitted to become the basis of general culture and progress. But the same mental impulse, in Germany, while it availed itself of the disinterred treasures of classic antiquity, assumed a religious direction, was inspired and urged on by that marvellous literature of Judæa, the fountain of living waters to all ages and nations, was transmitted from province to province, and from land to land, and is still at work throughout Protestant Christendom. In this movement there was vitality and the widest diffusiveness. The books which inspired it, and those which grew from it, were for all people. Luther's Bible found its way into every cottage in Germany. The noble lyrics of the Reformation were heard from the sheep-cot and the farm-yard. The infant literature of Germany, in every department, breathed a spirit, which addressed the universal human heart, which gave it free course, and made it both living and life-giving,— indeed, the same spirit, which prompted that ever memorable rejoinder of

William Tyndale to the Popish priest : " If God give me life, ere many years the ploughboys shall know more of the Scriptures than you do."

The view, which we have presented of classical literature, derives confirmation from its present condition. It is now nowhere a living literature. Its forms of unrivalled beauty are, indeed, and will be for ages to come, to the curious, refined, and educated taste, objects of intense interest and admiration ; but they are like the mummies taken from Egyptian catacombs, full of the traces of consummate art, with no symptom of decay, bearing too the closest semblance to life, but without the breath of life. They were in their native tone and spirit strictly local and national ; and can hardly be read with interest or profit, except by those, who can abstract themselves from their own position in time and space, and conjure up around themselves the very atmosphere of classic days and scenes. They, therefore, can never be extensively read. In translations they will be enjoyed by but few, who are incapable of enjoying them in their original languages. Popular translations of them there can never be. Literal versions, like Cowper's Homer, will find no readers. Paraphrases as free, and as full of modernisms as Pope's Homer, may be worn by the hands of many on account of these same modernisms, but will be read with enjoyment by none ; for to the scholar they will seem a mere *travestie*, while the common reader will have his interest arrested only by the patches of new cloth sewed upon the old garment.

Meanwhile, there is an outcry in many quarters against classical learning, and that, not only in the highway and the market-place, but in our very seats of learning, among those who administer the chief literary institutions of our country. Nay, in some of them, an unworthy capitulation has been already made with the enemy. Juvenal and the *Iliad* have been thrown away for the privilege of retaining Horace and Xenophon, and the University, no longer *Alma Mater*, afraid, if faithful, of being left utterly chillness, consents to turn her young half-fledged from her nest. We are far from sympathizing with this state of feeling. We deem no man master of his own tongue, till he has become conversant with those so unlike, and yet both most perfect vehicles of thought and sentiment, the Greek and Latin languages. We regard no man as fit to sit in judgment on the current literature of the day,

none, (with here and there a rare exception,) as competent to write that which deserves to live, who has not a taste purged and chastened by a familiarity with those faultless models of the art of writing, — the birth of ages, when writing was a rare and generous art, instead of coming, as it now does, by nature, when there were those, who could bear to use the reversed *stylus*, and could suppress a finished work till the *ninth* year, when, (to borrow an Eastern metaphor,) apples of gold found no favor, unless set in pictures of silver. But yet this hostility to the classics, barbarous and unworthy as it is, has more meaning and a broader basis, than even those who wage the warfare know; for there is such a thing as men's not understanding their own ideas, and the enemies of the classics are seldom among those, who are capable of analyzing their own thoughts and sentiments. But they are not all actuated by that bald, narrow, heartless utilitarianism of which they are accused. They are willing that their sons should study much, that has no direct bearing upon the business of life. They will let them study the higher mathematics, which they will never need to use, — various branches of natural science, which lie entirely aside from their future vocations, — modern languages, which they can never need to write or speak. But these good people underrate the classics, because they themselves have received nothing from them. Science they revere as the truth of God. The literatures of modern Europe they respect, because, even in their contracted reading, they have derived more or less of elevating and quickening influence from all of them, and from each some well thumbed version is among the fireside favorites. But no life-giving rays have dawned upon them from classic antiquity. They have, indeed, looked now and then at some translation, but have found it bristling with hard names and exploded superstitions, with sieges and single combats, with no intermingling of such sentiments as are the property of the universal human heart, with no resonance from those world-embracing chords, to which every bosom throbs a quick response. They have not been able to reach the high table-land, from which the surpassing beauties of the classics can be seen in their true perspective. "Words! Words! Words!" is their inward exclamation, when they are urged to spare the good old system of careful, thorough training in the Greek and Latin; and, while they would not restrict education to the knowledge, which will bake men's bread and sail their

ships, they prefer that, if anything more is to be learned, it shall be in departments, which, in ways that they themselves can trace or comprehend, may either elevate the mind or expand the affections.

In speaking of the classics as deficient in the philanthropic element, in scenes and sentiments adapted to take strong hold upon the affections, we have only represented them as destitute of what, from the necessity of the case, they could not have had. The social and domestic affections must breathe in full vigor in a truly living literature; and, (as we attempted to show in a recent number of this journal,\*) these affections owe their intensity and depth for the most part to revealed religion. It is, indeed, hard to find truly pathetic passages in the writings of the ancients. We doubt whether their most moving descriptions ever call forth tears; and, were it not for the venerable mantle of antiquity that screens them from ridicule, their very pathos might sometimes provoke a smile. Take, for instance, the following description from Homer of the grief of Achilles on the death of Patroclus, which would suit much better the rage of a whipped schoolboy, than the sorrow of a bereaved friend.

“Then clouds of sorrow fell on Peleus’ son,  
And, grasping with both hands the ashes, down  
He poured them on his head, his graceful brows  
Dishonoring, and back the sooty shower  
Descending settled on his fragrant vest.  
Then, stretched in ashes, at the vast extent  
Of his whole length he lay, disordering wild  
With his own hands, and rending off his hair.  
The maidens, captived by himself in war  
And by Patroclus, shrieking from the tent  
Ran forth, and hemmed the glorious chief around.  
All smote their bosoms, and all fainting fell.  
On the other side, Antilochus, dissolved  
In tears, held fast Achilles’ hand, and groaned  
Continually from his heart, through fear  
Lest Peleus’ son should perish self-destroyed.” †

This is an outline of mere animal passion, and makes not the remotest approach to the citadel of genuine heart-sorrow. Contrast with this the sublime tranquillity, and at the same

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\* November, 1842.† Cowper’s *Iliad*.



time the rich depth of feeling, the beautiful blending of love and grief with holy trust and the strength that God alone can give, with which a well known modern poetess\* has clothed a Christian wife, as she bends over the body of her husband, who dies the victim of an unjust accusation.

“ She wiped the death-damps from his brow,  
With her pale hands and soft,  
Whose touch upon the lute-chords low  
Had stilled his heart so oft.  
She spread her mantle o’er his breast,  
She bathed his lips with dew,  
And on his cheeks such kisses pressed  
As hope and joy ne’er knew.

“ Oh! lovely are ye, Love and Faith,  
Enduring to the last!  
She had her meed, — one smile in death, —  
And his worn spirit passed.  
While even as o’er a martyr’s grave  
She knelt on that sad spot,  
And weeping, blessed the God who gave  
Strength to forsake it not.”

The question may be here raised : If classical literature has so little of the philanthropic element as has been represented, and is thus false to the affections, which constitute the glory of human nature and the charm of life, wherein consists its value? Why should the classics still form an essential branch of liberal culture? In reply, we will briefly state wherein lies, as seems to us, the peculiar and inestimable value of the classics.

1. As works of art the writings of the ancients are unequalled, and will probably forever remain unequalled, certainly can never be surpassed. And this distinction they owe to the very deficiency, which we have been setting forth, — to their lack of the philanthropic element. It was in those early days with the art of writing, as with painting, sculpture, and architecture, all which reached as high a degree of outward finish and polish, as they have attained in modern times, attracted profound admiration, gained eternal fame, but were deficient in those traits, which excite deep emotion and call the finer sensibilities into exercise. The aim of both artists and

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\* Mrs. Hemans.

writers in the classic ages was, not to move, but to please, — not to excite feeling, but to gratify taste. This end can be accomplished only by consummate perfectness of form and finish. For, when the heart is not deeply moved, criticism is awake and keen, — every defect, every blemish is detected, — anything short of entire symmetry, wholeness, and unity fails to please. Hence arose the doctrine of the unities of time, place, and scene, as essential to a dramatic or epic poem, particularly to the former. Hence sprang many rigid rules of composition, to which the ancients willingly submitted, because writing was to them a mere trial of skill, a kind of intellectual gymnastics, but which would have been as fetters and handcuffs upon Shakspeare, or Milton, or Wordsworth. The ancients wrote, indeed, with enthusiasm, but not with sensibility. Their enthusiasm was for a purely intellectual ideal, for artistical beauty and perfectness, for rhythmical and melodious words and cadences, for fine-spun thought and burnished metaphor. Modern literature, on the other hand, aims primarily at impression. It appeals to the sentiments and affections, more than to the taste. And, where the heart is awake, criticism becomes dormant; form and finish are mere secondary considerations; faults of taste may glide in unperceived; abrupt transitions, broken metaphors cease to startle; and the most fragmentary forms of literature, if they take their stamp from the mint of the affections, have no less value, than if they had been wrought out and rounded off with the most consummate skill. When the affections give the spring to literature, they produce a revolution among writers, no less than among readers. They push forward many, who have beauty of soul, but no eye for form, — who can utter breathing thoughts, if they may only be permitted to clothe them in the burning words, which presided at their birth. But strong feeling in an author is in itself unfavorable to nice and delicate finish of style. Glowing thoughts grow cool beneath the chisel. Sentiments, which fill the whole soul, cannot be detached, and held at arm's length, and viewed dispassionately, to see where they need paring, and where piecing; but in that very process they grow tame and common-place. The tendency, therefore, of modern literature is to a neglect of art and method, of polish and revision, — a tendency so strong as to need and demand some powerful counteracting influence. This is to be found in familiarity with classical literature, — not in the imitation of the

classics as models, but in the early, diligent, thorough education, by their means, of the taste, of the artistical sense, of the keen eye for beauty and the quick ear for harmony. The writer thus trained will blend soul and form, strength and grace, nerve and symmetry, — his quick-coming fancies will robe themselves in beauty, — his most rapid flow of thought will be music.

2. There is another ground, on which classical literature is inestimably precious. The classics wrote in a newer, younger world than ours. They were in the process of learning many things now well known. They were taking first glances with earnestness and wonder at many things now old and trite, no less worthy of admiration than they were then, but lost sight of and forgotten. They give us first impressions of nature and of life, which we can get nowhere else. They show us ideas, sentiments, and opinions in the process of formation, exhibit to us their initial elements, reveal their history. They make known to us essential steps in human culture, which in these days of more rapid progress we stride over unmarked. They are thus invaluable aids in the study of the human mind, and of the intellectual history of the race, in the philosophical analysis of ideas and opinions, in ascertaining, apart from our artificial theories, the ultimate, essential facts in every department of nature and of human life. For these uses, the classics will increase in value with the lapse of time, and with every stage of human progress and refinement, so that, though classical literature can never be popular, it must ever be a favorite handmaid of sound philosophy.

We will now turn from classical to sacred literature. The Scriptures, taken collectively, are mainly indebted to the philanthropic element for the interest, which attaches itself to them among all nations and conditions of men. They are, indeed, made quick and powerful in their action upon the moral nature by the same divine spirit, through whose aid they were written. But, when we consider them purely in a literary point of view, we must bring the phenomena of their diffusion and reception under the laws, which govern literature. Now it is an undeniable fact, that, without reference to their religious uses, the Scriptures are read with avidity wherever they are a new book, that they have a peculiar charm for the young, are attractive to the unenlightened, are heard or read with gladness in the far-off islands and settlements, whither

missionary enterprise has carried them, and at the same time furnish rich and ever new gratification to the most refined and cultivated taste, while they extort the unwilling tribute of intellectual admiration from those, who deny and oppose the religion which they reveal. This universal adaptation of the Bible to the tastes of man, and to such widely various tastes, bearing kindred to each other through a common nature alone, can be accounted for, as we think, only by the fact, that it is full of the spirit of humanity, that it breathes diffusive kindness, love without limit or alloy, that it reconciles man to man, and makes all feel the same fraternal and filial tie, that it addresses those elements and affections, which belong to man's essence, and not to the accidents of his condition. The Mosaic Law has been termed by shallow, short-sighted critics, a hard yoke for a stubborn people. But, in point of fact, it is full of the broadest principles of freedom, humanity, and kindness. Its measure of philanthropy, and of tender thoughtfulness for the rights and wants of all, is beyond that of even the political millennium of modern theorists. The whole Levitical code is pervaded by the most loving spirit for the lowly and distressed. He, who has waxen poor, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, is to be relieved without delay. If he pledge his mantle, it must be restored to him before night-fall. The sun must not go down upon the hireling's unpaid wages; "for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it." The careful gleaning of the harvest and the second beating of the fruit-tree are forbidden the wealthy owner, and left to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. National distinctions are to be merged in the claims of a common nature. "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye know the heart of a stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." How like the cool breath of heaven upon the seared brow must precepts like these ever fall upon the bruised and oppressed spirit, upon the soul that has been shut out from sympathy, and has bowed under the inequalities, burdens, and mortifications incident to the most free and perfect social state, which, except under an avowed theocracy, man can ever attain! But with how much higher power comes home to the universal heart the fact, foreshadowed in prophecy, portrayed in the New Testament, that God lighted up his only spotless image upon earth amidst the lowliest forms and fortunes of humanity! Here the ex-

tremes of the spiritual universe are brought together. God takes up his tabernacle among the despised and rejected of men; man, the stricken, way-worn, burden-bearing, is lifted to be the peer of angels and a partaker of the divine nature. And then, in the Scriptures both Old and New, man finds himself encircled as in the arms of a motherly tenderness, is made to feel that a compassionate regard ever rests upon him, sees eyes of God and hears voices of love in every scene of nature and of life. It is this spirit, which carries a welcome for the Bible, and causes its beauty and grandeur to be felt and owned even by those, who have no taste for its humbling doctrines, no will for its self-denying duties.

To pass from the Scriptures to the literature, into which they have breathed the philanthropic element, we would refer to one department of literature, which this element has almost created, namely, that, which has for its office the delineation of natural scenery, — a large and cherished department in modern Christendom, but which, except in the Bible, has left but few and vague vestiges among the remains of ancient literature; for among the classics descriptions of nature are very rare, and, when they do occur, are generally incidental and fragmentary.\* Man cannot bear the contemplation of nature, unless the Creator's smile be reflected from it. Reader, did you ever see a little child taken by his father to view some glittering pageant, to the child's eye immensely vast and grand? And have you not marked how such a child will, every moment, look away from the gay show up to his father's face, as if to fortify himself by a glance of love? And does not the child say, in that mute appeal, that he is dazzled and bewildered by the gay show, and could not look upon it with a safe and happy feeling, unless he were supported by his father's eye? Just such emotions we have all had, when we have stood by the ocean or on the mountain-top, when we have considered the heavens, and beheld the stars, as "at the commandment of the Holy One they stand in their order, and faint not upon their watches." We have been amazed and bewildered. We have felt lonely and desolate; and a silent,

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\* The *pastoral* poetry, many beautiful specimens of which have come down to us from classic antiquity, constitute no exception to this remark; for the Greek and Latin *pastorals* hardly ever present to us the *still life* of nature, but depend for their interest mainly upon the *dramatic* element.



shuddering awe has come over us. These emotions are the child's yearning for the Father's eye. We cannot bear to find ourselves in a universe so vast, unless we stand in the felt presence of one, who numbers the hairs of our heads and the sands of our lives. The Atheist would carefully cut himself off from every grand and extensive view of nature, would shun the ocean and the mountain, would close his eyes to the crimson sunset and the gemmed vault of night; for all these things would tell him what a lonely being he was and how unprotected, would speak to him of agencies beyond his control or calculation, of powers of nature far mightier than his boasted intellect. In like manner, could the polytheist have taken no unalloyed satisfaction in the contemplation or description of nature; for to him it was cantoned out among "gods many and lords many," among deities of limited power, of conflicting interests, of brutal passions, among deities, who might sleep or be on a journey, whose presence could not be invoked, or their aid depended upon with any degree of assurance. In a fatherless universe, or in a creation tenanted by vague, uncertain, and divided deity, the social craving is not met. The cry still is,

"Live not the stars and mountains? Are the waves  
Without a spirit? Are the dropping caves  
Without a feeling in their silent tears?"

It is only, when nature speaks to us in accents of love, when our souls in very truth feel

"the intense  
Reply of *hers* to our intelligence,"

that her hills and valleys, her stars and waters invite and attract us. It is only this intimate communion with the paternal spirit in nature, which can give either the wish or the power so to portray her scenes, that the portraiture shall live in the memory of man, and pass from land to land and from age to age. All those, who have written sweetly and constrainingly in this department, have occupied the attitude of high-priests and interpreters of Nature as she lies bathed in the Creator's blessing, and have discharged this loving ministry in a loving spirit. It is because Cowper occupies this position, that he lives still, while many of his contemporaries of greater vigor of thought, and finer polish of style, are already consigned to ob-

livion. It is because Wordsworth exercises the same ministry, that neither ridicule nor reason can deprive him of his power over our sensibilities, or make him otherwise than a favorite with the people.

Of all modern writers, Shakspeare undoubtedly exhibits the most of the philanthropic element. He holds the key to every chamber of the human heart, and to every department of human experience. He touches chords, that vibrate among all classes and conditions of men. So pointedly, and yet in so loving a spirit, does he express many of those ideas and sentiments that are common to all men, that numerous single sentences of his have detached themselves, and worked their way into the mouths of those, who never read a line of Shakspeare. If he ever transgresses truth in his representations, he errs on the side of humanity. His guilty heroes are, it may be, clothed with more noble traits of character, with more that claims sympathy, and the mingling of reverence with detestation, than we often find in the history of actual crime. But then he never palliates guilt. He only makes you love the man in spite of his sin, — makes you admire the temple in its defilement and its ruins. He cannot even mask the humane element long enough to carry a stratagem through. In the feigned death of Juliet, when he arrives at the real sorrow and heart-agony of her parents, he cannot let them go uncomforted, and having no other comforter at hand, he inconsistently enough puts into the lips of the very author of the stratagem, whose words of consolation, if he uttered any, should have been few, slow, and measured, that surpassingly rich flow of soothing and elevating sentiment:

“Heaven and yourself  
Had part in this fair maid; now heaven hath all,  
And all the better is it for the maid;  
Your part in her you could not keep from death;  
But heaven keeps his part in eternal life.  
The most you sought was — her promotion;  
For 't was your heaven she should be advanced;  
And weep ye now, seeing she is advanced,  
Above the clouds, as high as heaven itself?  
O, in this love, you love your child so ill,  
That you run mad, seeing that she is well.”

Of modern authors, who have enjoyed a wide-spread celeb-

riety, Scott has perhaps the least of the philanthropic element. He has sympathy, but it runs in veins, — love, but it is for man's accidents, not for man himself. He is a worshipper of the conventional. Piety must wear the robe of the establishment, patriotism must be wrapped in a tory's mantle, else he is more likely to hold it up for scorn and contumely, than for respect and reverence. In saying this, we forget not Jeannie Deans; but, in reading her story, we forget Scott, and cannot believe ourselves guided through so lovely an exhibition of pure, simple-hearted Scotch piety, by the same man, who elsewhere never loses an opportunity to make sport of religion in Presbyterian attire, and spares not even the truly apostolic zeal and sanctity of those good old Covenanters, of whom the world was not worthy. We have called Scott a worshipper, we might better have termed him the high-priest, of the conventional. He moulded it into the most life-like forms; but the Promethean spark is wanting. His works have met with no more fame, than his genius merited. His vivid fancy reproducing scenes and groups of olden time, his vast power of combination, his fidelity at once to his plot and to the individuality of every personage, his easy and fluent diction, his general loftiness and purity of moral sentiment, undoubtedly constitute him the most perfect artificer of fiction that the world has ever seen. As such, he has been idolized by the generation just passing off the stage, and by that now upon the stage; but it cannot be denied that his promised immortality has passed its climax. With the rising generation he is supplanted by authors embodying more of that philanthropic element, without which the ascendancy of no man's genius will much outlast his life-time.

Of these new favorites, in a former article,\* we spoke at some length of Dickens, then the last favorite, and still our last, though it is hardly possible that his whole year's silence, and then his free and righteous strictures upon American manners, should not have transferred to other brows the laurels given by a changeful public. His men are not indeed made of the fine porcelain earth, of which Scott knows how to shape them. But then they are made, as God made man, out of the dust of the ground; and they are living men, — as men, because they are men, claiming our sympathy and reverence. His stories

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\* March, 1842.

are confused in plot, hurried and awkward in the *denouement*, sometimes slovenly, though oftener surpassingly beautiful, in style, sometimes lingering too long amidst coarseness and vulgarity; but, all the while, they breathe a tender sympathy with man as man, in whatever garb, under whatever culture. He is doing more than any other living or recent writer, to open the fountains of kindly feeling, and diffusive world-embracing charity, and to inspire deep compassion, earnest prayer, faithful effort for the toiling, suffering, and neglected of our race. That his works will outlive his own generation we may not presume to say. But they cannot lose their hold upon the general heart, till other writers shall arise, who shall blend his spirit of humanity with more exquisite art and a more highly finished diction.

A word or two in conclusion, with reference to the province and duty of authors. The only worthy object of writing is to convince men of that which is true, or to persuade them to that which is good. The highest aim is to convince of truth, or to persuade to goodness the greatest number. Love is the only lever, which can move the moral universe. The counsel then to the future author should be: Cultivate the true spirit of philanthropy. Cherish every principle and element of our common nature. Form yourself to a close and tender sympathy with the universal heart. When you write, address yourself to that heart. Speak as man to man. Be not satisfied, unless you feel the pulsation of your own heart sent back to you from those, for whom you write. Write not for fame; if you do, you will never get it. Write not for self; for the law of all self-seeking is, "None that seek shall find." But write in love. Write what a loving spirit prompts. Write that you may do good. This purpose will give you strength, — will add nerve to your thoughts and wings to your words. You will do good, and get good. You may trace your own rill of benevolent effort far and long, before it mingles with the full tide of human progress; or, if not, in that better world, where all high aims and worthy efforts are treasured up, the rill will flow apart again and forever.

A. P. P.

## ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

THE doctrine of the atonement is sometimes described, both by its friends and adversaries, as if it implied that sentiments of mercy in the Divine Father were first inspired by the mediation of the Son; that the former was full of wrath, until it was assuaged by the interposition of the latter. But, on the contrary, it is distinctly maintained by others, among whom may be numbered Calvin and Watts, that the design of redemption, by the ministry of the Son, originated with the Father; that it was not the Son who disposed the Father to thoughts of mercy, but the mercy of the Father induced Him to appoint the Son to the office and the work of saving men from their sins!

The difference may be expressed by the terms, "would not," and "could not." Those who embrace the "could not" theory of the atonement, as the orthodox one, reject the other as a misrepresentation. It was not, they say, that God wanted a heart, and "would not" be merciful, but because he "could not" (could not consistently, could not with moral propriety,) spare, forgive, and save sinners, that the work of making atonement was indispensably needful. There must be satisfaction made to the law, truth, and justice of God. The atonement, therefore, is vicarious in its character. It is one thing substituted for another. It is the death of the "Just One" in the room and stead of the ungodly.

This view of the doctrine of the atonement is thought to be sustained chiefly by 1. The literal interpretation of certain texts of Scripture; 2. Its indispensable necessity to the support of moral government, which, if God should pardon the sins of men on the ground of their repentance only, would be essentially impaired, and even virtually annulled.

Having given what we understand this theory and ground of the doctrine of the atonement to be, we shall proceed to make a statement of some of the difficulties to which it is manifestly exposed.

1. It is not sustained by the sense of the word *atonement*, either in the Old Testament or in the New. It is acknowledged that the use of the word, in the New Testament, is not in this sense. It here signifies the reconciliation of man to God, not the reconciliation of God to man. But it is contend-



ed that in the Old Testament the word bears its technical and doctrinal import; the reconciliation of God to man. Even there, however, its import does not accord with the theory. It there has the "would not," instead of the "could not," sense of the term. "And the Lord said unto Moses, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against this people and consume them. But Moses besought the Lord his God, saying; Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people? — Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants. — And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." Exodus, xxxii. 10, 11, 14. Here the representation is that of the "would not." And such, also, in Num. xvi. 46. "And Moses said unto Aaron, take a censer and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly into the congregation and make an atonement for the people, for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun." "And they stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed." Of a similar character is the case of Phinehas, related in chap. xxv. 11. "And the Lord said, Phinehas the son of Eleazar hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, that I consumed them not in my jealousy." It is, therefore, a clear case, supported by an induction of plain examples, that the doctrine as stated above does not correspond to the representations of it, even in the Old Testament. And if it be not found either in the Old or in the New Testament, the fact is ominous.

2. None of the atonements, above noted, were made by burnt offerings or sacrifices for sin. No victim was immolated, no blood was shed, no altar was lighted up, no sacrifice was consumed. On the ground, that the orthodox theory of the atonement is true, the fact ought to have been very different. And how is this difficulty to be resolved? Moses prayed; Aaron made an offering of burnt incense; and "Phinehas stood up and executed judgment." By these means were the atonements made; by such bloodless sacrifices was the reconciliation of Jehovah procured. Let this fact have its due consideration.

3. But very few of the sacrifices, under the Old Dispensation, were of an expiatory character; *burnt offerings for sin*. There were meat offerings, drink offerings, peace or festive offerings, thank offerings, heave offerings, and the common burnt offerings; but only a very few were trespass or sin offerings.

All of them, however, should have been of this description, if the orthodox doctrine concerning them be correct. What is their doctrine on this subject? It is that the whole institution of sacrifices was prospective of the death of Christ; types of Him as the vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the world; wholly unmeaning and inexplicable on any other principle; and that this character of them was understood by the saints of the ancient church. That the true character of them was understood must be admitted, for otherwise they would have been deceptive and useless. But none of the Jewish saints and prophets have given this character to sacrifices. They are all entirely silent on this subject. Moses intimates no such thing; nor does David; nor the author of the book of Job; nor any of the prophets. The passage, Ps. xl. 6, 7, 8, so often misapplied, is no exception. It is manifest that the whole ancient church was totally in the dark in regard to this great fact, if it be a fact. And is all this credible? Will any orthodox man give us the solution?

But what was the true original design of sacrifices? Was it the worship of God, or the prefiguration of the Messiah's death, that great vicarious sacrifice for sin? If the latter, why were they not all burnt offerings for sin? Why did they not all consist in the immolation of living victims? Why were many of them meat offerings, drink offerings, incense offerings, and the offering of the first fruits? In these there was nothing vicarious or expiatory; nothing prefigurative of bloodshed and death. They certainly were not types of the Messiah's sufferings and death. They were, it is manifest, mere acts of worship; expressions of veneration, gratitude, and prayer to God. And if these were acts of worship, so, undoubtedly, were the whole class of sacrificial offerings. The design must have been one. One purpose, one object, one moral element, must have extended to the whole, and originated them. As one natural property pertained to every sacrifice, its destruction, its loss to the sacrificer for God's sake; so one moral principle must have pervaded their origin, design, and use. And was this to honor God, or to symbolize a future event? If the latter, then it was not the former; and if the former, then it was not the latter.

It is recorded of Cain and Abel, that each "brought an offering unto the Lord." The expression carries on the face of it the idea of doing honor to God; an act of worship. Orthodox commentators have said that Cain's offering failed to be

acceptable, because it was not a living victim for a burnt offering. But when God instructed Cain on this subject, He gave no intimation of a fault in this respect. The cause of non-acceptance was assigned to another account. "If thou livest well, thou shalt be accepted ; but if thou livest not well thou sinnest and canst not be accepted."

Throughout the Old Testament the constant representation is, that the design of sacrifices was the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah. "Honor the Lord with thy substance and with the first fruits of thine increase, so shall thy barns be filled with wheat and thy presses burst forth with new wine." "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me — robbed me in tithes and in offerings. Bring ye in all the tithes and offerings, and let there be meat in my house and prove me therewith, saith Jehovah, if I do not pour down blessings that there be not room enough to receive them."

The apostle Paul makes abundant use of the Jewish paraphernalia for the illustration of facts belonging to Christianity. "Which things," says he, "were a figure for the time present." But in what sense were they figures or types? Not in a primary and technical sense ; for they were not so understood. But they were fit to be accommodated to *the purpose of illustration*. The high priest was a type of Christ ; the most holy place, a type of heaven ; and the Old Covenant, a type of the New — in the same sense that the flood and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah were a type of the ruin, that afterwards fell upon the Jewish nation from the Roman armies. Had they been types in the proper and highest sense, and that, the design of them, it were requisite that this design should have been revealed and known. Such, however, manifestly was not the fact.

4. The Saviour, in the New Testament, is called a Lamb ; "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." And He is so called in allusion to the paschal lamb, made use of in the celebration of the Jewish Passover. "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." Now the paschal lamb was not a sin-offering ; not an expiatory sacrifice ; not a sacrifice at all, in the legal and technical sense. It was not brought to the altar, nor slain in the sanctuary, nor offered by a priest ; but brought home ; slain at home ; roasted and eaten at home. Its use was significant and monumental. It was a signal of protection from God. With the exception of the first passover,

it looked backward and not forward. In what sense, then, was the paschal lamb a sacrifice? It could be such only in a secondary and distant one; not in a strict and proper sense. Of course, the Lord Jesus Christ may be a sacrifice only in a sense similar and equivalent. His death, certainly, was not a sacrifice in form; not according to the directions of the law. He was not brought to the altar, nor slain by those who ministered thereat, nor was His blood caught in bowls and sprinkled about in the Sanctuary; nor His flesh consumed with fire. No one offered Him as a sacrifice, not even Himself, in the ritual import of the word. The obvious inference is, that Christ was a sacrifice only in the free, distant, and accommodation-sense of the term. And in the same sense, it must be, that He died for His people; bare their sins; cleanses them by His blood, and justifies them by His death.

5. The manner in which the blood of Christ is, in the New Testament, represented as working its saving effect, does not support the doctrine of expiation. His blood is described as an agent of purification. "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanses us from all sin." 1 John i. 9. But to cleanse is not to expiate. The two terms differ in their import. The one signifies to make clean, to purify; the other to cancel an offence, to remove the ground of punishment. Such is its import in the language of orthodoxy. It does not admit, but denies, that the purification of the heart from sin is, of itself, a condition of a man's pardon. But in the New Testament, the blood of Christ is declared to be the cause (moral, of course) of cleansing His people from their sins. It takes away the heart of stone and gives the heart of flesh. It weans them from the love and the practice of sin, shedding abroad in their hearts the love of truth, of holiness, and of God.

Again, Heb. ix. 12, 14. "For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ. . . . . purge our consciences from sin and dead works, to serve the living God." By the conscience, we are, doubtless, to understand the heart. The heart is cleansed when it is made holy; when it becomes truly penitent, humble, upright. The blood of Christ is declared to purge the heart from sin and dead works, to serve the living God. The blood of Christ expresses all that He did for the salvation of man. He consummated his work by shedding His blood; by

His death. Hence this whole work is described by a reference to His death. Believers are said to be reconciled to God by the death of His Son ; to be justified, — (made righteous) by His blood ; to be saved by His life ; and to be justified by His resurrection. The same effect is referred to different parts of His work. The language is figurative ; a part is contemplated as including the whole. In strictness of speech, it is the doctrine of Christ, enforced as it was by His example and life, that acts directly in cleansing the heart from its ignorance, error, and iniquity ; translating it from darkness into light. There is no intermediate agent between the truth, and the heart, when the former acts upon the latter. The truth, therefore, is the proper means of the heart's sanctification. So our Saviour teaches ; John xvii. 3. "Sanctify them through thy truth." And again chap. xviii. 3. "Now ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you." Also in Ps. cxix. 9. "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way ? By taking heed thereto according to thy word." As the true word must be believed before it can act upon the heart, hence sanctification is ascribed to faith. Acts xxvi. 18. "Sanctified by faith that is in me." And Acts xv. 9. "Purifying their hearts by faith." When therefore, the blood of Christ is said to cleanse the believer from his sins and to justify him, it must evidently be understood to act through the medium of the truth ; the truth received by faith. In the same way are believers saved by the life, by the death, and by the resurrection, of Christ. All that He did, and endured, are contemplated as one whole, crowned by the great events of His death and resurrection. It is the whole that produces the effect. By a common figure of speech, the effect is often attributed to certain parts of the whole, but especially to His blood ; His death. And this represented, not as expiating their guilt, but as cleansing their consciences ; their hearts. And they are cleansed by removing the love, and the habits of sin ; by pervading them with those sentiments of holiness, which prepare their feet to run in the way of God's commandments. It is impossible that the hearts of sinners can be cleansed in any other manner. Let their guilt be expiated, that alone does not change the character of their hearts. Exonerate a criminal from his penal liabilities, but his disposition to commit wickedness may yet remain in all its strength and effectiveness. But the blood of Christ makes the heart good. It is a moral cause producing a good moral



effect. Such is the scriptural representation. This, however, does not agree with the doctrine of vicarious expiation. That doctrine, therefore, must have but a very doubtful authority from the Holy Bible.

6. The figurative language of Scripture affords but a very equivocal foundation for the popular sense, and vicarious character of the word atonement. Yet confident reliance is placed on such passages as the following; "He bare our sins in His own body on the tree." "He was wounded for our transgressions; He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed." "The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquities of us all." "He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." "He shall bear their iniquities." But should these and others similar to them be accepted in a close and literal sense? Is the language of the Bible generally to be so understood? Is it plain, simple, unamplified and exact? How are we to understand those passages which describe God Himself, as laden, and weary with the sins of His people? As being "made to serve with their sins?" How is it that He was "married" to them? And in what sense did Jesus take upon Himself the people's infirmities and bear their sicknesses? Was he sick in their room and stead? In what sense was it that Jerusalem had suffered at the Lord's hand twice as much as she deserved for her sins? Isaiah i. 2. And that Elijah, the Tishbite, was sent on a second mission, in the person of John, the Baptist? That the saints will judge angels and the whole world? That a Christian should, and must, hate his nearest and most worthy relations? And that he, who violates one precept of the law, transgresses the whole of it? No one pretends that these, and a thousand others of the same description, should be accepted as spoken literally. The Bible is the last book in the world to be so interpreted. It would thus be made to utter more contradictions and discrepancies, than it contains sections and chapters. With what propriety, then, is the literal interpretation so vehemently urged and insisted upon, as our orthodox brethren urge it, on the subject of the atonement? They, certainly, are not compelled to do this by the analogical rule of Scripture-exegesis. They, themselves, do not so interpret the Bible on other subjects.

7. The doctrine of the atonement, in its popular sense, involves, (if not an impossibility) a great amount of inconsistency

and deception. It assumes that moral responsibilities may be transferred from one person to another ; that what Adam did may be justly accounted to Jesus Christ ; and that what Jesus did may be accounted to Adam. That in the view of God a man may be regarded as being wholly different from what he really is ; “ That Just One,” Jesus Christ, regarded and treated as a sinner ; and the transgressors, themselves, regarded and treated as righteous. That a perfect righteousness is indispensable to justification, and that the believing sinner finds this in Christ, puts it on, and wears it for his own wedding garment ; and yet that God renders to every man according to his works ; the righteousness of the righteous being upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked being upon him ; there being no partiality, no favoritism, with Him. All this, however, is inconsistent ; is impossible. It declares that men are exonerated from suffering the penalty of their sins. But this is inconsistent with known facts. Men are, every day, suffering the penal retributions of Divine Providence upon them for their iniquities. Here is another inconsistency. The doctrine declares that God’s law and justice have received satisfaction for the sins of mankind, at least, for those of the elect. How then can the offenders need any pardon ? What is there to forgive or remit, after satisfaction has been received ? The doctrine declares that men are justified wholly on account of what Christ has done and suffered ; and not at all, nor in any sense, on account of what they do, or can do, themselves. Why then call upon them to do anything ? Why preach the Gospel to them ? Here is a great inconsistency.

The doctrine of the atonement teaches that redemption is absolute and unconditional. Why then are any conditions ever mentioned ? Why is every sinner told that except he repent, he must perish ?

The doctrine affirms that justification is attained by faith ; by faith, not as a work, not as a righteous act, but as an instrument. But would faith justify a person if it were not a righteous act or work ? Can a naked faith save a man ? Why then is it described as holy ? Why must it work repentance before it can be justly denominated a saving grace ?

The doctrine, moreover, says ; that even believing evangelically is not fulfilling a condition of salvation. But if fruits, productive of repentance, be not a condition, why is it, in every respect, indispensably requisite to justification ? Why is not

a *sine qua non*, a condition? Why must a term be sponged of all its signification before it can be employed, on the subject of justification? Why employed at all? Why is faith first represented as a holy act, and as a condition; and then both these representations negatived and set aside? Here is a mass of inconsistency.

The doctrine says that "a perfect righteousness is requisite to justification." But the Scriptures do not say this. And why should men make a condition not prescribed in the Bible?

The doctrine asserts that "orthodoxy, and the liberal divinity, propose two schemes of salvation which are heaven-wide apart, the one from the other." But both these schemes come together and harmonize, on the article of repentance. Orthodoxy testifies that if men repent, they will be saved, but if they do not repent, they cannot be saved. And so, likewise, our more liberal divinity. Now if the two schemes propose the very same condition of eternal life, it cannot be a fact, that they are heaven-wide apart; and that, if one be essentially true, the other, of course, must be essentially false. Neither scheme, nor the abettors of it, maintain the principle of retributive merit. One as much, and as freely, as the other, ascribe forgiveness and salvation to the grace and goodness of our heavenly Father. Here, then, is a manifest deception.

"But the orthodox atonement-scheme makes the overture of pardon, on the ground of repentance, to be a privilege, purchased by the blood of Christ." If this be admitted, still the importance and efficacy of repentance remain undiminished, unchanged. A liberal preacher teaches his hearers that God will pardon and accept them, for He is merciful, and hath exalted His Son, Jesus Christ, to be a Prince and a Saviour, dispensing to men repentance and the remission of their sins. An orthodox preacher teaches them that, in order to be pardoned they "must receive the doctrine of the atonement with a contrite and penitent faith." Here, then, instead of one means of salvation, repentance, we have three; the atonement, faith, and repentance; that the atonement will not save a man until it be received; that it can be received only by faith; and that faith cannot be the organ of reception, unless it be contrite and penitent. The atonement, then, is inefficacious without faith; and faith is inefficacious without repentance. The efficacy of the whole, therefore, consists in repentance. Now if repentance contains all the efficacy, that cannot be a faulty scheme which proposes and urges repentance. Nor can that scheme

have any real advantage which proposes terms, of themselves inefficacious ; wholly relative and conventional. Where all the efficacy is, there, of course, is all that is important and indispensable.

And is there any more grace or mercy in the orthodox scheme than in the other ? If the mercy of God prompt him first to provide the atonement, and then, on the ground of it, to make the overture of salvation conditioned on repentance, is there, in this, a greater display of mercy, than in making the overture directly, on the same condition ? Is not the manifestation of grace as real and conspicuous in the latter case as in the former ?

“ But it costs more in the one case than in the other.” And who pays this cost more in the one case than in the other ? Was it human nature or the Divine ? — Did Divinity suffer and die ? How then did God defray more expense according to the atonement-scheme, than according to that of unpurchased mercy ?

“ But He displayed more wisdom in contriving a plan for the satisfaction of justice, than in dispensing mercy at the expense of justice.” True wisdom consists in devising and putting into effective operation the means best adapted to accomplish the end. In raising up His Son, Jesus Christ, and endowing Him with all the requisite qualifications to arrest men in their course of sin, and lead them into the paths of righteousness, did not God display all possible wisdom ? What can be done more wisely than to accomplish a most important and difficult work in the most effective and happy manner ? In regard to satisfaction, justice, being no other than a particular modification of goodness, is always satisfied with what is conducive to the general welfare. It is willing to forgive, if forgiveness do not stand in contravention of the public good. And, furthermore, there can be no satisfaction, except in exacting the penalty itself. And the penalty is the punishment of the very offender. It admits no substitute ; no vicarious equivalent. Its language is, He that sinneth shall bear the burden of his iniquity. To him, and to him only are the wages of it due. Since the world began, the principle of vicarious retribution has never been adopted, except by mistake and error. When the innocent have suffered in the place of the guilty, either a mistake has been ignorantly made, or an error blindly and rashly committed. In neither case can it be justified. Enlightened justice receives from it no satisfaction.

Christian nations have generally believed in the doctrine of

vicarious atonement. Yet none of them have ever adopted the principle of it into their legislation. The fathers of New England took the Bible for their statute-book, and appointed Winthrop and Ward to make a digest of it. But they never attempted the practice of vicarious retribution. And why? Not because they were indisposed to imitate every Scriptural example; but because they perceived and knew that the principle of it was unreasonable and unjust; deleterious and intolerable: that it would impede the administration of justice, instead of aiding and satisfying it.

The doctrine of expiatory atonement has more of a heathen aspect, than of a Christian. The Gentiles believed that the gods took great pleasure in bloody oblations and sacrifices. The more choice and worthy the victim, the more acceptable the offering. A human life, immolated at the altar, had the preference above all others. They seem never to have entertained the impression, that the true way of gaining the Divine acceptance was the practice of virtue; the possession of moral worth. How totally different from the heathen is the doctrine of Moses and the prophets in the Old Testament; but especially of Jesus and the apostles in the New? — Was the God of the Bible ever appeased with blood? Were not Ashtaroth and Moloch the very antitheses of His character? But if the death of Jesus gave him pleasure, whom, in this instance, did He resemble?

The doctrine of the expiatory death of Jesus is most unworthy of the character of Jehovah; being discrepant from it in every possible degree. It supposes principles in Him, the very opposite of those by which he was actuated, when He gave His Son to be the light and the life of the world. It was his love of human welfare, and not jealousy for the honor of His law, that moved the Father to the gift of His Son. The death of Jesus could do nothing to repair the violated majesty of the law, except in the factitious light of a delusive imagination. For who, on the earth, or above the earth, or under the earth, has, on this account, a better, or a more impressive, conception of the Divine law? Who is rendered the more afraid of transgressing it? Many have been made less fearful, but who have been awakened to greater caution and solicitude? If we could measure the good and the harm, on this head, done by the doctrine under consideration, it is not difficult to form an opinion of what would be the result; which scale of the balance would preponderate.



Contemplate the case of a despot who always takes vengeance for every transgression. When he cannot do it on the offender, he wreaks it on another. No misdeed goes unrevengeed. But one half the punishments fall on the head of the innocent. Is this an example of good government? Would the citizens be uncommonly cautious and afraid of transgression? Would the laws command nominal respect? No. Such a government would be more productive of complaints, curses, and crimes, than of praises, benefits, and blessings.

Many passages of Scripture on this subject are greatly misapplied. We cannot notice all of them. The prophecy of Caiphas, John xi. 49 . . . 52, is adduced. Can it be believed that this high priest, so inimical to Jesus, was really inspired? And that he regarded Jesus as the true Messiah, who was to be made an expiatory sacrifice for "the children of God?" The obvious fact is, that Caiphas intended to represent Jesus to the Emperor as a dangerous man, who entertained the purpose of heading a rebellion against the Roman government, and which had been prevented by his arrest and crucifixion. This measure he deemed "expedient," for by it he hoped to do a pleasure to the Romans and thus procure favor for the Jews.

Much is made of the passage, Heb. xi. 15 — "And for this cause He is the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption (the removal of the cause) of transgressions, under the First Testament, they who are called might receive the promise of an eternal inheritance." This is relied on as proof of the retrospective view and efficacy of the atoning sacrifice of Christ. But, evidently, here is no indication of a retrospective view. The conclusion is in the present tense; "that they who are called, &c." And as the conclusion is in the present time, so doubtless, must be the premises. The apostle, therefore, speaks of the times which then were, not of the times which had been. The First Testament, the Old Covenant, though waxen old and ready to vanish away, was still in existence. It did not pass away until the administration of the Mosaic law ceased to be maintained in Jerusalem. And while this law continued, it created many inconvenient and grievous liabilities, especially to the Jewish Christians. The apostle, probably, had reference to them in the passage, Romans vii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Again, the text; Romans iii. 25; "Whom God hath set forth a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare . . .

his righteousness, that He might be just, and the Justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." The last part of this passage is generally quoted with the word, *yet*, interposed; 'might be just and *yet* the Justifier; as though there was expressed an opposition of sentiment. But the word does not belong to the passage. And there is no contrast of sentiment expressed. God manifests His righteousness, as moral Governor, when He accepts and justifies a true disciple of Jesus Christ. Such an one possesses the spirit of holiness, and cannot be otherwise than acceptable in the sight of God. He is accepted on the ground of what he is; his real, personal character; not on the ground of being a descendant of Abraham, and having performed many "dead works" in obedience to the Mosaic ritual, on which account the Jews were so strongly prone to boast and be proud.

"Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation." A propitiatory; not an expiatory. The place of the latter, if any where, must have been the altar of burnt-offerings; but the place of the former was the mercy-seat, under the Cherubim, and the Shekinah, in the Most Holy place. The text, therefore, does not teach the doctrine of expiation; of vicarious atonement. It represents Christ, exhibited in the Gospel, as being the propitiatory, the mercy-seat, whence God dispenses His smiles and His blessings; not the place where He exacts the rights and penalties of His law.

We have known two texts, one from the ixth, the other from the xth ch. of Hebrews, placed in juxtaposition, and reasoned from as if they constituted a single text. This is an unfair method of quotation; for by it, many false conclusions might be established. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission." "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin." The conclusion is drawn that the blood of Christ alone takes away sin. But let us examine the premises. Does the apostle intend to affirm that the sacrifices of the Mosaic Covenant did not, in any sense, remove the liabilities of the transgressor? No. For such an affirmation would not be true. It is expressly declared, in many passages of the law, that by making the prescribed offerings, the man should be forgiven. He should be exonerated from his social and public liabilities. But they could not make his heart good, nor cleanse it from a sense of conscious sin. In this sense, no offered blood — no costly oblations, could take away sin. But when the apostle says; "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission," it is certainly implied that, by

the shedding of blood there was remission. The connexion testifies that this was the intended purport of his language.

It may not be improper, here, to institute some brief inquiry respecting the character of forgiveness from God toward men. Does it imply that all the threatened and consequent penalties of transgression shall be withheld? No. For manifestly, such is not the fact. God did not, in this sense, forgive Adam; nor Moses; nor David; nor Solomon. What God specifically threatens the sinner, will come upon him. No repentance ever averts it. The transgressor must eat the fruit of his evil way. The connection between the offence and its punishment is as indissoluble, as the link that binds cause and consequence together. But God forgives the sinner by accepting him when penitent and converted to righteousness. He treats him as being just what he is; contrite, reformed, obedient. The righteous Lord loveth the righteous. Reformed transgressors are a description of righteous persons. "God is with you so long as ye be with Him." God's having pleasure in a person implies condescension, benignity, forgiveness, but not the cancelling of all the penalties of iniquity. The providence of God furnishes irrefragable evidences that He maintains His moral government. It admits no vicarious atonements. They would mar and debilitate, not aid and perfect it. God certainly approves every good thing in frail, wicked man. And the Divine approval, secured by habitual reformation, amounts to forgiveness. It is a blessing. For God's favor is life; His loving kindness, better than life.

One word respecting the Jewish dress, worn by Christianity in the epistolary part of the New Testament. How is it to be accounted for? It is not a problem of dubious solution. The religious views of a Jew were so enveloped in the forms of the Mosaical Institute, that without them he could have no clear conception of any true religion. Hence Christianity is invested with them. It has its altar, its atonement, its priest, its sacrifices, its *sanctum sanctorum*, &c. But the Christian altar, atonement, propitiatory, sacrifices, and priest, are things very different from the Jewish. All these are to be understood in an accommodation-sense. Nor is this sense, in its several different applications, hard to be understood. Guided by the plain truths, and obvious spirit, of the Christian law, we need not fall into any important mistake.

## THE FUTURE LIFE.

How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps  
The disembodied spirits of the dead,  
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps  
And perishes among the dust we tread?

For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain  
If there I meet thy gentle presence not ;  
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again  
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

Will not thy own meek heart demand me there ?  
That heart whose fondest throbs to me were given ?  
My name on earth was ever in thy prayer,  
Shall it be banished from thy tongue in heaven ?

In meadows fanned by heaven's life-breathing wind,  
In the resplendence of that glorious sphere,  
And larger movements of the unfettered mind,  
Wilt thou forget the love that joined us here ?

The love that lived through all the stormy past,  
And meekly with my harsher nature bore,  
And deeper grew, and tenderer to the last,  
Shall it expire with life, and be no more ?

A happier lot than mine, and larger light,  
Await thee there ; for thou hast bowed thy will  
In cheerful homage to the rule of right,  
And lovest all, and renderest good for ill.

For me the sordid cares, in which I dwell,  
Shrink and consume the heart, as heat the scroll ;  
And wrath hath left its scar — that fire of hell  
Has left its frightful scar upon my soul.

Yet, though thou wear'st the glory of the sky,  
Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,  
The same fair thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,  
Lovlier in heaven's sweet climate, yet the same ?

Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,  
The wisdom that I learned so ill in this —  
The wisdom which is love — till I become  
Thy fit companion in that land of bliss ?

## THE PILGRIM FATHERS:

A Poem recited in the Church of the Disciples, Boston, on the Festival of the Pilgrims, Dec. 22d, 1842.

THAT ancient church which understood the way  
So well, upon the human heart to play,  
And so sagaciously the means could find  
Which, from without, might influence the mind,  
Adapted all its solemn Liturgy  
To sense, imagination, memory ;  
And to each day a sacred meaning lent,  
By patron saint or memorable event ;  
Thus walking with her sons the year around,  
And treading every day on hallowed ground.  
When our severer faith shall comprehend  
To use Imagination as its friend,  
And, while appealing to the inmost soul,  
And urging upon Conscience its control,  
Shall try all means by which the heart is won,  
While doing *this*, not leaving *that* undone ;  
Then solemn epochs shall again appear,  
Circling the earth with each revolving year ;  
And none be named in loftier speech or song,  
Than this, which to the Pilgrims must belong.

Ask you what kind of persons or events  
Should, in our calendar, find monuments ?  
In all great movements we'd find something good,  
Trace in all sects some cause for gratitude.  
One day to Rome herself we'd consecrate ;  
Her martyrs, heroes, poverty, and state,  
Jesuits, who plant the cross in far Cathay,  
And rule a continent in Paraguay ;



To Rome, who trampled on the neck of kings,  
To Rome, from out whose fruitful bosom springs  
Such wondrous monuments of thought and art,  
A Dante's solemn song, a Raphael's tender heart ;  
Inspired by whom, rude nations lifted high  
Cathedral spires against a Northern sky ;  
Whose awful sacraments and solemn forms  
Awed the fierce noble, calmed the common's storms ;  
Yet not for these that ancient church we'd bless  
As for one specimen of holiness,  
To honor him one day might well be given,  
Not sainted here, but sure a saint in Heaven ;  
The birth-day of Rome's loftiest, lowliest son ;  
Her choicest fruit, her lovely Fenelon.

Our second festival might choose the date  
When Luther fixed to the Cathedral gate  
His ninety daring Theses, and began  
A second era for the mind of man.  
Devote that day to Freedom — on that morn  
Freedom of mind, freedom of act was born ;  
Born to be nursed with tears, baptized with blood ;  
Fountain of evil, source of mighty good.

Two other festivals might follow then,  
Sacred to Wesley and to William Penn,  
All these we'd honor, all their feasts revere,  
Yet more than all, the Pilgrim day be dear.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS — by that name alone  
They, in each clime, through every land are known ;  
And yet how different their hope and aim  
From those who bore of old the Pilgrim name.  
No voyage to ancient Palestine they planned,  
Beyond the ocean lay their Holy Land.

Never could they have joined the enterprise  
Which made all Europe as one man arise ;  
Princes and peasants, boors and chivalry,  
Following the bare-foot friar's piercing cry —  
"Come ! see the tomb wherein the Lord hath lain,"  
To faint and perish on the Syrian plain.  
By deeper feelings were these Pilgrims led,  
Not on the brink of empty graves to tread,  
Where Jesus' body hung on Calvary ;  
But where they hoped his spirit was to be.  
Not to the aged East, his place of rest,  
But to the yet unknown, untravelled West.  
Not where their faith within its cradle lay,  
Nor where it tottered on its infant way,  
But where they longed, in dignity and strength,  
Its perfect manly form to see at length.  
Not to the Past, in meditation slow,  
And solemn musing did their footsteps go,  
Pilgrims of hope, the fire within them burned,  
With faces wholly to the Future turned.

Oh golden Future ! mid their iron toil,  
Above, cold skies, — beneath, a frozen soil ;  
With thy sweet daughter Hope thou didst beguile  
Rude labor, in thy light the deserts smile ;  
In fair Ideal beauty visions rise,  
Purpling the blackness of the woods and skies ;  
The rough prosaic Puritan began  
To turn a Poet in the inner man ;  
He penned no stanzas to his mistress' locks,  
But wrote his poetry on granite rocks ;  
Stamped his ideas on a stormy shore,  
His music savage yells and ocean's roar ;  
Free schools, log churches, filled this poet's dream,  
A Christian Commonwealth his noble theme.

His thoughts the farthest in the future ran,  
Of all that age the most Ideal man.

Smile not, my friends, that with such terms I greet  
Our unromantic fathers' wandering feet ;  
I call them poets, though their muse perverse  
Ne'er traced a tolerable line of verse.  
I call them poets, — poetry I find  
In the substantial basis of their mind.  
Poets, unrecognised within their day  
Come always in an unexpected way,  
Come with new methods, take us by surprise,  
Cheat with strange garb our unaccustomed eyes.  
The solemn harmonies and lofty chords  
Of pilgrim poetry, unwrit in words,  
They wrote in institutions on our shore,  
Marking ideas unattained before.

And yet a higher praise belongs this day  
To Him who from Religion took away  
Its outward husk of form and cold routine,  
And showed the precious fruit contained within.  
His manly faith close to the centre trod,  
Lying unclothed beneath the eye of God ;  
He dared to look on Life's great mystery  
With his own mind, his own unclouded eye.  
Serious to sternness, for he fought a fight,  
Whose stake was endless bliss or endless night ;  
In this great warfare he must fight alone,  
No earthly voice for him approach the throne ;  
He needed not the help of Priest or Seer,  
Himself the Priest, his own the Prophet's ear ;  
The change of surplice he could not abide,  
For claims of priesthood were with this allied ;  
From out the Book of Prayer he could not pray,  
His heart to Heaven pointed a nearer way.

These in themselves were neither bad nor good,  
So is an Idol but a block of wood ;  
Yet if this block be worshipped, then it grows  
A hateful thing, the source of sins and woes.  
The robe and book were worshipped ; and they cast  
Chains on the mind ; they held it to the past.  
Rather than bear this yoke our Fathers came,  
Left the dear home, the old ancestral name ;  
Left the sweet fields where childhood's footsteps strayed,  
Dipped in the stream or rested in the shade.  
All this they left and more — the world of mind,  
Arts, science, comforts, tastes, were all behind.  
Oh then forbear the smile, the empty sneer,  
As though some petty scruple brought them here.  
They fought with shadows — true — yet well they said,  
That when Religion's shadows, broadly spread,  
Much larger than the substances have grown,  
'T is a sure sign that night is coming on.  
They left that setting sun, though all the sky  
Blazed with his glories as he sank to die ;  
They turned to where a cold and feeble ray  
Crept, a faint presage of the coming day.  
Strong in the hope that with that opening morn,  
New light from God would on the nations dawn ;  
New truths shine out from God's all-holy word,  
Which Luther never saw nor Calvin heard ;  
The long predicted days at length should come,  
When peace and love might find on earth a home ;  
The scaffolding of Piety might fall,  
And the fair Temple stand revealed to all.

What faith but this their fainting heart sustained ?  
Beside this hope, what other hope remained,  
Amid the terrors of that winter rude,  
Its hunger, sickness, cold, and solitude ?

Could we by fancy's help look in and see  
Grouped in one house the assembled company,  
Met in their deep distress to seek the Lord,  
And gather comfort from his holy word ;  
Perchance an earnest speaker we might hear,  
In that great hour of trial and of fear,  
Break through the common forms, forget to preach,  
And thus to Heaven address his tearful speech.

Oh hearken Lord ! to Thee we call upon this lonely shore,  
Amid the pauses of the storm we hear the ocean's roar.  
That ocean spreads its far, far path between us and our home.  
But thou, O Lord ! art everywhere, to thee we boldly come.  
To thee we come, while darkly fall around night's blackening  
shades,  
And wolves are howling fearfully about our palisades,  
Our men are worn with labor, our women cold and faint,  
Yet patiently we'll bear our cross, we'll utter no complaint.  
We bless thee for thy mercies, Lord, we'll trust thy goodness  
still,  
For thou hast done great things for us, great is thy holy will ;  
For thou hast closely bound us in one fraternal band,  
And brought us o'er the awful deep in the hollow of thy hand,  
And placed us here to worship thee, where none our faith mo-  
lest ;  
Where bishops will not trouble us, where kings will leave us  
rest.  
And though around us all is dark and all before us drear,  
Though savage beasts and savage men give constant care and  
fear,  
Though Massassoit threaten, and each wild Sagamore,  
From Pokanokick in the wood to Nauset on the shore  
Combine their wild battalions, and mid the gloom of night  
Their horrid yells with sudden burst, our little town affright ;



And what is worst of all to bear, to bear and not complain,  
We hear our children ask for bread, and hear them ask in vain.  
While sickness thins our number, and now beneath the sod  
As many of us sleep in Christ, as above it pray to God.  
And in this strait wise Bradford is troubled in his mind,  
And prudent master Carver no counsel good can find,  
And brave Miles Standish scarcely hopes our fortress to defend,  
Yet thou, O Lord, art near us, and thou canst still befriend.  
If thou hast chosen us, O Lord, to be a nation's seed,  
Then thy right arm will bring to pass, what thy wisdom has  
decreed.

Yes, in this day of darkness — yea ! even now I see  
A vision fair of future days — comes it, O Lord, from thee ?  
A comfort of the Holy Ghost to cheer this gloomy hour,  
And shall I utter it, O Lord, in spirit and in power ?  
As from a summit I look down, through the vista of the years,  
I gaze beyond two centuries, and a happy land appears.  
And where between thick tangled trees flies the light arrow  
now,  
I see the laborer bend between the handles of his plough.  
Where now the primal forest spreads, sweeping o'er plain and  
hill,  
A thousand villages I see, lying serene and still.  
Where now some scattered ears of corn the earth reluctant  
yields,  
Rich harvests bend before the breeze along a thousand fields.  
Where now the Powahs every wood with devil-worship fill,  
I see the frequent meeting house on each far-looking hill.  
I see sweet children, with their sires, walk to the house of prayer  
Beneath a mild October sun, in the soft October air.  
Oh feeble ones about my feet, take courage in your woe,  
To you shall millions look as sires, from you great nations go ;  
Far to the setting sun shall spread your mighty progeny,  
Numerous as sand by ocean shore, as stars in summer sky.

All this is plain, but still remains a darker mystery,  
A question yet unanswered, a sight I may not see ;  
What lies beneath the surface no mortal eye may scan,  
It is not given to me to read the inmost depths of man.  
O children, mid your blessings bought by all our care and pain,  
Will you your fathers' spirit keep, the brave old heart retain ?  
Will you, as we, outrun your day, forgetting things behind ;  
Be captains of the coming age, advanced guard of the mind ?  
Or will you cling like cowards to that which we have done,  
And think because you copy close, you are the Pilgrim's son ?  
That you can keep the Pilgrim's heart by holding fast his deed,  
The " Spirit of the Pilgrims," by fighting for his creed ?  
Oh rather pass beyond us, with the advancing hours,  
And be as faithful to your light as we have been to ours !

So speaks to me the voice of that old time,  
Warning and moving us in tones sublime ;  
It speaks to all who are assembled here,  
All who profess the Fathers to revere,  
And who were hewn from out that Pilgrim rock,  
And all who glory in the Pilgrim stock,  
It says, " Take up the Pilgrim staff and sword,  
As Exiles or as Soldiers of the Lord."  
Not now to distant continents to roam,  
Your work and trial both are close at home ;  
Not now to leave your home and friends behind,  
But stand among them lonely in your mind ;  
Not now to battle with the Pequot foes,  
But errors in your brethren to oppose.  
The duty of to-day is no light task,  
To meet the greatest questions man can ask ;  
To gaze, undazzled, in the face of Truth ;  
Wasting in lonely thought the bloom of youth.  
To tread in strange and unaccustomed ways,  
Challenging censure and renouncing praise ;

Bearing indifference, contempt, or wrath,  
Walking upon a solitary path.  
The faithful ones to-day must all be brave,  
One must stand up to battle for the slave,  
One must bear witness to the Light within,  
To those who think faith in such Light a sin.  
One for Reforms prolong the tedious fight,  
With men who argue, "All that is, is right."  
Amid the strife of parties some must stand  
Alone, against them every body's hand ;  
By some thought hot, by others icy cold ;  
By some too timid, and by some too bold.  
These things are no great trials, but to keep,  
Mid all, hearts tranquil as an infant's sleep ;  
But to look forward, trusting still in God  
When folly, error, sin are all abroad ;  
Not to turn Reason-haters, nor repent  
That Light and Freedom through the world are sent,  
This is the task and duty of to-day.  
Let us, remembering the Pilgrims, say  
That we will seek for Light as they have sought,  
True to their spirit, though we leave their thought.  
And if, where'er New-England's children go,  
Where'er her tides of emigration flow,  
To places low or high, they carry still  
Their Fathers' faith, their Fathers' manly will.  
That Pilgrim spirit shall forever be  
The land's best glory and security ;  
The best defence in every dangerous shock ;  
And, as the granite, our primeval rock,  
Which far beneath the lowest valley lies,  
Soars, with the mountain nearest to the skies,  
So shall that spirit hold in one strong band  
The loftiest and lowliest in the land.

J. F. C.

## THE BIBLE IN SPAIN.\*

“THE Bible in Spain” is unfortunate in two respects. Its name and idea, a missionary tour for the circulation of the Scriptures, would give many readers a wholly unjust idea of the book, and even deter them from looking beneath the covers. Again, the form in which it presents itself as one of those cheap serials, which appear like ephemera and vanish as soon, would beget an equally unfounded contempt in another class, and make them presume that nothing could possess permanent value in this perishable and unclassical shape. And yet, in no respect, does the Bible in Spain belong to either of these kinds of literature. Having real merit and universal interest, being wholly popular in its style, and yet exceedingly curious in its information, crowded with anecdote and adventure, dialogue and incident, throwing a flood of light over Spain from a wholly new point of view, carrying us into the huts of the miserable peasants, giving us the gipsy-talk by the way-side, laying open the inner heart of the land, leading into the reality or prospect of danger every step of the way — although thousands and tens of thousands have been sold already ; it has not yet taken its true place in general esteem. We have passed over the peninsula with many travellers, sometimes with great pleasure ; but never so agreeably or profitably before : never with one who made us so familiar with national character, or gave us such a homebred feeling for the people at large. Others have described the cities and works of art of this famous old land ; many others have acquainted us sufficiently with the life of a single class in the cities — still, a large field remained unoccupied which Mr. Borrow has tilled with great patience and success. No one has ever trodden that ill-fated soil under more manifest advantages. To say nothing of his unwearied perseverance, his heroic daring, his calmness in peril, his presence of mind in disaster, and his love of adventure — several languages, the keys to the people’s heart, were at his command. The Gipsy tongue he seems to have understood better

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\* The Bible in Spain ; or the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula. By GEORGE BORROW, author of the Gipsies in Spain. Philadel. John M. Campbell. 1843.

than the Gipsies themselves; and hardly any other language came across his path, from the Spanish to the Russian, which did not appear to bow to him like a supple servant. All kinds of life seem to have been the same to him: whether lying at night in the open air, guarded from the rain only by an old horse-blanket, or falling asleep in the manger to the music of the feeding cattle, or crowded up in the filth of a village posada, or surrounded with all the horrors of the Madrid prison. The five years he spent in Spain were nearly all years of suffering and peril. Besides the usual danger of robbers and highwaymen, there was the desperate malice of the clergy, in a land where the Inquisition once showed its iron-handed despotism to be complete; and the probability that if either of the contending parties laid hands upon him, while inflamed by either success or disappointment, his life would pay the penalty. When we admire this voluntary martyrship, beautiful as it is in heroism and self-surrender, in manful courage and religious dependence, we must remember there is in us a roving, adventurous spirit, which luxuriates in this very thing, especially when death is not over likely to encounter the knight-errant, and the teeth of persecution have fallen out with extreme age. Mr. Borrow had evidently something of this spirit, as he shows by the strange choice he continually made of companions and guides — the gipsy and the smuggler, the ruffian, the outcast and the thief seeming to be especial favorites and sworn brothers. He himself says, that “in the day-dreams of his boyhood Spain always bore a considerable share; which interest led him to acquire her noble language, without any presentiment he should be called to take a part in her strange dramas; and the most happy years of his existence were those he passed there.” His simple journal speaks a very open heart; its enthusiasm is quite catching; and then there is a touching melancholy in the revelation of a proud nation’s degradation and irreligion; though at times he leaves us in the dark as to his meaning, and by retailing word for word long conversations, which could not have been penned at the time, he puts in question his strict veracity, and appears to aim after dramatical effect.

His perils and sufferings, however, we cannot think exaggerated; indeed, they are mentioned as if hardly worth mentioning, as if there was some spice in this variety, some pleasure in looking back upon an experience so rich in romance. We



would gladly quote his chase after his runaway guide upon a crazy beast of a pony, his arrest as the pretender Don Carlos, his hairbreadth escape from the Carlist party, near Santander, where if caught he would have been shot as an English spy, and his whole stay in the Madrid jail.

But our readers will be more interested by an account of his labors and its results on his particular mission, and the view his narrative leads us to take of poor Spain. Before answering the question, what has this agent of the Bible society done to make the unknown Word a common fireside friend, the wisdom of the simple, the peace of the doubting, the refuge of the tempted, the bliss of the dying spirit, we must remember that our expectations must be small. We have to balance the skill, energy, fearlessness, every unusual accomplishment of the laborer against the apparent impossibilities of his labor; against his eluding the sleepless eye of the catholic clergy; against his rousing the, not only dormant but deadened, intellect of an enslaved people; against his creating among the infidels, superstition has made, a thirst for a religious tract; and particularly, against his so far surmounting, by chance interviews, the prejudices of well-meaning bigotry, as to keep alive upon the dark waters this ark of the last hope. Nothing at first sight could appear more desperate; no enterprise could promise more entire defeat. That he did anything is remarkable; that he had done everything would have been a miracle. He seems to have felt nowise elated by his success; nor can his employers be. But, if the best was done that could be done, and more than could be reasonably expected, (and no one reading these pages candidly can avoid some such conclusion,) we ought to be both satisfied and grateful. Scattering the Scriptures in almost any other country, France for instance, would be a pastime in comparison with the same work in Spain. Life would be as secure as at home; the exemption from personal injury would be certain; only the revered volume would be in peril, amongst the slaves or the tyrants of the church.

Five thousand copies of the New Testament in a Spanish dress were published at Madrid, were there publicly offered for sale day after day and week after week, were carried about from house to house and village to village; sometimes by priests, sometimes by gipsies, were offered for sale at a very low rate, through the whole country — except the eastern portion — were purchased extensively, sometimes greedily, by

people and priests, were introduced into schools, were associated with the memory of a kind-hearted though eccentric Englishman, and were set at work wherever their instant destruction, and the imprisonment of those who bore them did not frown upon the attempt. Nor was this all; one Gospel, that of Luke, was translated into Basque, and circulated amongst those who use this dialect in the neighborhood of the Calabrian Sea. The same Gospel enjoyed the distinction also of being published in the gipsey tongue, and circulated amongst that singular generation of outcasts. All this we cannot help thinking very remarkable. And probably not another man, if this narration be literal truth, could have accomplished so much.

The description of the translation of the gipsey-gospel in a previous work, "*The Zincali*," belongs to this part of our account. It was at Madrid. He had previously translated the whole Testament into the Spanish Rommany, but was anxious to circulate among the Gitanos a version in their exact language. He commenced with Pepa and Chicarom.

"Determined that they should understand it, I proposed that they themselves should translate it. The women made no objection, they were fond of our tortulias, and they likewise reckoned on one small glass of Malaga wine, with which I invariably presented them. Upon the whole they conducted much better than could have been expected. We commenced with Saint Luke; they rendered into Rommany the sentences which I delivered them in Spanish. They proceeded as far as the eighth chapter, in the middle of which they broke down. Was that to be wondered after? — Were they improved by these Scripture lectures? I know not. Pepa committed a rather daring theft shortly after, which compelled her to conceal herself for a fortnight. — The Gitanos of Madrid purchased the gospel of Luke freely; many of the men understood it, and prized it highly, induced of course by the language rather than the doctrine; the women were particularly anxious to obtain copies, though unable to read; each wished to have one in her pocket, especially when engaged in thieving expeditions, for they all looked upon it in the light of a charm, which would preserve from all danger and mischance. — I have counted seventeen Gitanos at one time in my apartment; for the first quarter of an hour we generally conversed on indifferent matters, when, by degrees, I guided the subject to religion. I finally became so bold, that I ventured to speak against their inveterate practices,

thieving and lying, telling fortunes and stealing á pastēsas ; this was touching upon delicate ground, and I experienced much opposition and feminine clamor. I persevered, however, and they finally assented to all I said ; not that I believe that my words made much impression on their hearts. At last matters were so far advanced they would sing a hymn." — *The Zincoli*. I. 318–321.

His plan, after he had published the New Testament, was not to follow the usual course of things in Spain, which could have resulted only in the circulation of a few dozen copies in the course of a year ; but,

"After depositing a certain number of copies in the shops of the booksellers of Madrid, to ride forth, Testament in hand, and endeavor to circulate it amongst the Spaniards, not only of the towns, but of the villages ; amongst the children, not only of the plains, but of the hills and mountains. I intended to establish Scripture depôts in the principal towns, and to visit the people in secret and secluded spots, to talk to them of Christ, to explain to them the nature of his book, and to place that book in the hands of those whom I deemed capable of deriving benefit from it." — p. 185.

Then commenced a series of very interesting adventures, to transcribe all of which would be almost reprinting the book ; but some of the principal ones are here selected. The first relates to the opposition of the clergy ; the severity of which seems to be abundantly justified by facts.

"Throughout my residence in Spain the clergy were the party from which I experienced the strongest opposition ; and it was at their instigation that the government originally adopted those measures, which prevented any extensive circulation of the sacred volume through the land. I shall not detain the course of my narrative with reflections as to the state of a church, which, though it pretends to be founded on Scripture, would yet keep the light of Scripture from all mankind, if possible. But Rome is fully aware that she is not a Christian church, and having no desire to become so, she acts prudently in keeping from the eyes of her followers the page which would reveal to them the truths of Christianity. Her agents and minions throughout Spain exerted themselves to the utmost to render my humble labors abortive, and to vilify the work which I was attempting to disseminate. All the ignorant and fanatical

clergy (the great majority) were opposed to it, and all those who were anxious to keep on good terms with the Court of Rome were loud in their cry against it. There was, however, one section of the clergy, a small one, it is true, rather favorably disposed towards the circulation of the Gospel, though by no means inclined to make any particular sacrifice for the accomplishment of such an end; these were such as professed liberalism, which is supposed to mean a disposition to adopt any reform both in civil and church matters, which may be deemed conducive to the weal of the country. Not a few amongst the Spanish clergy were supporters of this principle, or at least declared themselves so, some doubtless for their own advancement, hoping to turn the spirit of the times to their own personal profit; others, it is to be hoped, from conviction, and a pure love of the principle itself. Amongst these were to be found, at the time of which I am speaking, several bishops. It is worthy of remark, however, that of all these not one but owed his office, not to the Pope, who disowned them one and all, but to the Queen Regent, the professed head of liberalism throughout all Spain. It is not, therefore, surprising that men thus circumstanced should feel rather disposed than not to countenance any measure or scheme at all calculated to favor the advancement of liberalism; and surely such an one was the circulation of the Scriptures. I derived but little assistance from their good will, however, supposing that they entertained some, as they never took any decided stand nor lifted up their voices in a bold and positive manner, denouncing the conduct of those who would withhold the light of Scripture from the world." — pp. 173, 174.

We are next engaged in the success of the work at the very core of the Peninsula, through the country villages. We must break into the midst of the narrative.

"I was aware that I was playing rather a daring game, and that it was very possible that when I least expected it, I might be seized, tied to the tail of a mule, and dragged either to the prison of Toledo or Madrid. Yet such a prospect did not discourage me in the least, but rather urged me to persevere; for at this time, without the slightest wish to magnify myself, I could say that I was eager to lay down my life for the cause, and whether a bandit's bullet or the gaol fever brought my career to a close, was a matter of indifference to me; I was not then a stricken man; 'Ride on because of the word of righteousness,' was my cry.

"The news of the arrival of the book of life soon spread

like wild-fire through the villages of the Sagra of Toledo, and wherever my people and myself directed our course we found the inhabitants disposed to receive our merchandise; it was even called for where not exhibited. One night, as I was bathing myself and horse in the Tagus, a knot of people gathered on the bank, crying, 'Come out of the water, Englishman, and give us books; we have got our money in our hands.' The poor creatures then held out their hands, filled with cuartos, a copper coin of the value of a farthing, but unfortunately I had no Testaments to give them. Antonio, however, who was at a short distance, having exhibited one, it was instantly torn from his hands by the people, and a scuffle ensued to obtain possession of it. It very frequently occurred, that the poor laborers in the neighborhood, being eager to obtain Testaments, and having no money to offer us in exchange, brought various articles to our habitation as equivalents; for example, rabbits, fruit, and barley, and I made a point never to disappoint them, as such articles were of utility either for our own consumption or that of the horses.

"In Villa Seca there was a school in which fifty-seven children were taught the first rudiments of education. One morning the schoolmaster, a tall, slim figure of about sixty, bearing on his head one of the peaked hats of Andalusia, and wrapped, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, in a long cloak, made his appearance, and having seated himself, requested to be shown one of our books. Having delivered it to him, he remained examining it for nearly half an hour, without uttering a word. At last he laid it down with a sigh, and said, that he should be very happy to purchase some of these books for his school, but from their appearance, especially from the quality of the paper and binding, he was apprehensive that to pay for them would exceed the means of the parents of his pupils, as they were almost destitute of money, being poor laborers. He then commenced blaming the government, which he said established schools without affording the necessary books, adding, that in his school there were but two books for the use of all his pupils, and these he confessed contained but little good. I asked him what he considered the Testaments worth? He said 'Señor Cavalier, to speak frankly, I have in other times paid twelve reals for books inferior to yours in every respect, but I assure you that my poor pupils would be utterly unable to pay the half of that sum.' I replied, 'I will sell you as many as you please for three reals each. I am acquainted with the poverty of the land, and my friends and myself, in affording the people the means of spiritual instruction



have no wish to curtail their scanty bread.' He replied ; '*Bendito sea Dios*,' (blessed be God,) and could scarcely believe his ears. He instantly purchased a dozen, expending, as he said, all the money he possessed, with the exception of a few cuartos. The introduction of the word of God into the country schools of Spain is, therefore, begun, and I humbly hope that it will prove one of those events which the Bible Society, after the lapse of years, will have most reason to remember with joy and gratitude to the Almighty.

"An old peasant is reading in the portico. Eighty-four years have passed over his head, and he is almost entirely deaf; nevertheless, he is reading aloud the second of Matthew ; three days since he bespoke a Testament, but not being able to raise the money, he has not redeemed it until the present moment. He has just brought thirty farthings; as I survey the silvery hair which overshadows his sunburnt countenance, the words of the song recurred to me, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." — p. 180.

Still farther on, he finds a purchaser and a patron in a curate. It is at Cobenna, a few leagues from Madrid.

"On arriving at the village, I directed my steps to a house, around the door of which I saw several people gathered, chiefly women. On my displaying my books, their curiosity was instantly aroused, and every person had speedily one in his hand, many reading aloud ; however, after waiting nearly an hour, I had disposed of but one copy, all complaining bitterly of the distress of the times, and the almost total want of money, though at the same time, they acknowledged that the books were wonderfully cheap, and appeared to be very good and Christian-like. I was about to gather up my merchandise and depart, when on a sudden the curate of the place made his appearance. After having examined the books for some time with considerable attention, he asked me the price of a copy, and upon my informing him that it was three reals, he replied, that the binding was worth more, and that he was much afraid that I had stolen the books, and that it was, perhaps, his duty to send me to prison as a suspicious character ; but added, that the books were good books, however they might be obtained, and concluded by purchasing two copies. The poor people no sooner heard their curate recommend the volumes, than all were eager to secure one, and hurried here and there for the purpose of procuring money, so that between twenty and thirty copies were sold almost in an instant. This adventure not

only affords an instance of the power still possessed by the Spanish clergy over the minds of the people, but proves that such influence is not always exerted in a manner favorable to the maintenance of ignorance and superstition.

“In another village, on my showing a Testament to a woman, she said, that she had a child at school for whom she should like to purchase one, but that she must know first whether the book was calculated to be of service to him. She then went away, and presently returned with the schoolmaster, followed by all the children under his care; she then, showing the schoolmaster a book, inquired if it would answer for her son. The schoolmaster called her a simpleton for asking such a question, and said, that he knew the book well, and there was not its equal in the world (*no hay otro en el mundo*). He instantly purchased five copies for his pupils, regretting that he had no more money, ‘for if I had,’ said he, ‘I would buy the whole cargo.’ Upon hearing this, the woman purchased four copies, namely, one for her living son, another for her *deceased husband*, a third for herself, and a fourth for her brother, whom she said she was expecting home that night from Madrid.

“In this manner we proceeded, not, however, with uniform success. In some villages the people were so poor and needy that they literally had no money; even in these, however, we managed to dispose of a few copies in exchange for barley or refreshments. On entering one very small hamlet, Victoriano was stopped by the curate, who, on learning what he carried, told him, that unless he instantly departed, he would cause him to be imprisoned, and would write to Madrid in order to give information of what was going on.” — pp. 187, 188.

Very soon, however, the clergy get alarmed and orders are sent to the alcades of all the villages in New Castile, to seize the New Testament wherever it might be exposed to sale; but not to detain or maltreat the person engaged in it. An exact description of Mr. Borrow accompanied these orders. He now redoubles his efforts at Madrid, and with no slight success.

“My present plan was to abandon the rural districts, and to offer the sacred volume at Madrid, from house to house, at the same low price as in the country. This plan I forthwith put into execution.

“Having an extensive acquaintance amongst the lower orders, I selected eight intelligent individuals to coöperate with me, amongst whom were five women. All these I supplied with Testaments, and then sent them forth to all the parishes in

Madrid. The result of their efforts more than answered my expectations. In less than fifteen days after my return from Naval Carnero, nearly six hundred copies of the life and words of Him of Nazareth had been sold in the streets and alleys of Madrid; a fact which I hope I may be permitted to mention with gladness and with decent triumph in the Lord.

“One of the richest streets is the Calle Montera, where reside the principal merchants and shopkeepers of Madrid. It is, in fact, the street of commerce, in which respect, and in being a favorite promenade, it corresponds with the far-famed ‘Nefsky’ of St. Petersburg. Every house in this street was supplied with its Testament, and the same might be said with respect to the Puerto del Sol. Nay, in some instances, every individual in the house, man and child, man-servant and maid-servant, was furnished with a copy. My Greek, Antonio, made wonderful exertions in this quarter; and it is but justice to say, that, but for his instrumentality, on many occasions, I might have been by no means able to give so favorable an account of the spread of ‘the Bible in Spain.’ There was a time when I was in the habit of saying ‘dark Madrid,’ an expression which, I thank God, I could now drop. It were scarcely just to call a city ‘dark,’ in which thirteen hundred Testaments, at least, were in circulation, and in daily use.

“It was now that I turned to account a supply of Bibles, which I had received from Barcelona in sheets, at the commencement of the preceding year. The demand for the entire Scriptures was great; indeed, far greater than I could answer, as the books were disposed of faster than they could be bound by the man whom I employed for that purpose. Eight-and-twenty copies were bespoke and paid for before delivery. Many of these Bibles found their way into the best houses in Madrid. The Marquis of \*\*\*\*\* had a large family, but every individual of it, old and young, was in possession of a Bible, and likewise a Testament, which, strange to say, were recommended by the chaplain of the house. One of my most zealous agents in the propagation of the Bible was an ecclesiastic. He never walked out without carrying one beneath his gown, which he offered to the first person he met whom he thought likely to purchase. Another excellent assistant was an elderly gentleman of Navarre, enormously rich, who was continually purchasing copies on his own account, which he, as I was told, sent into his native province, for distribution amongst his friends and the poor.” — pp. 190, 191.

Thus, a large edition of the New Testament has been al-

most entirely disposed of in the very centre of Spain, in "spite of the opposition and the furious cry of the sanguinary priesthood, and the edicts of a deceitful government; and a spirit of religious inquiry excited which, I had hope would sooner or later lead to blessed and most important results." "In the churches of Madrid, the New Testament was regularly expounded every Sunday evening, by the respective curates, to about twenty children who attended, and who were all provided with copies of the society's edition of Madrid, 1837."

Two things must, however, be mentioned in this connexion, which greatly impair the prospect of good. Mr. Borrow seems at times to have acted very whimsically and irrationally. Not to mention his leaving the eastern half of Spain almost untouched, he visits the desolate region of Cape Finisterre, at great hazard of life, with a guide who knew nothing of the way, and was crazy besides, having but a single copy of the New Testament to bestow on any one; and that he gives to the coarse ruffian who served for a time as his jailor and protector! One fact like this brings into suspicion the whole agency. He had a right, to be sure, to cast that single Testament into the Dead Sea of superstition and stupidity; but, he had none whatever to encounter for so improbable a good the immense expense, fatigue, and peril incident to an unvisited and savage spot. Again, we find him taking a long and costly journey to Tangier, without having provided a single copy of the Arabic Bible, while yet his situation and opportunity invited him to this and to no other field of benevolence among the African Moors.

But, what we chiefly intend in this connexion is, that everything we do should be arranged in harmony with what already exists. God works always in proportion to all previous works,—so must we, if we would coöperate with him. Summer breezes are not sent in mid-winter, nor do July nights follow our December days. He does not, and we cannot accomplish any great results by immense leaps, by sudden revolutions. Every great event has its series of smaller events, as naturally preceding it, as the printing press went before the Reformation, as the Baptist prepared the way for him whose shoe-latchet he was not worthy to loose, as the overthrow of a nation is preceded by general luxury, and the recovery of a nation by the renewal of its forgotten habit of virtuous industry.

At this hour Spain seems hardly to permit any real Chris-

tianity. A rational, living, peaceful, scriptural, holy faith, — a faith, that walks the earth in deeds of love, and sheds a heavenly calm on every spot its feet may touch, — seems shut out of the Peninsula as by a wall of fire. Subject, like its former colonies in America, to continual revolutions, desolated by incessant civil war, presenting no party with which a good man can heartily unite, having not belief enough to live by, though too much for the comfort of avowed Protestantism, having no justice that cannot be bribed, no power not readily shaken, no hope temporal or spiritual that is stable, no tranquillity that is secure for an hour, — our Master, it seems to us, would never have turned his steps thither, and no Apostle of his will find a single “city” ready “to receive him.” Still in darkness, we fear the hour of daybreak has not yet come. Still groaning under sore oppression, and reeking with the blood of its own sons, shed in causeless strife one with another, its fields ploughed with cannon-whells, its pruning-hooks changed into spears, a bigoted and sensual priesthood standing on the shore and bidding the angel of light spread his wings for some other spot, what welcome has it for the Prince of Peace, what foothold for his living word?

And yet, let us not say there is no possibility of good. Five thousand Testaments, a quarter of which must have perished very speedily, cannot evangelize fourteen millions, many of whom have never learned to read. Still, though not one among a thousand of the people may have heard of this daring assault upon one of the old citadels of Romanism, the little leaven may perchance go on and leaven the whole lump. Through the clergy and the schoolmaster, through the peasant and his child, it may work its way to the general bosom, and awaken a want that cannot be suppressed, a thirst that must be slaked at the Fountain of Life. We pray that it may be so. We would never despise any beginning, however small in worldly eyes. The very course of our religion, and the rise of every sect belonging to it bid us remember how great a matter a little fire kindleth, — how wide may be the circles which a small stone awakens when cast into the sluggish stream. We trust that He who guides the eagle’s flight and notes the sparrow’s fall, who never forgets us though we are insignificant, nor despises us though we are unworthy, may bless to the good of a wretched people this their last hope, may cause this chance-scattered seed of divine truth to spring up eventually, as barley dropped



from the cerements of a mummy has sprung up after a burial of two thousand years !

But, it is the "Bible in Spain ;" and no less interesting and valuable are the views given of this land of old renown ; especially of its humbler classes, the peasantry, the gypsy, and vagrant population. We do not wonder our author was hailed as a brother "by the children of Egypt." These wild wanderers appear to have had for him an irresistible charm ; their company was preferred to that of the highest noble ; their language was studied, written, and talked ; their guardianship was sought ; their promises were trusted ; their wants were relieved ; their moral renovation attempted at many interviews, and we must think at great hazard of the principal work he had in view. It is an interesting fact regarding this peculiar people, that, so long as they were cruelly persecuted, they flourished and increased ; but now, that they have ceased to be punished for any but actual crimes, now that civilization has begun to tame their savage tempers, they are melting away like our Indian tribes. Their condition Mr. Borrow paints to the life ; every virtue except chastity they seem to disown ; every appearance of religion, except wearing a loadstone, or New Testament-charms, they discard ; every injury they can inflict upon those not of their tribe, so far as it can escape the arm of the law, seems to be matter of general congratulation. Their wretchedness has hardly any limit ; and yet they seem to enjoy their forlorn state, and to look down on the rest of the world.

But, in Spain, the gipsies are only one degree below the general level. All classes, in all places, with very few exceptions, are in the depths of misery and despair. We are compelled to ask ourselves, as we pass with our author over these untrodden and trackless highways, and through these ruined villages and silent forests, how have the mighty fallen ? What axe has been laid at the root of this noble and wide-spreading tree ? Has religion, or public policy, or national character, or all united dug this national grave ? Full of rich mines, the land swarms with penniless beggars ; covered with vines and flocks, the olive, sugar-cane, and banana springing almost spontaneously, the people yet starve, the most fertile districts raising not enough for their own subsistence ; teeming with a population temperate, persevering, honest, and brave, her colonies have one after another dropt off like unripe fruit from a withered stem ; her territory has been pared away piece by piece ; and it only needs some more greedy conqueror to take

from her the shrivelled core itself. From the loftiest of European nations she has sunk to the lowest. Her immense sierras are almost wildernesses; her noble rivers are choked with every obstruction which accident may bring; hardly one twelfth of the land is subjected to the plough. Marked out by nature for an unrivalled commerce, look we for a moment at the grand naval arsenal of Spain.

“Sadness came upon me as soon as I entered the place. Grass was growing in the streets, and misery and despair stared me in the face on every side. Ferrol is no longer thronged with those thousand shipwrights, who prepared for sea the tremendous three deckers and long frigates, the greater part of which were destroyed at Trafalgar. Only a few ill paid and half starved workmen still linger about, scarcely sufficient to repair any guarda costa, which may put in dismantled by the fire of some English smuggling schooner from Gibraltar. Half the inhabitants of Ferrol beg their bread. The misery and degradation of modern Spain are nowhere so strikingly manifested as at Ferrol.” — p. 137.

Nor, is this peculiar to one form of industry. Near Finisterre, passing through a miserable hamlet of half a dozen heaps of ruins, still used as huts, Mr. Borrow asked, what village it was? “Village, sir! replied a woman, this is a city; this is Duyo.” And it was once a city of note. The province of Andalusia, by nature fertile and rich, under a glorious sun and a benignant heaven, now lies for the most part uncultivated, producing nothing but thorns and brushwood; an emblem of the state.

And what is the cause of this downfall? When the great Charles conferred upon his son Philip, in the state-hall of Brussels, the empire of which he fancied himself weary, when he told his deeds of arms and numbered his vast territories, when his kingdom was full of wealth and its name a terror to the world, when its army was the best disciplined, and its navy the largest anywhere known, he little thought that for three centuries that glory would be departing from the eyes of the world. The self-same Philip, whom he so magnificently endowed, with all his craft, energy, wealth, power, made his throne totter beneath him. That course of commercial restriction and interference with internal industry was commenced then, under the auspices of a bigoted priesthood, which has continued to this very hour, and eaten out the very sinews of the land. With all the bravery of the East and the riches of

the West, religious bigotry could not prosper. Gem after gem fell from the crown; degradation after degradation followed. We find it stated, that, as early as 1535, Spaniards were prohibited from working their own mines, because those of America were sufficient. This is the first fruits of that spirit of interference, which only rests with utter ruin. The bigotry of Philip banished the Moors, persecuted the Jews, drove away the Lutherans, compelled the Dutch to revolt, did everything as the agent of the church to precipitate his people's ruin.

The mines which he had closed remain for the most part shut up to this day. The manufactures, from which a selfish and sectarian policy had banished the Moors, were encouraged and intoxicated by the stimulus of a high tariff, until they seem to have been nearly killed by kindness. The Bourbons, who, upon their return, having learned nothing by experience, laid duties on many articles amounting to prohibition, only succeeded in raising the price and diminishing the quality and quantity of the factory-goods. When at last this hot-bed process could go no farther, manufactures sunk into their present lethargy. In no one article is enough furnished for home consumption; and in some cases, the raw material is sent abroad to be manufactured, and then brought back ready for use.

With a better opportunity for the carrying trade than any other nation, so situated that the golden showers of commerce would seem to fall of necessity into her bosom, everything like a commercial navy has ceased to be. "A few casks of wine, with a few barrels of grapes, are the residuary legatees of her commerce."

The industry of Spain is the lowest possible. Though in Catalan, Biscayan, and Gallego, where the restraint of government is less felt, the people are laborious; yet, as the government can only raise by taxation the half of its current expenses, the laborer is necessarily ground to the dust by taxation. The more he has the worse he is. The gypsies for instance suffering little; while the successful farmer is robbed of everything he raises.

Nor is it merely through the government that the Romish priesthood have proved a curse to Spain. It is true the government has trodden the life out of the prostrate limbs of a famous people. It is true they have committed every mistake, and rushed blindfold into every ruinous measure. But,

why have the people at large lain still to be ruined? How has the peasant, the mechanic, the merchant folded his hands, and let the wrong pass unresisted, unremedied?

This question reaches the depths of the difficulty. The degradation of the Spaniard has been going on year by year for centuries; his own fall has been contemporaneous with the fall of his proud land. One thing after another has occurred to debilitate his character and crush his heart; and, no angel has yet come to him in his darkness, to bid him, "arise and walk." He has seemed left of Heaven to his fate. The vast wealth pouring in from the mines of the New World poisoned the public veins. Pride of the worst kind was its first offspring, then luxury with its brood of vices, then, in connexion with oppressive commercial restrictions, the most hopeless indolence.

And who shall say, their religion has not hastened this fall, and secured every downward step against the possibility of return? Not only banishing the rival labor of heretics, not only weeding out some of the most active minds with its Inquisition, but, by its innumerable holy-days, its vast indulgencies, its intellectual stupidity, its stationary atmosphere, if not by the vices of its clergy, giving a deadly blow to the Spanish mind. The utter ignorance in which the clergy find it for their interest to retain the people, the gross superstitions, which attend such a grown-up childhood, go very far of themselves to explain the Spanish supineness under oppression; and particularly point to the cause of that hatred of the English, which, in the midst of such costly benefactions, appears so strange.

It may be the purpose of Providence to revive this dying plant, by reversing the process of its decay. Mr. Borrow proves abundantly that the Pope's chief treasure-house is now lost to him forever; that the people are not papists any longer in reality; that the anti-priestly party is altogether the most numerous and growing; that the monks are rapidly decreasing; and that, amongst the commonalty everywhere, blind devotion to the church is turning to vehement hatred; the "exclusive bigotry," which once characterized them, now lingering only among the higher ranks. This very enterprise of his, so Quixotic in appearance, so perilous in execution, so imperfect in result, may be part of the appointed instrumentality for reviving the land of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, Calderon and Mariana, and restoring it to its place among the nations of

the earth. The poverty of the people may be their desert-pilgrimage to a land of promise; their sad, civil wars the preparation for a latter day of peace, and rest, and glory. Though the sword, the scaffold, exile, and the dungeon have done their work with some of the noblest and finest minds, we cannot doubt there are true souls waiting but a word to call them forth; we cannot but hope even for oppressed, benighted, ruined, hopeless Spain.

F. W. H.

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## THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

### NO. II.

#### THE AUTHORSHIP, USE, AND PRESERVATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

OUR second division of the documentary history of Christianity, is, the authorship, publication, use, and preservation of the New Testament records. As already observed, it is a perfectly supposable case, that our religion might have been transmitted to us without any records—at least without records written by its first teachers. When, however, such records are once made, they immediately stand upon the same footing with all other documents. The circumstance of their being written by inspired men may affect their style, their language, their narratives, and their original authority, but it will not secure them from the chances and accidents to which all documents are subject; it will not prevent the pen from committing verbal errors in the transcription, nor keep the ink from fading, nor preserve an ill-treated manuscript,—nor guard the types in a printing office against all mistakes. Sacred records, being once left behind by their authors, share the lot of other records; they are called books, and are treated like books,—they have a history,—they require explanation,—they involve critical inquiries.

Again, if a religion is transmitted in records, it is evident that those records will be appealed to and searched for the best information concerning the religion. Whatever oral tradition,—



or existing monuments, or prevalent institutions, or general literature may assert, or prove concerning the religion, we shall look to its own earliest and most authoritative documents for our original knowledge and our main evidence. To this both believers and unbelievers are bound. The believer must vindicate his religion by its documents, the unbeliever, in denying the religion, must account for and explain the documents. When Christianity has been attacked on the ground of defects in its literary history, unbelievers have made the equally bold and false assertion, that the Gospels were not heard of or known to exist till a century after the death of the last of the apostles, and they think that by making this assertion they have exploded the religion. They certainly make a very easy estimate of the work which they have before them — for the task still remains for them, to account for the existence and origin of the records, for the stupendous falsehoods charged by them upon books, the purpose of which is to teach honesty, and for the deception which, they allege, has been practised upon believers and martyrs, upon travellers and scholars, for more than sixty generations.

There is one argument for the authority of those Scriptures and for the truth of their contents, which people in general cannot feel in its full force, unless they are familiar with classical and antiquarian studies. This argument is based upon the infinite superiority of those writings to the age in which they were produced. The pens which wrote them, the parchment upon which they were inscribed, were never put to such uses before. Regarding the piety, the spirituality, the intense and all-absorbing devotion of their writers, which they vindicate beyond all cavil, it would appear that a communication from heaven to the soul of man is the simplest solution which we can discover for the appearance of those records among the orations, plays, poems, and letters of classic authors. Who wrote them? Somebody did! For no one will presume that they dropped all written from the skies. And if somebody wrote them, who was it? We know the classic authors of those days. They do not pretend to have composed the New Testament. Here then are writings which urge us to discover their authors. Merely as a literary problem it is worthy any man's study. And when we reflect that that volume, when put upon the shelves of a library among all the other books which existed at its first appearance, seems like a pure and white-robed angel,

lovely and meek and wise as if just from the gates of Paradise, in company of the foul and deep-stained and half-sighted men, who have never left the earth, we feel a willingness in our minds, yes, even a desire in our hearts, to make the truth our guide, and to be the willing disciples of all that truth can teach. Here then is both a task and a pleasure before us. The task is to search out the authors of the New Testament. The pleasure is to seek for the truth by the light of the truth.

If a religion is to any degree entrusted by its first teachers to documents, to histories and letters, it is important that they should be short, simple, various in their character, and above all that they should admit of being authenticated by the intelligent to the less informed. They should be short, simple, and various in their character to adapt them to the common uses of life, to the common means of the majority of readers, to the facility of perusal, study, and obedience. They should be genuine and authentic, that the religion may have about it nothing fabulous, that they may possess the original authority of the first teachers, that they should admit of being traced to the first generation of believers, and of being proved to be the works of those individuals whose names they bear.

Here then we are presented with the points which demand our attention in the study of the testimony to the New Testament records. We wish to satisfy ourselves that they come from the earliest age, that they were essentially the same then as they are now, and were severally written by the authors whose names they bear. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Peter, Paul, James, and Jude, are their alleged authors; the records then must be traced to their lifetime, and if we satisfy ourselves that they wrote anything, we must next inquire if we have essentially the same writings as theirs.

We feel concerned to establish these points, and in reflecting upon the task the first thought which presents itself to our notice is, that others before us have felt the same interest in it. We are not alone in this inquiry. This book, the New Testament, small as it is, has attracted more of the earnest and sincere regard of sixty generations of the most civilized and intelligent people on the earth, than any object that exists on the globe. And this first thought which leads us to look back with respect upon the millions who have shared our interest, leads us to the first argument in favor of those very points which we most wish to establish. Our predecessors have admitted

them as proved. Each step that we may take backwards introduces us to convictions more and more clear, till we come to that generation, which, among all its believers and its doubters, did not comprise one man who denied the author or his record, any more than among the political contests of the present day, the debates of party leaders are denied to their respective authors. An inquirer is often told that if he would examine any subject with impartiality, he should approach it as if no one before him had engaged in the same work. The advice would still be bad, even if it were not impracticable. This subject, at least, we should examine with the clear recognition that millions have examined it before us.

What an immense amount of evidence is necessarily presupposed in the existence of these records and the estimation in which they are held. To overthrow all this, would require the reversion of the process by which it has been built up. The accumulations of long ages must be removed to lay bare the foundation upon which the first convictions were based. We may imagine the nature and labor of the task, if one should undertake to destroy all the documentary evidence to Christianity which now exists; such as sermons, dictionaries, commentaries, controversies, ecclesiastical records, biographies, last wills, charters, maps, pictures, and monuments. Such is the task neither lighter nor less comprehensive, which he has to perform, who would bring in question the authorship and integrity of the New Testament records. Atheists have found a difficulty in admitting that the world was made out of nothing, but they have found no difficulty in asserting that not only the Testament but also the long continued and sincere reverence for it were made out of nothing. Such then is the assistance which we have from those who have gone before us in the same inquiry. They felt an equal interest in it — they lived in periods which, as we look backwards, admitted them nearer and nearer to original evidence. They satisfied themselves, and in that result, they laid the foundation for the first argument in aid of the faith of those who should succeed them.

And we should all admit the force of this argument readily and gladly, were it not for that common spirit of skepticism which attacks sacred things, as if no evidence whatever, which is overwhelming on all other subjects, could possibly avail here. 'This is no more reasonable than if we should say that a church could not resist time and weather, and shelter its worshippers,

unless it were built of materials different from those used in the construction of dwelling houses. There is one simple remedy for this universal skepticism ; it is that we rebuke ourselves for it, just as we rebuke others who doubt what we believe or know. When a forward or obstinate child presumes to doubt what we admit with the whole world as true and unquestionable, the impatience which we feel with him we ought to feel with ourselves, when in our partial knowledge we prefer to wrestle with the whole world, rather than with our own misgivings or ignorance.

Again, it might seem as if when we ask the questions whether the contents of the New Testament were written by their alleged authors, and are read by us as first written, we should find some aid towards answering them, in the books themselves. It would seem as if their own testimony, when we know nothing against it, should be worth something. The writers of the books tell us that the religion was new to them, at first unintelligible and unwelcome ; it snapped their dearest and closest ties, it heaped upon them mortifications and troubles. They did not invent the religion ; for they did not understand it when offered to them. They name each other, and if one has deceived, all have deceived. The writers combined into a most iniquitous league, based on falsehood and bringing sufferings on themselves, for the sake of teaching honesty to the world and making men happy. If they were true men, their own evidence is valuable, — if they were impostors we must prove them so, before we call them so. We have given these hints to indicate what a skeptic must do to disprove the authorship and purity of the records of the New Testament. Let us now inquire what we must do to prove those points. First, then, we are to trace the contents of the New Testament to the natural lifetime of the first teachers of Christianity. Taking the year 1 as the date of the Saviour's birth, and the year 33 as that of his death, we start at this latter period, and begin to search for writings, guiding ourselves at first by good reason as to the time, occasion, and purpose of the first records. It is evident that as long as all the Christian converts were within reach of the voices of Apostles and authorized preachers, the converts would prefer, both from habit and advantage, to hear them, rather than to read their writings. During the lifetime and active labors of the first Christian preachers, while their converts were neither numerous nor widely scattered, we can

see but one occasion which would call for their committing anything to writing. If an apostle had visited a city or a village, and had there established a company of believers, when his duty called him to another region, he could not but carry with him an interest in those whom he left. They were as yet feeble, partially instructed, and subject to backsliding and temptation. They needed comfort, sympathy, and counsel; they would look to their first teacher in a neighboring or a distant city to watch over them, to continue a kind interest in them, and if he could not visit them again, to transmit his encouragement and his advice, either by a messenger, in the shape of a zealous believer, or by a letter of comfort and instruction. When opportunity permitted, a short letter might be committed to a faithful messenger, with instructions to enlarge and lengthen it by kind and friendly information concerning its author. Our supposition founded in the reason of things was fulfilled in fact. The Epistles of the New Testament were written under the very circumstances which we have described — to communities of believers from absent apostles, transmitted by messengers, who in some cases filled out their contents by word of mouth. But some time would elapse after the death of the Saviour before these letters would be necessary. The first preachers, by the regulations of their own office, were obliged first to offer their religion to their own countrymen, the Jews. This obligation would confine them for some time to Judea. Strangers and visitors in that country, who might chance to hear them, would carry home the tidings of the religion, and would thus prepare the way to receive the Gospel in their own cities. Slowly, and with great opposition from their own prejudices, did the horizon of the apostles enlarge, and extend itself from the privileged people of the Jews, till it comprehended the Gentiles. Allowing time therefore for this continued preaching in Judea, for the travelling from place to place, the formation of communities of believers, and their subsequent encouragement by letters addressed to them from a distance, our own calculations would naturally bring us to the same dates as are indicated in the Epistles of Paul, viz. from and after the year 57. So might we say of the other Epistles. They would be highly valued, copied, and transmitted from one church to another, and after the death of the authors they would be revered. When circumstances led the Christians to collect together the writings of the Apostles, each company of believers



could attest its own letter. So much for the origin and dates of the Epistles contained in the New Testament.

The Book of the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke, refers to a former treatise, the Gospel. The Acts of the Apostles closes with the relation of Paul as residing at Rome, which time is defined by a comparison of many particulars, to have been as late as the year 63. This book is a narrative of the first labors, a sketch of the first journeys of the apostles, particularly of Paul. It follows and describes his labors at the very time when he was writing his Epistles. In this coincidence we are furnished with a most remarkable test for trying the integrity of the Acts and the Epistles, by their several contents, as, though written by different hands, they describe the same scenes, circumstances, and characters. Upon the comparison of these documents, Paley has built up one of the proudest and most indisputable arguments for the authorship and credibility of the Epistles of Paul. The argument is to this effect. Suppose a traveller in the various experiences of his journeys, in his troubles, anxieties, good or bad reception, writes a series of letters to friends in many different places, describing to one his companions, to another the dangers through which he has passed, to another the condition, health, or happiness of one whom he had just visited or written to. Suppose that while the traveller himself was thus marking his journey, with these constant memorials of his progress and experiences, one who accompanied him at some times, and was informed of his motions at others, and visited the same places which he had just left, had likewise made a record of occurrences. We know that these documents would mutually illustrate each other, and that the best possible means, which we could have for verifying them, would be in comparing them together. The case supposed is precisely that which is realized in the Epistles, written by Peter and Paul, and the narrative of their labors by Luke. The testimony, which a comparison of those documents furnishes to the Christian faith, is invaluable, and it might seem irresistible.

From many details in the Acts and Epistles themselves, we assign them dates from 57 to 63. But the writer of Acts, which book we date in 63, refers to a former treatise written by him, and in that former treatise he speaks of other writers who have undertaken to set forth an account of the same transactions. The Gospel of Luke, with those of Matthew and Mark, we date about the year 60. That by John, for

reasons hereafter to be mentioned, we assign to a later time. The first three Gospels would likewise reasonably have been required for the use of converts, when they had become numerous, when the preachers were obliged to perform their mission over a large extent of country, or when enfeebled by age, they could not look for much more time for active toil. We conclude then that nearly thirty years had elapsed after the death of Christ, before the publication of either of the Gospels. Any time during their natural lives would be soon enough for this preparation of records. It is evident, too, from the Gospels themselves, that some time must have passed, during which the hearts and minds of the Apostles were preparing to comprehend their work, before they wrote the memoirs which we read. They show in them a superiority to the prejudices under which they labored, when their Master lived. They evidently understand the meaning of the words as referring to the admission of the Gentiles to Christian privileges when they write, "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham," — "preach the Gospel to every creature." That some time elapsed before they wrote, may likewise be inferred from the remark, "that field is called the field of blood to this day." On the other hand, we cannot suppose the first three Gospels were written at a later period than the year 70, for this was the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, and everything in those Gospels indicates that though that event was predicted, it had not come to pass. Relying upon the integrity of the writers, we assert that if the event had occurred, they could not have omitted all mention of it. If anything connected with the first preaching of Christianity is founded in fact, then is it beyond all question that the Evangelists were honest men. They could not be guilty of meanness, subterfuge, and falsehood, they could not by adroit and cunning artifice have avoided all mention of the fulfilment of what they record as predicted. That universal skepticism to which we have referred will imagine anything, in order to evade what it is unwilling to believe. In doubting the alleged authorship of the first three Gospels, and in ascribing them to other writers and a later time, the unbeliever must charge upon them deception and falsehood. For ourselves we would positively refuse, and if we had any influence with others, we would urge them to refuse, to hold any argument with an unbeliever, who should deny the *honesty* of the first teachers of Christianity, —

the men who passed through fire to teach integrity. If they were honest, they were candid, artless, and disingenuous writers. If Jerusalem had been destroyed when they wrote, as honest men they would have said so, and even if dishonest men, one or another of the writers would have dropped some hint to that effect unguardedly. But everything in their narratives indicates the standing of the city, the regular service of the Temple, the quiet of peace, not the misery of a siege, or the havoc of war. In recording the prediction of the desolation, the warning is added, "Let him that readeth understand," and there are many other expressions which would not have been used, if the plough had passed over the city.

From our best historical information we are justified in concluding, that St. John saw the other three Gospels, before he composed his own, which he intended as a supplement, and that he likewise wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem. He says, "there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool having five porches," thus indicating the standing of the city. History likewise assures us, that he was younger than his Master, that he outlived all the Apostles, that his Revelation was written about the year 98, that he died after the year 100, and that his Epistles were written between his two larger works. We have on these points such evidence as always satisfies us on other points. The materials, which will build good dwelling houses, will build good churches.

Thus history and facts agree with our own best judgment in assuring us, that after the year 60, and before the year 100, that is, within 67 years after the death of Christ, the contents of the New Testament were written by the first teachers of Christianity. If there was reason for their being written at all, those who first received them, with at least equal interest in the matter as our own, would take care to assure themselves that they were not imposed upon. The Gospel of Matthew was written for the Hebrews, in their own language, and soon translated into Greek; the rest of the New Testament was written in Greek; and the different parts of the volume were composed in various places, such as Judea, Rome, Greece Ephesus, Corinth, Macedonia, and Patmos.

Now it is important for us to look attentively at the nature and reason of things, in order to instruct ourselves beforehand, as to the kind of testimony for the existence and estimation of those records, which we may expect to find, in the subsequent

writings of the Christians. Our own good judgment must always be enlisted upon the side of our faith and our religion. When an author now intends to publish a volume, he bargains with publisher and printer, he reads portions of his manuscript to friends, — one of whom announces it here and there with his tongue, while another prepares the way for it by notices in the newspapers, and a third reads over the sheets as they pass through the press, in order that he may have an early criticism upon it in the review which shall next follow it. When at last it is printed, it may be found in a dozen different places, where likewise may be found other books on the same subject. This is the case now, but it was not the case eighteen centuries ago. There can be no question now about an author, unless he conceals his name. Or take a different case. One hundred and fifty years after the death of Milton, there was found in the State Paper Office, London, a *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, in manuscript. No other works of the author referred to it, — of course no quotations could have been made from it in other books within that period, — and no one was living who could say that he wrote it. Still there was not the slightest difficulty in proving him to be the author. Now as to the authorship and publication of the New Testament records, if we had whole libraries of books written at the same time, we could not expect to find in half of them a mention of the new writings. For, in the first place, by their original purpose the different documents were scattered over a great extent of country. They were designed for different communities. Those who cherished one document might not know of the existence of another. Much time must necessarily have elapsed, before they could be brought within the reach of any one man. Again, as long as the writers lived, their works would be thought of less than themselves. All who could see or hear the men, would esteem this a higher privilege, than to read some parts of their histories or opinions. Once more, the privilege of hearing those to whom the Apostles committed their doctrine, information, and office, their successors in the ministry of the first generation, would be considered fully equal to that of reading a brief narrative, which might be gone through in the space of one or two hours. It would be more natural likewise, that the Christians should refer at first more to what this Apostle or his friend and disciple said or did, than to what they wrote. These first Christians would take the written record, and preserve it with reverence for their

children ; but for themselves they would cherish most the memory of what they had seen and heard. It would be for their children to study, quote, and transcribe the written record.

Allowing these considerations and others, which might be mentioned, to decide what we are to expect to find in Christian testimony to the Scriptures, we should reason as follows. Allowing all the records to have been distributed to their several destinations by the year 100, we should expect to find some notices of them, within a quarter of a century from those who had seen the Apostles, or been taught by their immediate successors. Such notices we should expect to find increasing in length and number as time advanced, till by the close of one more century we should expect to find abundant evidence of the diffusion of the records, and of their being regarded with universal and unexceptionable reverence. These expectations are fully answered by facts to be found in books and records, which carry us up to the very age of the Apostles. We have space to give only a brief sketch of this testimony. For the sake of brevity, we will make quotations with reference only to the Four Gospels, and but very few of these, leaving without mention a host of Christian writers.

Papias was Bishop of Hierapolis, A. D. 116 ; he is supposed to have been acquainted with St. John, and he says, he was acquainted with many of the disciples of the Apostles ; he wrote a treatise entitled *Explications of the Oracles of the Lord*, in which he says, “ Matthew wrote the Divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able.” He says, the Presbyter John told him, “ that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, carefully wrote down all that he retained in memory of the actions or discourses of Christ.” These are just such notices as we should expect at so early a period.

Justin Martyr was born of Gentile parents in Samaria, and converted to Christianity. At Rome, in the year 150, he addressed a *Defence of Christianity* to the Emperor Antoninus Pius ; he afterwards had a controversy with a Jew, or wrote a book in that form, and in the year 162 made another defence of Christianity addressed to Marcus Antoninus. An account of the Life and Doctrines of Christ might be made from his first Defence. He speaks of the *Memoirs* composed by the Apostles, which are called Gospels. He quotes passages in great profusion from all the Gospels, and in mentioning



the Memoirs, he distinguishes between those written by the Apostles, and by the companions of Apostles, that is, between Matthew and John, and Mark and Luke. He tells us how these sacred books were read in the assemblies of Christians on the Lord's day, and how reverently they were regarded by Christians. All this before the year 150. And let us remember that this is not merely the testimony of one man. He expresses the sentiments of his age and brethren, the well assured belief of all the Christians that then existed. There was no controversy or question about the records then. Not a single voice rises up to contradict them. And if Justin writes at the year 150, he is good evidence for a length of time before that date. In the year 168, Theophilus was Bishop of Antioch; all that remains of his writings is an account and defence of Christianity, addressed to a heathen, in which are the following passages. "Concerning the righteousness of which the Law speaks, the like things are to be found also in the Prophets and Gospels; because that all spoke by the inspiration of one and the same spirit of God."

These things the Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the spirit, among whom John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." After quoting from Proverbs a precept of charity, he adds, "But the Evangelic voice teaches purity yet more imperatively," — quoting Matthew, v. 28, 32. Here then we find a most familiar use of the New Testament, within less than seventy years after it had been completed by the pens of its writers. The documents scattered abroad by them are referred to, as if a heathen ought by that time to have known something concerning them.

From Asia we may come to the very centre of Gaul, now called France. There we find Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in 178. He was educated by Polycarp, a disciple of John, and heard from the very lips of his teacher the history given by the mouth of the Apostle. Writing against the heretics, he says, "We have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others, than those, through whom the Gospel has come down to us; which Gospel they first preached, and afterwards by the will of God transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith." "For after our Lord had risen from the dead, and the Apostles, clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit descending upon

them from on high, were filled with all gifts and possessed perfect knowledge, they went forth to the ends of the earth, spreading the glad tidings of those blessings which God has conferred upon us, and announcing peace from heaven to men; having all and every one alike the Gospel of God. Matthew, then among the Hebrews, published a Gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their departure (or death) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached, and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel while he dwelt at Ephesus, in Asia," &c. Here the Gospels are expressly alleged in the face of heresy as the sole foundation, sure and honored, for the Christian faith. Several more remarkable passages might be quoted from the same writer. We will select from two more writers, not to amplify the testimony, but to draw it from different parts of the world as then known.

Tertullian of Carthage, in Africa, was the first and most eloquent of the Latin Fathers. He was distinguished before the year 200. No modern works on Divinity afford more full and explicit testimony to the Scriptures of the New Testament than his. He quotes from every part of Matthew, Luke, and John; he speaks of their being publicly read in worship; and boldly refers the heathen to them as ready for their search. Once more, pass to Alexandria, in Egypt, where Clement the Bishop died before the year 220, and wrote those works of his, which we have, before the year 200. His testimony to the New Testament writings is most explicit; his quotations from it are now appealed to in reference to disputed texts. He says of certain words which a heretic had ascribed to Christ, "In the first place, we have not that saying in the Four Gospels which have been handed down to us." "Handed down," that is the expression. And the very fact, that he makes to them the last appeal, is proof conclusive of the reverent estimation in which they were held. It would be useless for us to bring down this line of argument any farther, for it would be as if we were to go into an immense library of Sermons and Tracts, and undertake to prove by the texts they contain, that their authors revered the New Testament. After the dates from which

we have quoted, references to the New Testament might be drawn out in an unending chain. It will be perceived that regarding the different purposes designed by the different writers of the sacred records, the fact that these records were widely scattered in various directions, as they were addressed, the continuance of verbal information concerning the Apostles, we said regarding these and many more particulars, it would appear that time was necessary to bring the Scriptures into such notice, as to admit of their being familiarly referred to. We observe likewise, that in these quotations from, and references to them, one generation blends its own testimony with that of another generation. He who, in the year 116, speaks of the Gospels as read and held in high honor, of course speaks what he had been taught by his father or teacher, and thus carries us back to the generation before his own. We have endeavored to concentrate the force of this testimony upon the year 150, a period too early for any fraud to have been then practised, and sufficiently near to the time of the Apostles to satisfy every mind, as to the validity of the authority then attributed to the New Testament records. At the year 175, when the aged men might have remembered apostolical times, and when those in later life might have owed their Christian education to the disciples and Apostles, we find the Gospels and Epistles treated with the most sacred reverence, referred to as the bulwarks of the faith, quoted as a final appeal, and enforced upon coming generations with the most solemn counsels of the original believers. Whence came this reverence, this confidence in the records, this willingness to appeal and to allow an appeal to them, this transmitted solemnity of the trust? It came not from supposition or mere belief of their authority, but from a knowledge of it, a clear demonstration of their apostolic origin, which never was questioned by heretic or infidel, till the Christian church had faced the storms of more than a thousand years.

The other question which we proposed to ourselves was, as to the genuineness of those records, that is, whether we have, unaltered, the very writings which we know were received so heartily and universally. Does the New Testament, as we read it, contain essentially, without adulteration, addition, or loss, the very productions of the sacred writers? We may find in the arguments, which we have just pursued, the main evidence to satisfy us on this further question. The unbeliever or doubter

will say, admitting that this long chain of authors, reaching to the very lifetime of the Evangelists and Apostles, does quote with reverence their writings, how do we know that those writings have not been grossly corrupted during the ignorance, the havoc, and the heresies of long time? Christian ministers and writers have often shown not too much earnestness, but too much anxiety on this point. If a bold and presuming skeptic tells us, that we can have no certainty, whether we read the Gospels and Epistles as they were written, we shall not distress ourselves, because he uses his tongue to make an unsupported assertion. He may make the assertion if he pleases, but after he has made it he must prove it, and it will be time enough for us to entertain it when he advances some proof of it. For completeness sake, however, we may just mention the arguments, which we have laid up for defence.

We have seen, that in the year 175, or to take an even date, in the year 200, we have full and explicit testimony of the existence of the Christian Scriptures, of their familiar quotation, and of the solemn, not to say superstitious reverence, with which they were regarded. There are known to exist now about 670 manuscript copies of the whole, or portions of the New Testament, in the original Greek, found in different parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. There are also manuscripts of early translations of those Scriptures from Greek, into eleven other languages. Besides, there are scattered over the commentaries, homilies, expositions, and other works of early Christian writers, such abundant and repeated quotations from the New Testament, that if we only knew the order in which to place them, we might make a New Testament from those works. From these Greek manuscripts, these translated manuscripts, and these quotations in other works, we draw some thousand of repetitions of each sentence in the New Testament. In comparing these together, we detect variations between a few words, and a few letters. These trivial and unimportant errors, which are rectified by comparison, originated in three ways; from slips of the pen in writing, from erroneous translations of one word by another, and from a quotation having been made from memory, instead of from a reference to the text. Now before the contents of the New Testament had been published a hundred years, errors of this kind attracted notice, and we find them spoken of, and censured. So great was the reverence for the records, that even these slight mistakes were deplored. Can we

you that wilful errors would have been permitted? Just as at the present time, there is scarcely a copy of the Bible free from errors of the press, or of translation, while a wilful corruption of it would be absolutely impossible. Now we say, that this reverence universally attached to the Christian Scriptures, at the very first mention which we find of them, was given to those Scriptures because they were believed to be the works of inspired men. Their purity and authority, which made them to be revered, would guard their purity from corruption, and secure their authority from being lessened. Would our fathers have mutilated the Christian Scriptures? No! Would their fathers? No, nor theirs, nor the tenth nor the twentieth generation before them. Why should we think that we are more anxious about the integrity of those records, than the very men to whom we refer as first honoring and cherishing them more than their lives?

Would they with one hand write their testimony to the Scriptures, and with the other falsify them? Would they march to the stake to attest their devotion, and after having just corrupted the pillar and foundation of their children's trust? The supposition is monstrous. It is not for one instant to be imagined that those, who from the year 100 to 200 first attest those Scriptures, were at the same time corrupting them. And if they did not corrupt them, who did? In the first place, who would corrupt them? Who could cherish the purpose of going over the earth and buying up those manuscripts to tamper with them, or take his own copy and mutilate it? Surely no believer would do this. There was no object which he could gain by it. It would have been a most thankless task. Perhaps it may be said the heretic or the infidel would have been willing to do it. Perhaps so; but could they have done it? We ask a second question — Who could have corrupted the Scriptures of the New Testament? All those manuscripts, translations, and quotations, to which we have referred, are essentially the same, therefore they must have come from the same originals. We account for this agreement by the integrity of the early Christians, who, though divided by land, by language, and by controversies, all revered the Scriptures. Now if you say that any one could corrupt those records, you must show that he could have done so before the year 200; for after that date it was manifestly impossible to introduce such corruptions as would appear in all the copies. But at the year



200, the only time when such a general corruption could have been made, there were by the lowest computation of known facts, three millions of Christians in the Roman Empire alone. Allowing one copy of the Scriptures to every one hundred Christians, there would have been 30,000 copies to have been corrupted in the very faces of their owners.

No records of ancient times can produce such overwhelming evidence for their authorship and integrity as the New Testament Scriptures.

G. E. E.

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#### CLERICAL ECONOMICS.

Two pleasant little volumes have lately fallen into our hands, of which we will give some account. They relate to what we may term the economics of the clergyman's life — to the lesser matters of the law; lesser, however, only in the theological sense; greater in every other. For who will be so much a spiritualist as to deny that the body needs to be fed, and clothed, and sheltered, first of all; that learning, preaching, philosophizing, and even every form of neologism, must be held inferior to the necessities which subject us to the dinner and breakfast table, and the labor which brings the money that covers them with wholesome food. Man is primarily a body, a feeding animal; in quite a secondary sense a thinking, reading, and printing animal; and unless the first class of wants is well looked after, he will do little at thinking, reading, or printing. Yet, though these truths are so very elementary, they are but imperfectly considered, and many clergymen are seen to attend with very little intelligence and thrift, to the duties they imply. It may be very true that where the minister has failed to prosper in his temporalities, it has been because he has devoted himself too exclusively to the spiritualities; he has studied hard and preached well, but has died in poverty, and left behind him a dependent family; he has written sermons by the thousand, has visited faithfully his flock, forgotten neither his Greek nor his Latin, and added German or Chinese, but has

never been able to make both ends of the year meet ; has never paid a bill when it was due, and in a word, has never been out from ‘under the barrow.’ This self-sacrifice, as some will call it, is very commendable and virtuous, no doubt. Seriously, we give all honor to those, who, if one class of duties is to be neglected and forborne, if to attend to more than one be an absolute impracticability, choose that which concerns the welfare of others the most, their own the least — are willing to go half-clad, or half-fed, to relinquish all the little luxuries and indulgences of life, rather than starve their minds for want of books ; and unwilling to give their people poor sermons, old or new, because they must needs be abroad in the meadows, with hoe or scythe, that neither the dairy, nor the hay-loft, nor the vegetable bins, nor the pork-barrel may fail of their abundance, whatever else may fail. But what we should be inclined to doubt or deny is, the necessary divorce between the classes of duties in question. We cannot believe that there is any incompatibility between a well appointed, orderly, thriving household, an abundance of the good things of this world, — taking our ministers’ salaries as they rise, — and a faithful discharge of the public functions of the pastor’s office. It is owing, we imagine, rather to bad habits, false notions, foolish prejudices, than anything more creditable, that the humble duties of a wise domestic economy are so often foregone, that so many fail to devote the spare hours which fall to every one, especially to the country minister, to the various out-door labors which would give health to the body, and new vigor to the mind, at the same time it lengthened out the salary, and supplied larder and cellar with a larger provision, and of a better quality.

We do not mean to say that there are none who, in the best and wisest manner, to a right discharge of the sacred duties of their great office, add diligence and prudence in the affairs of the family, and manage to large profiting the garden or the farm, the poultry-yard and the pig-stye. There are not wanting among our country ministers men, who for the well arranged economy of their households, for their active industry, their power of accomplishing not only one, but many things, their early rising and late going to bed, their true piety and worldly thrift, their due mingling and proportioning of the things of heaven and earth, their Sunday preachings, their closet studies, and their garden labors, their well furnished minds, and their equally well furnished barns and houses, need not fear

a comparison with that original genius, that truly devout man, and almost model-minister, Robert Robinson. Take them together, and we are persuaded the incumbents of the country parishes, in this part of the Union, are not only as pure and pious, but as industrious, and, according to their capital, as thrifty a body of men as can be found anywhere, either in or out of the ecclesiastical order. But all are not so. There are many who get along but in a slovenly manner, whose income never supports them, and never would though it were doubled, whose hands, if they sometimes hold a book or pen, never wield the spade or the hoe, whose gardens are not, or are wildernesses of weeds, whose outgoings are always, and incomings (save the salary) never and nothing, who see nature lying around ready to yield the richest returns for a little labor, returns that what with the garden, the pasture, the bee-house, the poultry-yard, and the pig-stye would add a quarter to their resources, and double the pleasures of life, yet never dream of accepting what she proffers, at least on the terms proposed. There are many, like these, absolutely insensible to the charms and advantages of their position, and to whom a better service could hardly be rendered than the sending, for their instruction, of a copy of the memoirs of the aforesaid Robert Robinson, in which they might see, as in a demonstration, how it is quite a possible thing to be a good householder, and at the same time a faithful steward and dispenser of the Word. The *Memoirs of Robinson* is, unfortunately, a book not to be had. But any book that revealed all the mysteries of the prudent management and successful cultivation of a small estate, and which, in an attractive style,—a book that for gardening, and its associated cares, should be what Walton's angler is for fishing,—should describe the methods, the pleasures, and the gains of the kind of life we are commending, would be a very valuable addition to a minister's library. The requisite information of every kind lies, indeed, scattered through many volumes; but we know not where to find it consolidated into a single treatise, adding to its science the charms of style, and a genuine enthusiasm for rural life, so as to constitute the Classic which we need. Does no one of our parishes furnish the poet-minister, the minister-poet, for a poet he should be, who can make such a book? He must be a practical man, or the work will want the interest that derives from the recounting of personal experiences; he must be a man of science, or it will want authority

and dignity ; he must be a man of a devout mind, or the golden thread will not be present to bind the whole together ; and a poet too, or the style will lack the graces of language and thought a poet's imagination alone can supply, and without which it will fail to win its way into that poet's-corner of the heart, where all good things make, not their burial place, but their home.

Why should not the World-life of the minister have its special Hand-book, as well as his Pulpit-life ? For this last, the volumes are hardly to be counted that have been written ; not one of them, however, that we have ever seen, possesses either the genius or the charms such a work is susceptible of, and quite deserves to be adorned with. Claude, with his fine-spun, tedious minuteness, notwithstanding his valuable thought in the text, and the occasional entertainment of the notes, is hardly a readable book. Burnet, wise and solid, is not absolutely seductive. Ostervald, Gerard, in his "Pastoral Care," and our own Dr. Miller, — they are all excellent in their way, abounding in judicious and needed instruction, but there is not one that fills out the idea the mind readily forms, of a treatise such as the subject deserves. The quaint Eachard alone is read at a sitting ; but though strong and witty he is coarse, and quite destitute of the tenderness and simple-hearted piety that should pervade such a work, not to add that his temperament is anything but the poetic. But such as they are, they abound, and some of the best minds in the church, and in every denomination, have tried their powers in their composition. They have undoubtedly been of great service, especially to the young divine, when he first assumes the heavy burden of his profession ; they have lightened his burden, guided his steps, warned him of dangers, and, we may believe, saved many from shipwreck. But the minister's life, as a *man*, is not without its difficulties, and needs, also, its directory. In many respects, it is true, his difficulties and duties are such as are common to others, but in many, also, peculiar, and require a peculiar treatment. At least, whether peculiar or not, he, from his position otherwise, engages in the employments and cares which are extra-professional at a great disadvantage, and the wisdom which a wider mingling with the world gives to the man of the world, and which can be most perfectly obtained through such intercourse, can be obtained only measurably in the same way by the clergyman, and books alone, but imperfectly still, can supply the deficiency.

The books before us aim to supply the want to which we allude. The first is entitled the "Manse Garden,"\* and is the work of a Scotch clergyman of Glasgow, Nathaniel Paterson, minister of St. Andrew's Church. The author has brought to the work many of the qualifications that are so desirable, and which we have indicated. It is written in a graceful and winning style, full of pleasant turns and touches of humor, that impart a constant charm to even the driest and most minute detail. The humblest precepts for the lowest cares in the Georgics have, we know, their poetic charm. The thing enjoined is, it may be, naught, — but the manner of the injunction reveals the mind of the poet, and taste and fancy are delighted. Virgil is in the coloring of the words, and makes it beautiful. We do not mean to say that the Manse Garden is either of the Georgics, or that Dr. Paterson is Virgil, but he has evidently written with those agricultural poems before him, and has caught not a little of their spirit. His fine manner makes us regret that he did not take a wider subject for his work. He touches no part of the minister's out-of-door life beside his occupation in the garden. The volume is strictly a garden book, of the most practical kind, containing the usual counsels to the ignorant, as to the cultivation and planting of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, which makes it the more remarkable, that so much can be said in praise of its general manner, for which a very fair scope would not seem to be afforded. But the Doctor's genius has surmounted his difficulties, and made the most and best of his subject and materials. Without a relish for the general subject, the book would still, we doubt not, be thought dry and dull; but with anything of rural tastes, with any love of nature in her secret processes, or her outward forms, her products, or her cares, it will be found instructive and deeply interesting.

We will now let the work speak for itself. The author thus writes in his preface.

"For the advancement then of a good cause, in which his brethren as well as the Author are concerned, may he not humbly hope that they will be pleased to offer and perhaps commend

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\* The Manse Garden, by NATHANIEL PATERSON, D. D., Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." — 1 Kings. Fourth Thousand. Glasgow: William Collins, 7, St. Frederick Street. 1838.



a reading of his treatise to such of their parishioners as are placed in circumstances not unlike their own? In every parish will be found one or more proprietors of a very interesting class of society, tasteful and intelligent, whose neat villas, gardens, and fields are of a rank not far remote from those of the minister, and who like him are put to their shifts for want of a thorough-bred gardener. And that there are many more who might find an interest in what he writes, may be inferred on considering how much the eye of the traveller is refreshed by the air of snugness and refinement, which a few trees and shrubs already afford to the dwelling-houses of the tenantry in those districts where agriculture is the most improved. Wherever skill has augmented (as in all reason it ought) the capital employed in farming, the effect has been a more polite education, which in its turn has produced a finer taste, manifested it may be in dress and manners and house accommodation; but more remotely, and therefore more strongly, in the out-door ornaments of roses, ivy, and fruit trees, which at once hide the deformity of naked walls and suggest the idea of comfort within them. This indication of improvement deserves both to be hailed and helped forward on its happy career; for there is more of virtue in it than would be imagined by persons less observant of the connexion that subsists between taste and morals. About doorsteps so adorned, both wife and children look far prettier than they appear when seen through broken windows mended with old hats, or met with daubed feet and awkward gait, sliding or like to slide off stepping-stones laid in mire. When home is rendered more attractive, the market-gill will be forsaken for charms more enduring, as they are also more endearing and better for both soul and body. And O what profusion of roses and ripe fruits, dry gravel and shining laurels, might be had for a thousandth part of the price given for drams, which cause at market places needless stay, and vain or silly bargains, together with the growing vice which ruins all! In proportion as drinking decays, the relish of home will revive; and in proportion as a cultivated taste makes home more cheerful, will the safety of morals be secured.

“Thus external things, in themselves so trivial as the planting of shrubs, are great when viewed in connexion with the moral feelings whence they proceed and the salutary effects which they produce. And whilst it is gratifying from recent beginnings to anticipate a further progress in such matters of taste as tend to improve the social affections, the following incident, which fell within the Author’s knowledge, he begs to record, not only as pleasing in itself, but valuable as a sign of the spirit

that is awakened. A landlord, not more illustrious for rank than generosity, conceiving that he was under obligation to one of his tenants, whether for looking after the game or other civility, asked by what favor the attention might be repaid. Instead of any grumbling as to rent or roads, enclosures or household convenience, the request, as modest as it was elegant, was only a 'bit of plantation for shelter and ornament to the dwelling.' Sure is the Author, that falling into such hands his little treatise would be hailed as quite the thing to tell how a bit of plantation may be put down to the best advantage." — pp. vi-viii.

Labor in the garden is earnestly recommended as a source of health. From his observations on this point, a good idea may be obtained of the author's manner. It is a long extract, but intrinsically valuable.

"Independently of the pleasure, let the use of your garden be considered, — the use, I mean not for your living but for your life. Your mode of life is sedentary; — you walk abroad, it is true; — but if you happen to see your face reflected from the deep black pool, as you wander by the river side, you will discover that the last theme of your studies has left its print still upon your brow, and you will infer from that index, that the solitary walk, which has set the limbs in motion, has produced no change of action in the brain, the heart, the liver, or other organs which are strongly affected by the exercise of the thinking faculties. But besides the walk taken purely for health, you have many out-of-door duties, to the performance of which you must travel no small distance; and hence you are apt to imagine that the inconveniency of a too sedentary mode of life will be sufficiently counteracted. A little attention, however, to the principles of physiology might correct this mistake. Those duties discharged amongst the distant members of your flock are all of a solemn kind, and many of them deeply affecting, — keeping the mind as intent as in the study, causing the heart and throat to swell and tears to flow, and keeping in quick vibration all those untractable cords, that serve for a correspondence between the mind and the remotest material parts of our system. This mode of overworking and wearying by only one sort of application, which is inconsistent with the health of our frame, as it is inconsistent with man's nature, soon destroys either the mind or the body; and indigestion, or bilious disorder, is frequently the first intimation that violence has been done to the laws of our constitution.

“The great prevalence of this Protean malady amongst my clerical brethren might be attested by the illustrious practice of the late Dr. Gregory, or that of his successor, Dr. T., the hope of such despondants. With great love to my brethren, and perfect belief of a theory agreeing with nature’s designs and verified by facts, I recommend the work of the garden, which effectually sets the mind upon a new train of ideas, whilst it gives salutary play to all the bodily functions. The long continued sameness of intellectual exertion, whilst health remains, too nearly resembles that lamentable state of mind, in which only one idea can be entertained, to be judged either accordant to the indications of nature or beneficial to humanity. Do you plead that you have in hand too serious and important labors for admitting of any diversion by things trivial and temporary, — your pleading is met by the analogy of material things: the ground will not bear the same kind of produce for any length of time; and art, having made the discovery, adopts a succession of crops. The natural forest is never succeeded by trees of the same species, — showing, where no art is used, that nature will not give birth to progeny for which she does not provide the resources of strength. You propose, by a contrary course, to yield always the same sort of fruit; and the consequence will be, that, wearing out yourself, your productions will in a short time become sickly and weak, and, should you not discover that deteriorated quality, you will soon lose the gratification of doing what you esteem your first duty, by losing the power of doing anything whatever. You will become bilious; and then farewell to study and all its charms, — to walks, and the music of the brook, where you pondered the same theme, — to duty and all its rewards, — to everything that soothes or delights, — the face of friend, the look of love, the soft cheek and guileless tongue of babes, — farewell to all, but horrid apathy, and pitchy gloom, and long night watching, or the dream in which you know not whether you are man or beast, wood or stone.

“If in such a condition to find deliverance you would submit to any terms, think it not hard to adopt those which, as they are easy, are able also to save from such a calamity. Have first a sense of the might and steadfastness of those laws which belong to your constitution, and which the almighty Founder of them never suffers to be broken with impunity. It is no matter on what pretence or from what cause the violation is made; ill health, disease, or death, will be the consequence. Piety seeks seclusion, and thinks it does well; but the mind becomes vapid, the frame nervous, the imagination gloomy, and the loved se-

clusion is soon completed in the grave. Ignorance fares no better: in the merry dance, a draught of cold water is surely a harmless luxury, being the ready cure of burning heat; but the cure is followed by inflammation and sudden death. The most helpless innocence fares no better: the lovely child, in his playful way, drinks the wrong vial, and quickly dies.

“Why is this life, the dawn of an immortal existence, the all that we have in this world, and chiefly given as a preparation for eternity, so badly guarded from a thousand causes of destruction, by the non-observance of those laws which are ordained for its advantage, but of which the violation is fatal? Why does the knowledge of those laws not form a part in the elementary process of every school and seminary of learning? why should not ministers contribute to a boon so essential to the designs of their calling, and the welfare of all men? and why should they, in all other respects so learned, disregard this branch of knowledge, the most momentous of all, because that on which their life, their usefulness in time, and their fitness for eternity, depend?”

“Let the subject be viewed according to these tremendous realities, and you will subscribe to the necessity of diversifying your pursuits, — of having for bodily exercise such an object as may withdraw the attention from graver studies, and hold you in sufficient occupation, whilst it keeps you a good portion of every dry day out of doors. Your profession is of a nature that cannot maintain a healthful subsistence without having the body kept in motion from two to four hours a-day, — and all that time bathed in the free open air of heaven; and neither will your mind work to good purpose on serious subjects without frequent recourse to such as are light and recreating. Languor, debility, and a quick decay of the digestive organs, are inevitably superinduced by a contrary treatment; and whoever, on the appearance of such symptoms, has recourse to other stimulants than those of air and exercise, in order to help on the flagging powers of vitality, sows that moment the seeds of some mortal disease, under the suffering of which he cannot say that he is guiltless of his own blood.

“Such unnatural stimulus is to the body what enthusiasm in religion is to the mind; and they who, forsaking the salutary use of the divine Word, can be pleased only with fanatical excitement, must soon fall from their giddy height, and have themselves to blame for all the melancholy and moping idiocy which consequently ensue. Every artificial stimulus, whether in mind or body, is followed by a periodical lowness, — causing, in spiritual things, the gloom of despair, and in bodily, a

wretchedness which can find no relief but by the exciting drug, which, on every fresh application, adds fuel to the flame it has already kindled. There is no misery like this, — to be a self-destroyer, and yet to shrink from the approaching catastrophe; and the more it is feared, to hasten it the more. And this is a state of being into which many are so unwittingly drawn, as a ship when it first touches the noiseless edge of a vortex. On the decay of the digestive powers, through the want of proper exercise, it seems reasonable and harmless to call in the aid of a dram; but the law is violated by that decision, and all future miseries are but the result and the punishment of that first violation. Let it be a fixed thing that temperance, air, exercise, with diversity of attention, are essential to a healthful and useful existence. The law holds on its even tenor, regular as the sun, and steadfast as the mind of the Eternal. Conformity or suffering is the only alternative: let the character of the transgressor be in other respects good or bad, the punishment is equally sure. God doth not suffer his law to be changed: he changes the countenance of the violator, and sendeth him away.

“To render your observance of the above law both cheerful and constant, nothing can be more efficacious than to betake yourself to the study and labor of your garden. In summer or in winter you will always find there something to do, and something that will give pleasure when it is done. Your required exercise never wants an object; one, too, that sufficiently draws off attention from more serious things, and has that peculiar interest which arises from a work that is progressive. Whilst the mind is refreshed by a continual variety, the exercise, to which the body is called, has not only the advantage of being in the open air, but of accommodating itself, by various degrees of activity, to every change of temperature. In the training of trees, the mind is agreeably occupied, whilst the free air and moderate exertion are admirably calculated for relieving, in the early part of the week, the languor and debility incident to the labors of the pulpit. When the air is colder, and the frame more energetic, the saw and the pruning knife, the one toilsome and the other easy, are excellent companions; and the spade, in one half hour, will bring on a summer glow in the coldest days of winter. Here, then, you have a kind of exercise, suited to all circumstances, ever at hand, and the motive to which is ever new, and strengthened by the love of progress, and the grateful survey of the work you have accomplished. A mere walk, compared with this, is like the amusement which children take in writing their names on the sand of the seashore; you derive advantage from the motion as you pass along, but you leave no abiding trace on the path that you have trode.



“It is more important to observe, that whilst the mind is invigorated by diversity of pursuit, there is this further benefit, that the reciprocity of mental and manual exertion creates for each an increase of relish and aptitude: the garden recreation quickens the appetite for study, and the quiescent posture of study renews the desire of garden activity. Whoever has maintained, for a sufficient length of time, a regular system of employment, in which bodily and mental application are upheld in due proportion, will be surprised by the spontaneous appearance of those energies which hitherto lay dormant in his frame; nor is this the discovery of a fact merely, — it is a source of delight; for the healthful play of either muscular or mental power is as certainly a pleasure to the humane creature, as skipping to the lamb, or singing to the bird. A man used to this renovating process cannot become sluggish, and is a stranger to the sloth that eats into the bone. He keeps disease at a distance; and duties, which to the sluggard are a load, are light and easy to him. Whatever he has in hand he has also in heart; his movements are impetuous; so that it is dangerous, from the velocity with which he is carried, to meet him at the turn of a corner; and when the bodily energies are for a time suspended, but not exhausted, and there is a return to study, he enjoys, in the exercise of the thinking faculties, an actual revelry in the flowing of thoughts, which amount to more, in a brief space, than the most laborious efforts could produce, by the longest application, in a more languid state of the system.

“To possess this efficiency and promote its continuance, it is necessary not only to alternate, as above stated, the muscular and the mental activity, which by a mutual reaction improve each other, but it is necessary alike for both to avoid either lassitude or too long rest. Do not continue in study till mental application be overstretched, or till the circulation of the material fluids has become clogged and stagnant; and do not labor with hands or feet till weariness come upon the body, whilst the mind has been too long inactive. The moment that the thinking powers begin to flag, hasten to your garden; and as soon as weariness affects the body, return to your books. Let rest and fatigue be your tropics, and you will travel with unabated vigor over the undulating line of your ecliptic. But let quiescence be too long indulged, or lassitude too long sustained, and the consequence will be a long unfitness for any achievement; the one state terminates in leaden slumbers, — the other in faintness; the one makes exertion seem appalling, — the other makes it really impossible.

“Thus ought we to observe those constitutional laws which so

deeply affect our happiness ; and I am greatly confident that experience will, in every case, confirm all that has now been advanced as to health and the efficiency of labor ; and the indisputable conclusion I trust will be allowed, that your work in the Lord's vineyard will thrive the better that you work in your own." — pp. 51–59.

Of the general truth of this we cannot doubt. Daily exercise with a tool in the garden, and daily also, a cold bath, will keep every man in health, and restore every man to it. If we should ever attempt a scheme of quackery, this would be the foundation of the practice. Of course mystery would be added. The garden tool would be made of a particular wood found only in the swamps of the upper banks of the Amazon, and the cold bath would be warranted to be useful only when it had received the addition of the thousandth part of a grain of the dried pulp of the berry that grew on the wood of the tool that grew on the banks of the Amazon. With such additions the baths would not contain the multitudes of believers, and what with the water and the sacred hoe the fame of the panacea would fill the world.

But respecting this garden work, much as it is to be revered, there are some practical difficulties and inconveniencies, when resorted to by a person of a studious life, concerning which we could have wished the ingenious author had given some of the rules which his own experience had suggested. For how long a time, for example, shall labor be continued ? To what kinds shall the minister restrict himself ? What hours of the day shall be devoted to the garden ? Shall the hours of labor precede study, or follow it ? Some have found the effect of severe labor at the hoe or spade to be extremely stupefying, to disincline and unfit the mind for mental labor. The temptation to rush into the garden in the dress which you happen to have on at the moment the desire seizes you, whereby, in the twinkling of an eye, a costly garment is irretrievably soiled — this is an evil and an expensive one. And whose collectedness and moderation are sufficient to guard against it ? Should there be a fixed time for work and a fixed costume ? The heat into which one's ardor drives him, with its consequences, is no small evil ; not to add the absolute destruction of the hands, considered as instruments which, when you return to the study, are to be employed in the more refined art

of writing. We cannot see our way out of these difficulties, and heartily wish the author had here been more explicit. They have, however, perhaps, been solved by our philosophical friends in Roxbury, whose experience is accessible.

Of the manner of the author in his garden directions we offer a single example, where he speaks of espaliers.

“As taste ought always to be consulted in matters of the garden, and as some object to espaliers altogether, on account of their stiff and formal appearance, it may be proper to say something for their admissibility before giving directions for their culture. It will be found that much of the bad effect complained of arises either from the undue height to which they are carried, or a great degree of unneatness in the mode of training. The straight lines in which they are planted cannot surely be urged as a valid objection, seeing that the espalier row has no more fault in this respect than the wall to which it is parallel, or the walk that lies between both; and if straight lines must be banished from the garden, then peas must be sown broadcast, potatoes must not be drilled, and we ourselves must walk crooked, either in a stooping posture or in a serpentine direction, in order to please the eye. Let the height of your rails, supposing your garden not to exceed the usual dimensions, be no more than enough to accommodate five branches, trained horizontally, and nine inches apart. Erect no heavy and green-painted woodwork, but rather let the trees themselves be the prominent objects, constituting a green and flourishing wall, sustained only by the slender tops of peeled larch, which may be suffered to fall away one by one, as the branches acquire strength for their own support. Such a line of fruit or blossom, instead of proving inconsistent with beauty, has rather a good effect; serving, like a picture frame, to give completeness, by a rich and beautiful boundary, to the flower border which usually runs between the gravel walk and the espalier row.

“But should your taste be over fastidious, it may be observed that the fruit raised on espaliers, of which every branch has an equal portion of the sun, is greatly superior to that of standard trees: besides, trees of the former description, whilst they yield a great deal of fruit, take up little or no ground; and, being kept so low, they do more good by sheltering than harm by shading the crops or flowers.

“But to determine finally the question as to ornament, take a survey of your garden after one of those gales with which we are usually visited about the autumnal equinox, and see the havoc that is made amongst the standard trees: one half of the

fruit is thrown down, and every fallen apple or pear has received a mortal wound; some are deeply bruised, others are pierced with small stones, yet sticking in the flesh, and some have taken a dimple scarcely perceptible, but even that is an irreparable injury, and not one fruit in a thousand so hurt will keep for any length of time. But observe also how the unfallen have suffered by the shock of the tempest, — their heads have been dashed together, or they have been rubbed against the larger branches, or lashed all day and all night by the smaller twigs, till their natural color is lost in the multitude of stripes and blows. That they have not fallen is no proof of their safety, — they have perished, but having less maturity, they have been more tenacious of life, and are found after the storm, like those more resolute seamen whose dead-grasp is on the rope when their companions have been washed away." — pp. 83–85.

At the close of the work a description is given of a garden tool with which we reluctantly close our extracts.

"Garden-books commonly terminate in a description of garden tools; and something indeed, as to the best means of accomplishing the end their authors have in view, may very naturally be expected. But as the dealers in tools, as well as others in trade, are usually quicksighted enough to discover what sorts have the readiest sale, and as that sale soon comes to progress in the ratio of merit, the writer of the previous treatise is quite satisfied with the market as it is, together with the law which, without checking the multiplicity of inventions, circulates only the best. Instead therefore of describing the shape, size, or otherwise improved construction of spades, rakes, mattocks, and mousetraps, he proceeds to consider only one implement of the manse garden, and which truly needs no little attention to its proper use and amendment, — namely, the minister's boy.

"In former years the minister's man was a functionary of some note in the parish; but whether of late servants have risen in rank, or ministers fallen, certain it is that the minister's man has now very generally dwindled to a boy." \* \* \*

"In general boys are plagues. Something above what is usually denominated an urchin, and beneath a varlet, they are of the most impracticable age, — an age when wit is the weakest and will is the strongest, — when independence, as an end, is desired the most, and character, as means, regarded the least. They have escaped from school at a time when, conscious of strength, they began to despise the master of a lowly seminary; and the parental authority to which they are required to submit is rarely good. The father being himself a servant, his chil-

dren, by an instinct that needs to be amended, fail of respect; and he, most of his waking hours abroad, can do but little with the authority he has; whilst the mother, not careful of training at an early day, and used to the issue of uncertain commands, has recourse to persuasions or condescends to entreaty. Boys so reared come home, as their instalment to office is termed: and though at first shy and dumb as a sheep, yet no sooner has a small command by a superior servant been imposed, than it provokes a loud defiance, so naturally, in their new yoke, do they slide into the wonted rut of their ill made roads. Trained to no habits of industry, they like no sort of work. Their pleasure lies in idle companions; and their haunt is not yet the tavern, but the smithy, where they may spend the long hours in bartering a knife, in arranging a gallop, or marvelling at a gun-lock, with longing eye to the possession, but with no liking to the labor that might purchase the manly toy.

“So constituted, a boy cannot fall into worse hands than those of the minister, or enter upon work he is more reluctant to than his. On the farm the crack of the whip is music to his ear; the assemblage of laborers, the jibe and the jest, have the liveliness of a camp; whilst the yoking and unyoking of horses, the plunging of one unbroken to the yoke, and the upsetting of a cart, are a perfect Waterloo to his soul; and being there under authority, he is also surrounded with examples, which rouse his ambition, or soothe the toils of the day. But the scene is different at the manse: the boy works alone, if he work at all; he is depressed by solitude, and the eye of his master is seldom upon him; he hates his task, and spends his time in thinking which of a thousand lies will serve the best for an excuse. It ought to be a serious consideration with ministers, that boys, bringing to the manse the seeds of corruption, should find there the best soil on which to sow them, and the best leisure for tending their growth. And this they will do if not narrowly watched, and submitted to a treatment answerable to their nature; and freely it may be asserted, that neither catechising, nor reading the Bible, nor family prayer, will ever produce the least salutary effect, if idleness be allowed and lies go unpunished. Let the reflection be added, that as six months are the probable period of an ill-doer’s service, it may happen that the minister, in the course of his life, has sent out to the world half a hundred youths, who at the manse have been endured merely as useless, but have gone somewhere to be endured as blackguards; whilst it may not be so certain that, of all that number, one convert has been made in all that time.” — pp. 245 – 250.



The author proceeds with some hints as to the methods of turning the boy's service to good account, and making him good, written all of it in a vein of pleasant humor and fine humanity. With this the volume closes.

In his "Manse Garden," as we judge, Dr. Paterson has done good service in behalf of the universal church, and especially in behalf of the ministers of the church. It is not directly a religious book, and in his preface the author betrays no little apprehension, lest by his brethren he should be thought to have departed from the proprieties of his profession and forfeited its dignity. But it is, in our opinion, and we imagine in the opinion of his brethren too, a religious book in a very real sense, as it tends to foster all those innocent tastes, which are either a ready foundation for religion, or the effects of its proper influence. In either case, the strain of thought that helps to confirm, or further refine such tastes, is to be commended as working with the other religious means. He, who by such a volume is drawn away from the lazy habits of a fire-side lounge, an uncleanly smoker of pipe or cigar, a reader of mere novels or other trash, by way of recruiting his spirits, to the free air and invigorating labors of the garden, to the gentle cares of flowers and fruits, and the nice observation to which they inevitably lead of the most beautiful and useful of the works of God, and to the hearing of the homilies they preach, whereby better than by poring over Taylor or Shakspeare his thoughts are stirred and kindled for the next sermon, is both helped in his intellectual work in the most effectual manner, and put in the way of a more genuine piety. No one can read the "Manse Garden" without perceiving everywhere, not only in the deep religious sentiment, but in the character of the humor, and in the graces of the style, the chastening influences of the objects and labors among which he has passed so many of his hours. A flowery odor pervades it. Let any one occupy himself in the same cares and dwell among the same objects, even though he should not undertake the severer kinds of garden labor, and he will not fail to find heart and health in the mending way.

But one special benefit which accrues from works of this class, and from the employments they recommend, is the attachment they cause to spring up for home, the new charms they add to it, and the stronger affections that by consequence gather around it. Plant a tree, train a vine, encompass a gar-

den seat or summer house with flowers and shrubs, and you have at the same time planted yourself in the soil. A part of your heart is there, and you leave the spot with pain. If compelled to depart, it is parting from a kind of household gods. Now we really think that the possessing of a small estate, and adorning it by well cultivated grounds and garden, by the planting of trees and shrubbery, the laying out of walks, &c. would tend more than any graver causes that could easily be named to render a ministry permanent. A place that was owned, or, as a parsonage to be occupied for life, and that was either found a beautiful residence or made so, would not be lightly forsaken. If the frequent changes that now take place is an evil, if it is desirable that pastor and people should be bound together by a sort of marriage tie, as was of yore the custom, then any device that should barely promise reform should not be overlooked or despised. We believe great virtue would be found in the suggestion now made. What in the world is there, save a sense of duty—and we are not all duty and conscience—to bind a young minister in most cases of settlement in a parish to the spot where he goes? What is his early ministerial life and where passed? Every reader knows. Perhaps he *boards* for one or even three or four years. Where and how? It is, ten to one, in a two story house, all have seen, of a dazzling white, with a door in the middle, and a room on either side—perhaps with blinds to the windows, perhaps not, but, instead, paper curtains within, standing within six feet of the public road, separated from it by a fence of small round wooden rods, the posts adorned with urns, with two small fir trees in front, and none on the sides, and with neither yard nor garden behind. Perhaps into this bleak and comfortless dwelling, cold and dreary in winter, blazing away in the hot suns of summer, he introduces his young wife, and having hired it, commences housekeeping. Housekeeping! If the youthful pair obeyed impulse, as some recommend, it would soon be housebreaking. If they were educated in any refinement, as is fair to suppose in the case of all our wealthier denominations, the only hour of enjoyment is when at dusk they stroll away out of the dust, into some secluded lane or neighboring wood. Should this be thought a caricature,—the very most favorable supposition is, that a house is procured, hired, at a little farther remove from the centre of the village, with an acre or a half of land about it, a few trees

here and there just starting into growth, with some larger ones in sight among the neighbors. There is scope and verge enough for a garden. But although for economy's sake, and for the sake of exercise, the garden may be tilled, how diminished is the motive for adorning it, by procuring flowers or trees, from the uncertainty of possession. Even if his prospect of permanency in his settlement seems fair, he is at the mercy of his landlord; and at the best, unless he should be a man of property, he must pass many of his first years of his ministry, the most impressive years of his life, in such a half-home, before he could venture upon purchasing, either with money saved, or money hired. There will be no garden and no shrubbery, and no bee-house, and no flower beds, till the dwelling is a home by being owned, or rented for life.

Is it not then a pity, that the ancient custom of a parsonage should have almost disappeared from the church in our country? We do not mean to say that a parsonage were better than to own a place in one's own right — unless there may be thought to be something in its neighborhood to the church, in its touch of age, in the large overshadowing elms, in the associations belonging to it, to make it more to be desired than a new and garish fabric, though it should be intrinsically more valuable and were our own. But however this may be, there is not one in an hundred, who is ever able to purchase; or, if ever, not till he is somewhat fallen into the sere and yellow leaf. And between the wretched chance-accommodations which the minister can find in the streets of the village, and a snug parsonage for life just in the rear of the church, or modestly looking through its heavy foliage by its side, how can any comparison be instituted? Introduce your young pastor into such a cottage, neat but not gaudy, standing back from the road, and well shaded with a variety of tree and shrub, honeysuckles climbing over the porch and shedding abroad their delicious fragrance, the chimneys even richly set off with running vines which have clustered over them, the interior conveniently divided into parlor, kitchen, study, and chamber, clean with fresh paint and whitewash, set out with simple, modest, but substantial articles of furniture, a stable in the rear with its accompanying out-buildings, with good land of from not less than five to not more than fifteen acres, — open the gates of such a paradise to your young minister and his little wife, and neither will readily leave it; it will, as in the case of the first pair, take

*driving* to expel them. Every inferior motive will then conspire with every higher, to ensure good preaching and holy living; to make the minister contented with his lot and zealous to fulfil with fidelity the duties of a station, where, if his labor is often severe and perplexing, he nevertheless enjoys as many of the best blessings of life as he probably deserves, or as in the plans of providence often fall to the lot of man. We cannot doubt that by the reviving of this good old usage, the ministry would gain in permanency and in respectability.

At any rate, whether parsonages are revived or not, more might be done than often is done, by pastor, people, or both, to make the "manse" a more attractive abode. A less inviting spot one could hardly find in a town, than very often is the minister's house, — and this not necessarily so, but half the time through sheer slovenliness and neglect, or from the absence of that feeling for what is beautiful, which, alas, with all their other achievements, our places of higher education do so little to foster and unfold. It is well if by the examples they set to the young of false architecture, tasteless management of trees and grounds, of rude neglect of the public buildings and their appurtenances, of incompleteness in what has been attempted, or absolute deformity, they do not pervert what correct notions, and injure what good taste they brought there — not only not educating, but un-educating. Owing to such causes, the minister, though well taught in Greek and Latin, a good reader and a good writer, is very apt to leave the schools profoundly ignorant of art, with his natural taste for nature and what is beautiful, unless it has been lost, but having passed through no æsthetical training. His house, when he is settled, shows the effects of this. The situation and natural advantages may be faultless, yet it shall be found to be devoid of grace as a structure, set in the wrong spot, facing the wrong way, the fences a nuisance to the eye, and either without trees, or they are all of a kind, or in every place but the right ones.

Many treatises have lately appeared, especially those of Mr. Downing, which are tending rapidly to correct the evils of which we complain. The "Manse Garden" does its share in the reforming process, though it is too exclusively a garden manual to do the service it might, did it with the same grace of manner deal less with minute detail and more with general principles. We will not, however, regret anything about so good a book, but rather express the hope that the author, if he should

feel convinced that he has not in the present publication committed one of the seven deadly sins, will add a second volume, in which shall be presented an application of the whole doctrine of the beautiful to every part of the minister's life.

But we must hasten to the second work before us, from which we have too long detained the reader. It covers a much wider and more various field than the "Manse Garden," and descends to much humbler topics, but it is managed with a pleasant humor, though broader, written in a lively style, though not so elegant as the other, but manifesting equal acquaintance in the subjects handled, and equal ability in the treatment of them. Its title is that which stands at the head of our article, "Clerical Economics." \* Its range and purpose will be best seen by presenting a part of the table of contents. It is divided into five chapters, with their subdivisions. The first is devoted to "Income." The second, "Economics at the Manse," viz. — "The economy of time, Marriage, The kitchen and its management, Parties, Wines, Making bread, The grocery department, Servants, The man-servant"; the third, "The Glebe and its Management; Plantation, Old trees on the glebe, Fences, Gates, Draining, Manure, Watered meadows, Cleaning, Course of cropping, Grain usually cultivated on the glebe"; chapter fourth, "Live Stock at the Manse," viz. — "Cows, Butter and cheese, Implements of the dairy, Sheep, Pigs, The horse, Stabling, Feeding, Horses, Ponies for the children, Poultry, Turkeys, Pigeons, Rabbits, Hens, Ducks, Geese, Bees." Here is a large variety of topics, and it may readily be supposed that a great deal of information is conveyed under them. Much is wholly inapplicable to us and to any part of our country; but much also is of universal interest and use. Let us first look into the manse and see what it is like.

"The whole establishment at the manse is a catalogue of anomalies, perhaps nowhere else to be found in the British dominions. The very manse has something about it altogether *sui generis*. Even a foreigner, after seeing one or two manses in Scotland, could point out almost every one, amid all the other houses in any parish, from Maidenkirk to John O'Groat's;

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\* Clerical Economics; or, Hints, Rural and Household, to Ministers and Others of Limited Income. By a Clergyman of the Old School. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, Hunter Square. London: R. Groombridge. 1842.



and nobody can say whether it manifests these distinctive marks from that which it has, or from that which it wants. Upon the whole, it is, or may be, one of the snuggest houses in Europe; but sometimes with an ugly number of windows, when the taxes come a-paying. It is occasionally splendid, and generally genteel; but here and there it is not quite handsome enough. It has sometimes a green field before it, in keeping with the station and taste of its occupier; like a cow's pasture about the door of two maiden sisters. A country manse is not a mansion-house, a jointure-house, or a farm-house, far less is it a cottage or a castle; yet it has something more or less of each, and all of these strangely blended. In a word, it must, out and in, be described by itself. It is a manse exactly like itself,—and that is like nothing anywhere else. In a country town it is sometimes jammed up into a confined, dark, and dirty corner, elbowed in with the churchyard, the fore street, the back lane, and the midden dubs. Here nothing is to be seen over the minister's wall but half the windows of the village staring you in the face; and nothing is to be heard but the noise of the weaver's shuttle, and the chap chapping of Souter Johnnie's hammer, varied, in the distance, with the more musical ring from the black brawny arm of the village smith.

“Next comes the minister, whose piety, learning, and worldly wisdom the whole parish admires. He is the gravitating power which binds the mass of parochial society in one lump. He is the magnetic pole to which all classes of the population point. He is the connecting link in the galvanic chain which conveys the fruits of sympathy, kindness, and care, from the rich to the poor, and which inculcates and reconveys gratitude and respect from the poor back to the wealthy. He is alike useful to all ranks, high and low. He gives the poor their last consolation in misery, and he offers the rich their only motives to restrain them from vice. He is a man of no rank, just because he is thus a man of every rank. He is, therefore, to be found the one day seated at the board of the peer, and the other on the dim and smoky bedside of the dying pauper. Every day in the week he is uniformly in the midst of all the scenes of severe or sudden sorrow. On Sabbath he is the pathetic, the pious, and the powerful preacher. His prayers in public and in private, his preaching and general observation, are, even in our degenerate age, far more influential than the general cast of thought, which, by prudence and a little activity, he silently controls, even in spite of the ferocious delirium of the Voluntary and Radical Press.

“There is next the minister's better half, and she is general-

ly so, in every sense of the expression ; for a minister may be either rich or poor, happy or unhappy, popular or the reverse in his parish, to a very great extent indeed, exactly as his wife chooses. Nay, in everything within the compass of her experience, ten to one but she gives a sounder advice than the minister will take. There may not, in every case, be a great depth of learning and philosophy, but there often is a quick and just perception of the prudent and proper thing to be done ; and the man is a fool who does not allow his wife to guide and guard him oftener than he lets wit. No lady has so important a part to act in so vast a variety of stations. Let nothing be mentioned of the mere domestic duties of a wife and mother, — which no Christian woman looks down upon ; she ought always to be as much of the lady as her neighbors generally are. She must be able to take her station, with ease and confidence, at the head of her own table. She must be often in her own kitchen to direct the cooking, and to take a peep into the scullery. She must see sometimes how the cream is managed in the milkhouse. She may even step to the threshold of the byre door, — taking care of her feet of course, — to let the servant know that she can notice whether the cows be properly attended to. Besides her duties at the manse, she must make her rounds in the parish with whatever she can spare from her stores, — and, alas ! that it should be so little, — of cordials, clothing, or medicine and meal. What she can't spare of her own, she can sometimes obtain from the treasures of the rich. And in this way she may be of immense service, not only to the community, but to her husband, in helping him to discharge some of the usual duties of his office.

“ Then there is the minister's man, who, besides being an oracle in the parish, must be at the manse, complete of his kind, and without a flaw. Like Sampson Carrasco, he must be sound of body, strong of limb, a silent sufferer of heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and endowed with more than those qualifications which are requisite in the squire of a knight-errant. He must have a good temper, and be patient of reproof. He must combine, in his own person, the offices of steward, ploughman, carter, cattlekeeper, gardner, and, it is said, in some parishes, of bellman, gravedigger, and precentor. He must be able to sow, and put up stacks, to thatch on an occasion, and to build up dikes any day in the year, when they happen to tumble down. In short, he too must be a servant of all work, and do everything that can occur at a manse, — and that is more than happens at the house of proprietor, tenant, or cottar. In addition to all this, the servant-man, in some cases, becomes a sort of

confidential adviser, — a companion, and, in truth, a kind of master over the aged and once active pastor. For forty or fifty years they may have been united in one interest. They may both have grown gray about the manse, and intend, as a mere matter of course, to breathe their last within the precincts of the glebe.

“It would be tiresomely minute to tell what is required of the servants in the kitchen; the duties of dairy, and cook, and cattle-maid, are to be combined in one individual; and of house, table, and nursery-maid in another. And then the ‘bit laddie’ must be herd and stable boy, boots, waiter, and runner to the post-office.

“But a paragraph must be given to the well-known and most useful of all four-footed animals about a manse, — the minister’s one horse, — which is perhaps a greater anomaly than any already mentioned. He must be, and he generally is, a paragon of a horse. He must contain, within the compass of his own individual person, the whole perfections proper to his species, to fit him for that universality of employment to which he is daily destined. He must unite four horses in one body at least. He must be a saddle-horse, a gig-horse, and a cart and plough-horse all combined, thus uniting gentility, agility, docility, and strength. He must have something of stature and symmetry, with a good cargo of bones compactly put together. He must be hardy, not only to endure fatigue and fasting too, but to stand heats and colds, and every variety of stable accommodation. He must not kick, bite, or eat saddles when standing in the same stall with a neighbor. He must have a firm step, and good eyes in the dark; and he must not be too sensitive to either whip or spur. The variety, indeed, of his occupations for any one week of the year, it is almost ridiculous to enumerate. In the words of the late Lord Meadowbank, he is to be regarded as ‘one of the *essentialia* of the situation of a clergyman,’ without which he can scarcely discharge any one of the most important of his sacred functions. Without his horse the minister cannot visit his parishoners, or his presbytery, or the schools in the district, or the synod of the bounds. But not only does he require to carry the minister on his back, but he must drag, at times, the whole family in a drosky, in shape, bulk, and weight, something akin to the picture, in ‘Reading made Easy,’ of Noah’s Ark, or to the more useful and humble Whitechapel cart, — not unlike a machine used in our cities for watering the streets. He must not only be a plough-horse, but he should be able, at times, almost *alone*, to draw the plough, because it is not every day in the year that he can marrow with the horse ‘of a good neighbor, possessed, in like manner, of a

little farm and a solitary beast.' He must not only bring home crops and coals to the manse, but, on great emergencies, in hay-time and harvest, he must be a drudge to all the little occupants of land in the vicinity."—pp. 9–13.

The description thus given of the manse, differs in many respects from what would be true of one of our country minister's establishments. The chapter on Income is too local in its bearing, too much about teinds, teind courts, factors and heritors, commissioners of teinds, servitudes of peat, feal, and divot, &c., to be of much service or interest to us. But as soon as the author gets fairly within the manse, things wear a new face. His chapter on Economics hardly opens before he runs a tilt against the old bachelors. A wife is necessary to true economy.

"'Take a thought, and mend,' is the first, the last, and the only hint in clerical economy to be given to the *confirmed* bachelor. But who is a confirmed bachelor, and where is he to be found? He is that solitary, melancholic, and monkish man, which is the most to be pitied of all living beings at the manse. But take his own word for it, and the confirmed bachelor is no more to be met with than a mermaid is; for nobody takes the compliment to himself, or will allow it to be given to him. While the matter is doubtful, and so long as a gleam of hope tells the flattering tale of joys never to come, the gray-haired squire boasts of the appellation, and plays off his jokes with dexterity in defence of his own order; but ask the unmarried man of fourscore years, How old art thou? and he will blink the question. Advise him to marry, and he will admit that he has not given up thoughts of it; and above any, he is the most earnest in urging his young friends to take a wife.

"But whether you be a confirmed bachelor, or one merely for a year or two by a concurrence of untoward circumstances, the word of command is—*Go marry, Sir*, and know, before you die, what the words Comfort, and kindly feelings, and clerical economy mean. Be selfish and recluse no longer, but give your affections, and a portion of your worldly means, to one who will double your joys, and divide all your sorrows. Instead of mispending these on birds, cats, and dogs, great and small, black, white, and spotted, select an object more worthy of it than four-footed animals and creeping things. Instead of yawning over a book as your dumb and daily companion, smile rather on the faces of a blooming and joyous family, as the only way to make home a place of rest and happiness. Furnish your manse as you may, with easy chairs, sofas, and settees,—have a vapor, a

shower, and a plunge bath, cold, warm, or tepid, — have a snug porch, and a green door, with a fawn light, and a stove in the lobby, with a flue of heated air up the main stair-case to the top, — have a roaring fire in the parlor every morning before breakfast, with all sorts of antique fire-screens, large and little, — have a fiddle, a solitaire, a tobacco pipe, or a set of stocking-wires, to vary your occupations, — when you go for an hour to snuff up the east wind, put on your cork soles, overalls, and dreadnought, — go to bed at midnight, or long after it, and rise far on in the afternoon, when the day has been well aired; — have all this, and four times more, but still, my good friend, so long as you want THE WIFE, there is a coldness, a formality, and a prim correct sort of bachelorism in the whole affair, which, happily, is never to be found when there are three or four boys romping about.

“Children may occasion many cares, but without them there are few real comforts. ‘Little children are as arrows in the hands of a mighty man. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. He shall not be ashamed, but shall speak with the enemies in the gate.’ \* \* \*

“But the question occurs, — Who should a minister marry? One somewhat of a minister’s own station in life and age? Most undoubtedly. — With money? Yes, as a mean, but not as an end. A wife who brings one hundred pounds a-year, and spends two, is not a profitable bargain. One penny *in* the wife is often better than two *with* her. — A wife of your own flock? It may do tolerably well if the minister be endowed, and the lady wealthy; but otherwise, it often proves hazardous. Above and beyond every thing, don’t let the minister of a royal burgh cleave unto an old residenter in his own town. If he does, he will not have his sorrows to seek, inasmuch as he will find himself harnessed at once and for ever to every *clishmaclaver* for the last fifty years, to all the family feuds within the royalty, and to all the personal and party politics of a small constituency.

“Samson, we are told, went down to Timnath, and saw a woman of Timnath, of the daughters of the Philistines; and he came up and told his father and his mother, and said, ‘I have seen a woman in Timnath, of the daughters of the Philistines; now therefore get her for me to wife. Then his father and mother said unto him, Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me, for she pleaseth me well.’ Samson got her accordingly, and everybody knows what were the consequences. On this matter Henry observes, ‘that the nego-



tiation of Samson's marriage was a common case. It was weakly and foolishly done of him. Shall one that is not only an Israelite, but a Nazarite devoted to the Lord, covet to become one with a worshipper of Dagon? Shall one marked for a patriot of his country match among those that were his sworn enemy? He saw this woman, and she pleased him well; he saw something in her face that was very agreeable to his fancy, and therefore nothing will serve but she must be his wife.' Then he adds in his own powerful and practical way, 'He that, in the choice of a wife, is guided only by his eye, and governed by his fancy, must afterwards thank himself if he find a Philistine in his arms.' Well said, honest Matthew Henry. Let clergymen who are parents, and may have sons or daughters to be married, read the whole commentary on this passage, and they will see how pious, how acute, how practical, and how just an observer that prince of commentators was, in spite of the quaint remarks with which he has loaded his work. Justly might the great and venerable Sir Harry Moncrieff say of his writings, 'that they contained all the sense and all the nonsense which ever were written on every passage.' — pp. 60 – 63.

In the chapter on the Glebe and its Management, the question arises, whether it be better for the minister to cultivate it himself or let it out. It is decided both for and against cultivation, according to circumstances of position; the author quotes from some friend.

"The question, whether a minister ought to cultivate his glebe or let it, is one of locality. If he is placed in an entirely rural situation, and remote from neighbors, we would advise him, by all means, to keep it in his own hands, both as a matter of taste and convenience. His mind cannot be incessantly fixed on professional objects. He must have recreations of some sort; and we know of none more pure and innocent than agricultural pursuits. It is of great consequence, too, to have some source of interest out of doors. We would not have a minister confine his daily exercise, as we have known some do, to a walk of ten minutes from the manse, a lean of an equal length of time over a gate, and then a walk back again. To cure this indolent habit, we would recommend him to cultivate his glebe, and to take an interest in every stage of the progress of his crops, from the scarce-sprung braird to the whitening harvest. He should also have plenty of live stock about him. It will even do his heart good to hear the cackle of the hens, and the early crow of chanticleer. He will have much wholesome exercise in chasing them out of the garden, and an admirable trial of patience in behold-

ing his onion beds scratched into a thousand holes. He should also have cows, though it were for no other purpose than to serve as figures in the little landscape round the manse. It will give him pleasure to observe them from his window, grazing at their ease, or reclining on the grass — a perfect picture of repose. We would even advise him to make it his custom, in the summer season, to slip out towards sunset, and, with his own reverend hands, open the gate of their enclosure, just that he may see them wend their slow way home to the byre, — that he may mark the noiseless pace, the gentle low, the frequent pause, the look, all round, of calm and unalarmed inquiry! All such rural sights and sounds have a tendency to soothe and cheer a man's heart, and a minister in the country should therefore contrive to have them always within his reach, and should not only cherish a taste for them himself, but teach his children to do the same. Rural tastes are so pure and pleasing in themselves, and are so often associated with what is amiable in character, that we cannot help regarding whatever tends to encourage them as tending, in some degree, however small, to strengthen the bulwarks of virtue.

“But the minister of a remote country parish should not only cultivate his glebe as a pleasing occupation; he *must* do it in order to have many of his necessities supplied. Being far from the butcher market, he must kill his own mutton, and often substitute a milk diet for animal food. For these reasons he must keep sheep and cows, for he cannot always be supplied with milk by the neighboring farmers. They are either too distant, or have such a mode of managing their dairies, that they will not dispose of dairy produce except in the form of butter and cheese. Besides all this, no minister can dispense entirely with the services of a man-servant; and as, in a remote place, a jobber cannot always be had, he must keep a man for the whole year, and cultivate the glebe in order to find him full employment.

“So much for retired country parishes. In those which contain towns or populous villages, with the manse in the midst of them, as too often happens, the case is entirely different. The idea of cultivating the glebe, as a recreation, is here out of the question. The minister can only find his way to it through a dirty lane, and when he does reach it, is under a thousand eyes, and is liable to interruption from every passer-by. His cows pass through said lane always at full speed, knowing that they are marks for every village urchin to practise his whip upon, or to pelt with stones. His hens, if he ventures to keep any, get him into quarrels with all his neighbors and get their own legs broken into the bargain. In all such situations we would recommend the minister to let his glebe, reserving summer grass for a horse,

and keeping no cow. This will be his best economy. His horse having less heavy work to do, will be more easily kept, and last longer. He will also be at the command of his master when needed, which, on the other plan, is not always the case. How often have we seen a minister trudging for ten or twelve miles through dub and mire, because Saunders Heavyside, with whom he marrows, has his horse away that day ploughing in the bog! And a woful ploughing to the poor horse it turns out to be; for, beginning to sink, and becoming flurried, while Saunders' patriarch remains cool, he runs away with the whole draught, and racks himself to death. From such casualties the plan of letting the glebe is free. It has also the advantage of saving the very serious expense of keeping a man-servant throughout the whole year, while a villager to groom the horse night and morning may be had for a trifle.

"The plan of keeping no cow may startle some people, but this point has, in the case of some ministers, been brought to the test of well-ascertained experience; and the result is said to be, that the sum necessary for the summer and winter keep of a cow, will more than suffice for supplying a large family with milk and butter. They will also be better supplied, for the butter of a one-cow dairy is seldom good. But, more especially, an infinity of work will be saved. This last consideration is sometimes a most important one. For suppose a minister to have a large family, two servants, and no cow, and that the servants, though not oppressed, have such an efficiency of work that they cannot undertake any more; to give them the charge of a cow in these circumstances, will be to lay on the last pound which breaks the camel's back. A third servant will be needed, and then the minister may, if he can, boast of the profit of his dairy!" — pp. 115–117.

In the chapter on Pigs, — a subject that seems to rouse the genius of every one who touches it, Lamb, Sir Francis Head, and last, Dickens, — the "Clergyman of the Old School" shows unaccustomed vigor, enlarges upon it with an evident relish, and displays, what is by no means so apparent when treating of any other creature, quite a sentimental humanity. He gives him the best and warmest quarter about the manse. Hear him.

"Show an economist the pig, and in one moment he knows how all is going on at the manse. If he hears it squealing, and sees it climbing the stone walls, and laboring to tear up the pavement, he knows that the poor animal has not got its breakfast,

just because there was no breakfast made ready to give it. Let an eye be cast into its bedstead, and he will find it so wet and dirty, that the creature is compelled to sit shivering in a corner till rheumatism, crinkets, and death itself close the career." — pp. 191, 192.

And again, soon after.

" Having resolved to keep pigs, and to do it properly, the first thing to be done is to erect a fit pig-house. Let some consideration and outlay be devoted to this measure, very important of its kind; because on this mainly depends the success of the whole plan. Let the sleeping apartment be dry as a bone, above and below, not large, but warm, and every way comfortable. Let it have a slope from the back part towards the door. If it be floored with flagstones, let these be laid on a foot at least of stones broken like road metal, and don't make them too close in the joints, that water may sink instantly down. As good a method as that of the pavement is to lay sleepers above the stone shivers as before, and to nail down upon these a firm substantial wooden floor, open also at the joints. If there be a saw-mill in the neighbourhood, apply for some of the slabs, and a cart-load of them may be had for from 1s. 6d. to 3s. The outer court should be large, airy, and laying to the sun; for swine are very fond of basking in its burning beams. It should be near to the dunghill, and above it, that the sap may run down into, and through it. The court should also be well paved with flagstones, or causeway stones, not laid on shivers as before, but bedded on half a foot of well-worked clay, and the seams made as small as may be, that *no* wet may sink. Let there be two stone troughs, not too large nor too deep, but so heavy and firmly set that they can't be moved by the nose of the sow, which is powerful beyond conception. There should also be two sleeping apartments, similar in all respects, so that when the one pig is put up to fatten before the other, it may be separated, and the richer food apportioned accordingly. The house should be tightly roofed, and slated as carefully as any man's house in the kingdom. And, in a word, great punctuality and care should be devoted once for all to these objects; otherwise it were better to have nothing to do with keeping pigs. If circumstances admit of it, let the pig-house, and especially the sleeping apartments, be behind the boiler, that they may have the benefit of the heat from that fire. At the lower end of the pig court, let there be a condie through which the sap may perforate, and at the mouth of this let the ashes from the grates be laid, that they, again, may drink up that which might otherwise be comparatively lost, excepting to the air and the ol-

factory nerves. Let no slovenly waster dare to affirm that in all this there is anything *finical*, — it is all proper, and it will all pay; and in answer to all such soft simpering mannerism, let me tell you it is humane and Christian. But, says another, who has not visited his parish through and through for the last half score of years, how can a minister attend to all this, and do his duty as such? — Quite well after all, for it requires only to be done once in an incumbency, and it is as easy to do it well as it is to do it ill." — pp. 192, 193.

This is humane counsel, and the author deserves well of the swinish herd. It is but right that the only animal, quadruped perhaps we should say, of which absolutely the whole is eaten, those parts being esteemed chief delicacies, which, in other more comely creatures, are utterly refused, should be kindly cared for by those who after he is dead love him so well. But for the most part he presents but a piteous spectacle in his treatment during life of the ingratitude of man. Everybody knows what a common pig-stye is — how very wet, dirty, and disagreeable a place; even its upper story, when it has one, rarely presenting a floor clean and dry, while more usually the patient sufferer passes day and night in conditions of abandonment, which it would be impossible to make intelligible to those who have not seen for themselves. Not so, however, in the apartments of the Clergyman of the Old School, where rooms are secured in connexion with fires, and where the brief life — he is but an annual — of this epicure's friend, is passed in as high a state of enjoyment as could probably be provided for him. Notwithstanding all the Agricultural Commissioner has urged upon the subject, it may be useful to have seen in the preceding extract the same opinions echoed from the other side of the Atlantic.

But we must close our notice of these pleasant volumes; neither being the book we should like to see upon the world-life of the minister, and trust yet to see; both being excellent in their way, and answering the ends proposed by their authors.



## SPECIMENS OF FOREIGN STANDARD LITERATURE.\*

THIS is the fourteenth volume of Mr. Ripley's series of Specimens from Foreign Standard Literature. It has already been some time before the public, and its merits are well known. Mr. Brooks, the principal translator of these lyrical pieces, has before this tried his hand at the work of translating. One or two of the dramatic masterpieces of Schiller have been very ably translated by him into English. His versions show an accurate knowledge of the German language — no small accomplishment — and a power of appreciating the spirit of the German poets; they show, too, uncommon facility and grace in English versification. Mr. Brooks is a very faithful translator; faithful both to the letter and spirit of his originals. He takes no liberties with his author's language or sentiments, but such as are necessary in transferring poetical conceptions from one language into another; at the same time, he generally succeeds in avoiding the stiffness which is apt to characterize very disagreeably those translations which are entitled to boast of their fidelity. This fidelity both to substance and form, in translating from one language to another, is absolutely essential to a good translation. We need not say, that a great proportion of the English versions from the ancient and foreign languages are sadly deficient in this leading excellence. Juster ideas on this subject have begun to prevail. Mr. Longfellow's extraordinary translations from nearly all the languages now spoken under the sun, and from some that are not, have set an example of the closest and most literal fidelity, and the freest rhythmical movement — demonstrating not only that the problem can be solved, but solved in such a way that a person familiar with the languages, but a stranger to the particular works, would be at a loss to tell which was the original and which the translation. This example all future translators must follow, and approach as nearly as they can.

Mr. Brooks commands a rich and racy English style. He is a master of English composition, and in the choice of his words manifests a strict and correct taste. He uses instinctively what

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\* Songs and Ballads, translated from Uhland, Körner, Bürger, and other German Lyric Poets. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842. 12mo. pp. 400.

all now understand and acknowledge to be the most forcible, expressive, and picturesque part of the composite language we have the good luck to call our mother tongue — namely, the Saxon element; but he so uses it as to make his style pointed, energetic, and direct, without painfully abstaining from the more sonorous words which we inherit, or have in some other way taken possession of, from the Latin and French. This mixture of different elements gives an enchanting variety to English style, that can be rivalled, we venture to say, by no other language now in existence. It enables an author, who has sounded all its powers, and mastered all its keys, to give his discourse the greatest precision, to express his ideas with the greatest fulness, to mark the slightest differences in the tones of thought, with the greatest readiness and force. And what can surpass the ever changing music which the language is shown to be capable of producing, both in verse and prose, in the works of the masters of English composition; in the varied and artful rhythms of Milton, and the stately cadences, scarcely less rhythmical, of Burke?

But to return to the volume now before us. A former number of the series contains an excellent selection from the minor poems of Goethe and Schiller, translated chiefly, and admirably translated, by Mr. Dwight. But Goethe and Schiller, preëminent as they were, must not be considered as exhausting the lyrical treasures of German literature. These two great names have been so often and so loudly sounded in the trump of Fame, that foreign students are apt to forget that Germany has other poets — and especially lyric poets — almost if not quite equally worthy of admiration. Germany is eminently a poetical land; the German heart is essentially lyrical; German feelings have been lyrical, and lyrically expressed from the very earliest periods of the national history. What were all the Minnesingers and Meistersingers of the Middle Ages, but so many lyrical warblers, through whose melodious voices the mighty German heart poured itself out? That bright beginning of German lyrical poetry has been followed by an unbroken series of poets whose genius has been lyrical, and whose works have been only a natural expression of German sentiment and feeling. Indeed, if we were to select any one word as more descriptive of the character of the German poetical literature than any other, it would be *lyrical*. Many of Goethe's most popular lyrical pieces are in substance the productions

almost of the infancy of the German nation, adapted in style and expression to modern taste ; and every one knows what treasures of fine lyric poetry have been disclosed to the world by the recent labors of German scholars, and published in large collections like the *Knaben Wunderhorn*. Scarcely a modern German poet is to be mentioned, who has not worked over the rich materials offered to the lyric muse in the Sagas, legends, and wondrous tales, which centre around the great heroic age of Germany. And then the outbreak of the German national spirit against the domination of the French was accompanied by a lyrical enthusiasm, equal to that which blazed in the Iambics of Archilochus, the Dithyrambs of Stesichorus, or the Elegiac Hexameters and Pentameters of Tyrtæus. From these endless treasures of poetry Mr. Brooks has made his very tasteful selection. The greatest number he has very properly taken from Uhland. We proceed, by way of conclusion, to give a few. The following is a good specimen of Uhland's naive simplicity.

SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN BOY.

The mountain shepherd boy am I ;  
The castles all below me spy.  
The sun sends me his earliest beam,  
Leaves me his latest, lingering gleam.  
I am the boy of the mountain !

The mountain torrent's home is here,  
Fresh from the rock I drink it clear ;  
As out it leaps with furious force,  
I stretch my arms and stop its course.  
I am the boy of the mountain !

I claim the mountain for my own ;  
In vain the winds around me moan ;  
From north to south let tempests brawl, —  
My song shall swell above them all.  
I am the boy of the mountain !

Thunder and lightning below me lie,  
Yet here I stand in upper sky ;  
I know them well, and cry, " Harm not  
My father's lowly, peaceful cot."  
I am the boy of the mountain !

But when I hear the alarm-bell sound,  
When watchfires gleam from the mountains round,  
Then down I go and march along,  
And swing my sword and sing my song.  
I am the boy of the mountain!

The following poem is familiar to most readers, in another translation. Mr. Brooks had an able rival in his anonymous predecessor; but he has come out of the contest with honor.

THE PASSAGE.

Years have vanished, like a dream,  
Since I ferried o'er this stream;  
Flood and castle, as of old,  
Glimmer now in evening's gold.

Two companions, loved and tried,  
Then sailed over by my side;  
One was fatherlike — the other  
Young and generous as a brother.

One in quiet spent life's day,  
Then sank quietly away;  
But the other earlier passed  
Home through battle and through blast.

When I thus live fondly o'er  
Days gone by to come no more,  
I must ever miss and mourn  
Friends whom death has from me torn.

Yet when heart and heart unite,  
Friendship's chain is then most bright;  
Thus the friends to memory dear  
Still, in soul, are with me here.

Threefold fare, O pilot, take,  
For a grateful stranger's sake;  
Two, that ferried o'er with me,  
Spirits were, unseen by thee.

We give the following specimen of the fiery genius of Germany's great war-poet — Körner.

MY NATIVE LAND.

Where is the minstrel's native land ? —

Where sparks of noble soul flashed high,  
Where garlands bloomed in honor's eye,  
Where manly bosoms glowed with joy,  
Touched by Religion's altar-brand,  
There *was* my native land !

Name me the minstrel's native land. —

Though now her sons lie slain in heaps,  
Though, wounded and disgraced, she weeps,  
Beneath her soil the freeman sleeps.  
The land of oaks — the German land —  
They *called* my native land !

Why weeps the minstrel's native land ? —

To see her people's princes cower  
Before the wrathful tyrant's power ;  
She weeps, that, in the stormy hour,  
No soul at her high call will stand.  
That grieves my native land !

Whom calls the minstrel's native land ? —

She calls the voiceless gods ; her cries,  
Like thunder-storms, assail the skies ;  
She bids her sons, her freemen, rise ;  
On righteous Heaven's avenging hand  
She calls — my native land !

What will the minstrel's native land ? —

She'll crush the slaves of despots' power,  
Drive off the bloodhounds from her shore,  
And suckle freeborn sons once more,  
Or lay them free beneath the sand.  
That will my native land !

And hopes the minstrel's native land ? —

She hopes — she hopes ! Her cause is just.  
Her faithful sons will wake — they must.  
In God Most High she puts her trust ;  
On his great altar leans her hand,  
And hopes — my native land !



We add two more from the same, — the Prayer during Battle, and the Cradle Song.

## PRAYER DURING BATTLE.\*

Father, I call on thee.  
The roaring artillery's clould thicken round me,  
The hiss and the glare of the loud bolts confound me ;  
Ruler of battles, I call on thee.  
O Father, lead thou me.

O Father, lead thou me ;  
To victory, to death, dread Commander, O guide me ;  
The dark valley brightens when thou art beside me ;  
Lord, as thou wilt, so lead thou me.  
God, I acknowledge thee.

God, I acknowledge thee ;  
When the breeze through the dry leaves of autumn is  
moaning,  
When the thunder-storm of battle is groaning,  
Fount of mercy, in each I acknowledge thee.  
O Father, bless thou me.

O Father, bless thou me ;  
I trust in thy mercy, whate'er may befall me ;  
'T is thy word that hath sent me ; that word can recall me.  
Living or dying, O bless thou me.  
Father, I honor thee.

Father, I honor thee ;  
Not for earth's hoards or honors we here are contending ;  
All that is holy our swords are defending ;  
Then falling, and conquering, I honor thee.  
God, I repose in thee.

God, I repose in thee ;  
When the thunders of death my soul are greeting,  
When the gashed veins bleed, and the life is fleeting,  
In thee, my God, I repose in thee.  
Father, I call on thee.

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\* Charles Theodore Körner was a young German soldier, scholar, poet, and patriot. He was born at Dresden, in the autumn of 1791, and fell in battle for his country at the early age of twenty-two.

## CRADLE SONG.

On thy mother's bosom gently rest thee,  
Sweetest babe; from sin and sorrow free,  
Calmly dream; nor care nor grief molest thee;  
That soft breast is all the world to thee.

Joyous hours! ah, still fond memory, dreaming,  
Through your blissful scenes delights to rove;  
O'er life's ocean-waste, still dimly beaming,  
Shines the star-light of a mother's love.

Thrice, in this brief life, to man 't is given  
In Love's arms so sweetly to repose;  
Thrice on earth to taste the joy of heaven, —  
Bliss that from no earthly fountain flows.

With her earliest blessing when she greets him,  
See in smiles the blooming infant dressed!  
Though the world with smiles of welcome meets him,  
Love still holds him to the mother's breast.

Soon are dimmed gay childhood's sunny glances,  
Clouds are gathering round youth's untried way;  
Now, once more fond Love with smiles advances,  
And the wanderer hails her cheering ray.

Yet the storm-wind smites the fairest flower,  
And the proudest heart in dust must lie.  
Love, an angel, cheers man's closing hour,  
And in triumph bears him up on high.

We conclude with "Körner's Funeral," by Dr. Follen.

## KÖRNER'S FUNERAL.

Mid the sound of trump and drum,  
Angels called, "Come, Körner, come!"  
And the hero's heart must break.  
Break, ye hearts, ye eyes, with sorrow;  
Faith's glad light a radiant morrow  
From this night of tears shall wake.

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\* Every one familiar with the original, must feel that, were it in this piece alone, the lamented author has truly adorned the literature of his native coun-

Germany, thy mourning mother,  
Feels each wound of thine, O brother :  
    Bleeds with thee, and triumphs now.  
Throned a king, our souls behold thee ;  
Bloody-purple robes enfold thee,  
    Crowned with holy thorns thy brow.

Tuneless now the strings are lying ;  
Yet on every tongue, undying,  
    In each bosom lives the lay.  
Life's dim lamp alone is shrouded,  
While the star of love, unclouded,  
    Blazes to a flood of day.

Jesus, God's pure love, inspire  
This our nation ; one desire,  
    Glowing, through all bosoms breathe ;  
And to us, when we have striven  
Like our brother, be there given  
    Crown of thorns and starry wreath.

C. C. F.

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try, and erected a peculiarly appropriate and most worthy monument to the memory of his young countryman, whose spirit and principles, though in a different sphere of action, his own life so nobly and faithfully expressed. Dr. Follen was called to that harder strife and sorer struggle, to which "the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive," summons His servants. And may we not well believe that the prayer, with which the poem alluded to closes, has been fulfilled for our revered friend and teacher, — that he, too, has found the "crown of thorns a starry wreath?"

I have heard Dr. Follen speak of Körner, and particularly of his patriotic songs, in the most enthusiastic terms. He said there was nothing of the kind equal to them in the literature of the world. He spoke with a peculiar emphasis of the young author, as one who seemed really inspired.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The School and the Schoolmaster; a Manual for the use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, Inspectors, &c., &c., of Common Schools.* In Two Parts. Part I. by ALONZO POTTER, D. D., of New York. Part II. by GEORGE B. EMERSON, A. M., of Massachusetts. Boston: Wm. B. Fowle & N. Capen. 1843.

WE regard this volume as one of the most important publications of the day. Its influence is already extensively felt in some of the States of the Union, and is to be, we doubt not, from one extreme to another. Treating of a subject which lies at the very foundation of public and private welfare, of national greatness and prosperity, of social progress and individual virtue and happiness, it has already commended itself to some of our public-spirited citizens, who, feeling its value to the people at large, but especially to all who are connected with our public schools, have caused copies of it to be gratuitously distributed to all teachers and superintendents of Common Schools throughout the two States of Massachusetts and New York. The last named State has been furnished with eleven thousand copies, by that "munificent friend and patron of Common Schools, the Hon. James Wadsworth, of Genessee, New York;" the first has been furnished by Martin Brimmer, Esq., the present Mayor of Boston, with three thousand five hundred copies. By Mr. Wadsworth, a copy has likewise been sent to each of the Governors of the several States. This is as it should be. Such a work ought not to be left to force its way into the community unaided. By the wise and thoughtful liberality of these gentlemen, an extent of circulation has been given to it, in a few months, which otherwise it would have taken as many years to effect. But it should fall into the hands of many persons beside those to whom it has already been sent. Each member of School Committees, clergymen throughout the interior of the State, parents,—such as can afford to purchase *any* books,—and the pupils of the Normal Schools, at the time of their leaving them for the active employment of teaching, should in one way or another, by gratuitous distribution, or by editions of the work being issued at a merely nominal price, in conformity to the cheap printing of the present day, be put in possession of a copy.

The work is very properly introduced by a brief advertisement or recommendation by the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mr. Mann, who observes, "that the range and compass of the subjects embraced in the volume, and the masterly manner in which they are treated, commend it to the careful perusal of every person engaged in the sacred cause of Education, of every lover of his country, of every friend of mankind." Old as the subject of education is, and much as has, of late years, been written and published upon it, this is still an original work. Excellent and instructive as preceding treatises may have been, we believe none is to be found at once so profound and so intelligible, dealing so thoroughly with principles, and yet so ample and minute in its practical detail, as the volume before us. The subject is handled with so much dignity, and so deep a feeling of its vast importance to society and the human soul, that one feels as he reads that no office for honor and usefulness can compare with that of the Teacher; and then again the whole theory and practice of successful instruction is laid open with such distinctness, — all the little difficulties of method are so cleared up, — the steps, by which the young teacher is to gain his object, are described with such fidelity, that one feels, also, as if, with this book in his hand, he might, with comparative ease, — at least with a sense of security from injurious mistakes, — enter upon the labors of the honorable vocation. We cannot well imagine a higher satisfaction to be derived from a book, than we think the solitary teacher in the country, who has had no experience but his own to draw from, all whose methods are his own, many of which he oppressively feels to be false, but knows not where the difficulties lie, nor how to correct them, must experience, when for the first time he opens and reads this admirable manual. If he should not admit all to be just and true, if he should withhold his assent from either some of the principles advocated, or some of the precepts of instruction enforced, he would, nevertheless, find it as a whole to be an invaluable guide over a dark and difficult road, and would hail it with the joy a burdened traveller would greet the beacon-light of a far off hill-top.

The advertisement of Mr. Mann is followed by an introduction, in which some account is given of the origin and character of the Common School in our part of the country, of its early means of support, and of the improvements that have gradually been supplanting antiquated and imperfect methods. It closes with a statement of the general purposes of the work, and of its principal topics, and their order.



"This volume is a contribution to the great work of school regeneration which is now in progress. It is offered with a deep sense, not only of the importance, but also of the difficulty of the undertaking. It is offered in the humble but earnest hope of being able to afford some suggestions which will prove useful, not only to teachers, but also to parents, inspectors, school commissioners, and other officers, as well as to the friends of education generally. During the last thirty years there has been much discussion, as well as experiment, in regard to different systems of public instruction. The best methods of providing well-qualified teachers, the relative efficacy of different modes of teaching and discipline, and the surest means of maintaining schools in a healthy and efficient state, have all been subjects of examination. It will be the object of this volume, avoiding mere conjecture or speculation, to collect such results and principles, as may seem to have been *settled* by the experience of the past. It will also aim at the cultivation, among all who are connected with schools, of a more adequate sense of their importance, and of a spirit of improvement and reform at once active and chastened.

It consists of Two Parts.

The First Part will treat of,

I. The Education of the People; its nature, object, importance, practicability, means, &c.

II. The Common School; its relation to other means of education, and to civilization.

III. The Present State of Common Schools.

IV. Means of Improvement." — pp. 14, 15.

The first Part is prepared, as the title page declares, by Professor Potter, of Union College, Schenectady, New York, whose name is sufficient warrant of thorough and intelligent treatment. We give the heads of the chapters, that the reader may obtain some tolerable idea of the character and contents of the volume. The first chapter, on the Education of the People, is divided into seven sections, with their subdivisions. The first section contains an answer to the question, what is Education? A summary of the principles affirmed and defended, on the subject, is given by the author.

#### "SEC. I. WHAT IS EDUCATION?"

"Education is the due development of all the primitive powers, and susceptibilities of our nature.

"It is peculiarly necessary in youth, because then this nature is most plastic, and impressions made upon it are most lasting.

"It does not obliterate all original differences in character or inequalities in talent, but aims to modify and improve.

"Its object is rather to form a perfect character, than to qualify for any particular station or office.

"Man needs it the more, because he has few instincts, and because he is endowed with unbounded capabilities of improvement.

"*Intellectual* Education should aim, to make its subject, a successful learner, and teacher of truth.

"*Moral Education*, to harmonize the contending impulses of our nature, and subject all to conscience and the moral law.

"*Æsthetical Education*, to refine the taste, regulate and exalt the imagination, and render both subservient, to energy of action, and purity of purpose.

"*Physical Education*, to perfect the delicacy of the senses, establish vigorous health, and form habits and impart knowledge calculated to preserve that health." — pp. 149, 150.

The second, third, and fourth sections discuss the prevailing errors in regard to Education. The fifth describes the Education needed by the American people, in which will be found a great many valuable suggestions, and of immediate bearing on our national character and prosperity. The sixth and seventh sections are on its importance to the individual and to society, where is demonstrated with great force the effect of Education in diminishing crime and poverty, and increasing not only the moral, but even the physical power of the individual, making him both a better man, and more capable also to obtain a livelihood.

The second chapter of this first part is devoted to common schools. Section first describes the relation of common schools to other means of education; second and third, the present state of common schools; fourth, fifth, and sixth, the improvement of common schools.

Under the head of "The Education needed by the American People," we are glad to perceive that a more "humanizing and elegant education" than now anywhere obtains, is earnestly contended for, and that music is rated highly among the refining agencies which we should be anxious to bring into universal action. In reply to an objection sometimes made to music in common with the other fine arts, that its tendency is to render the character effeminate, and to pander to the lower passions, Professor Potter presents a remark of much force.

"Among a volatile and dissipated people, the arts, would doubtless be rendered subservient to amusement and licentious indulgence. It would be at the expense, however, of their highest excellence. On the other hand, among a grave people, charged with serious cares, they would be likely to take a different type, and contribute, as music has always done in Germany since the days of Luther, to the refinement of taste and the strengthening of moral feeling. The greatest composers of that land have consecrated their genius to the service of religion. Haydn, whose memory is so honored, was deeply religious. His Oratorio of the Creation was produced, as he himself tells us, at a time when he was much in prayer. In writing musical scores, he was accustomed to place, both at the beginning and at the close of each one, a Latin motto, expressive of his profound feeling, that he was depend-

ant on God in all his efforts, and that to His glory should be consecrated every offspring of his genius." — pp. 77, 78.

We cannot think that mischief is to be apprehended from this source by a people like ourselves; and if any were to ensue, it would be seen only in the large capitals, while throughout the greater masses of the population, scattered over the face of the country, its influence could hardly be any other than purely beneficial.

Part Second of this volume, by Mr. George B. Emerson, is devoted to the Schoolmaster, as the First was to the School. This we regard as the most original as well as the most valuable portion, because it is all the result of a very large experience in the office of teacher. Not that it is a mere record of management, and method, and studies. A discriminating philosophical mind is seen throughout, that gives a reason, whether satisfactory or not, for everything that is either adopted or rejected. The old is not retained because it is old, nor the new adopted because it is new; nor any changes recommended either in the manner of teaching or governing, or in the structure and interior arrangement of school-houses, which either experience has not proved to be advantageous, or for which the best *a priori* reasons are not suggested. The style is simple but expressive, and conveys the meaning of the author in a direct, always intelligible, and forcible manner. The objects of the work are, in his own words, as follows: —

"The objects of the following work are,

1. To point out what qualities are important in a teacher.
2. To show by what course of study and thought he should discipline himself.
3. To point out particularly the duties of the teacher of a common school.
4. To recommend some modes of performing them; that is, to speak of the studies, modes of teaching, discipline, and government of such a school." — p. 276.

In conformity to these subjects, the work is divided into four Books, and each Book subdivided into Chapters. The subjects of the Chapters are, 1st. under the general head of *Qualities* — of the teacher, — the mental and moral qualities by which he should be distinguished; — he should be patient, hopeful, cheerful, frank and unsuspicious, kind and just, a lover of order, religious, conscientious, firm. As sound health is essential to the teacher, a chapter is devoted to rules on the subject. The Second Book is devoted to *Studies* with which a teacher should be familiar; with a notice of the advantages of the teacher's

life. The Third Book is on the duties which the teacher owes to himself, his pupils, his fellow teachers, to parents, and the community. Book Fourth is on the school, organization and instruction, entering with great minuteness into the best methods of managing the young, and imparting knowledge to them — an invaluable chapter to the young teacher. Not less, but even more so, is the last chapter of this Book, on Government, a subdivision of which is occupied by a very full consideration of the motives by which a teacher should attempt to influence the mind of his pupil. It is every way a noble chapter, proceeding upon the highest principles of religion, and, together with the author's lecture on Moral Education, lately published, sets forth an education which, if happily it might be realized, would soon bring a new expression upon the face of society, and give reasonable hope of a millennium. The last Book is on the School-house, situation, size, position, interior arrangement, light, warming, and ventilation.

In the chapter on *motives*, Mr. Emerson, we gladly notice, abjures and discards emulation. After speaking of the fear of shame, he says: —

“The same objection lies against *emulation*. It operates with great force upon noble natures that need no excitement, and passes over those dull ones whom it should be the business of discipline to move.

“It must be admitted that it is a most powerful motive, perhaps the most powerful, that can be put in action. To be at the head of a class can never be an object of indifference to a child of talent, if that is held out as the greatest good. Still less, to be at the head of a school. To gain a medal, when only one or a very few are given, and where the number of competitors is great, may be made to assume, to the eye of a child, an importance greater than any other object for which he can live. But it sacrifices the higher powers to the lower, — the moral to the intellectual. The object of the teacher ought not to be to make as good scholars as possible by any means whatsoever, but to elevate the being as highly as possible. If the scholar is made at the expense of the man, an incalculable injury is inflicted. The teacher capable of sacrificing the moral character of his pupil to his appearance at an exhibition, or his triumph at an annual examination, is totally unworthy of his office.

“Emulation, when exercised among companions and equals, almost necessarily excites the worst passions, envy, jealousy, hatred, malice. I say *almost*, because I believe that there are a few so noble in their nature, so raised above all selfishness, that they are able to see the prize, for which they have been long striving with all possible efforts, borne away by a rival, with no other feeling than gratification at his success and resignation to their own disappointment. But these are *very few*. I might, therefore, without departing from the truth, leave out the qualifying expression, and say, that *emulation*, as it usually operates, *excites the worst passions of the human heart*.

“As to the effect produced on the character by emulation, an obvious and important question to be asked is, whether the habits formed by it are most likely to lead to the regular, quiet, and conscientious discharge of the daily duties of life. Many of those who have at school been stimulated to great efforts by it, lay aside their books and their habits of study when they leave school. If it thus fails to produce permanent effects in the things about which it has been employed, is it likely to produce a healthy effect upon the whole character? Would a woman, whose character had been formed under the influence of this motive, be more likely than another to endeavor to form in her children simplicity of character, humility, the charity which does good for the sake of its object, the love of truth for its own sake, the principle of doing right because it is right? Would the desire of distinction, and of surpassing others, be most likely to suggest her highest duties as a wife? Will it best fit her for her duties to herself and her Maker? If they had any effect, would they not tend to lead her astray? And can those motives, which are obviously wrong for children of one sex, be the best possible for those of the other? If these doubts are not wholly unfounded, what an infinite amount of unnecessary evil must be created by emulation! To say nothing of the envy and hatred it often engenders, cankering instead of purifying the heart of infancy and childhood, — to what cause more than this, acting so generally in schools, and even in families, can be attributed the insane desire, so prevailing among us, of outstripping each other in wealth, in houses, in dress, in everything which admits of external comparison? To what else, in an equal degree, can we attribute the notorious profligacy of so many political leaders? The desire of excelling has been, from childhood, so fostered, that it has become an irrepressible passion, rushing to its end, regardless of all principle and of all consequences.

“It doubtless does good as well as harm. But the question is, whether we cannot secure the good from the action of higher motives, while we avoid the evil. The best men have been above its influence. Emulation may have formed such men as Cæsar and Napoleon. How little could it have done to form Washington! The noblest deeds and the highest works, those which have advanced society in civilization and truth, have been produced under the influence of entirely different and higher motives.

“Of whom was Galileo *emulous*, when, having gone beyond what was already known, he stretched out, by the help of experiment and geometry, into the vast unexplored ocean of mechanical and astronomical truth? Of whom was Kepler *emulous*, when, from the collected observations of many years, he deduced those famous laws which he did not expect the minds of his own age even to comprehend, but which were to serve as a foundation for the system of the universe? What *rivalry* stimulated Newton, when, in the seclusion of his own study, he established those immortal principles of philosophy, which his friends could with difficulty persuade him to give to the world? What *emulation* taught Archimedes mechanics, or Pascal geometry, or Shakespeare poetry? What *rivalry* set George Fox or John Wesley to preach; or launched the Santa Maria or the Mayflower upon the waves of the Atlantic?



"It must be admitted that we cannot entirely exclude the action of emulation. Children can hardly be assembled for any purpose without its showing itself. But nothing need be done to strengthen it. It is already a sufficiently powerful element in the character of every child; and the excessive prominence which is given to it by its being constantly addressed, destroys the balance of the powers and sacrifices the moral being to the intellectual." — pp. 504 – 507.

If one should still doubt on the matter, and be inclined to think the evil of this motive to be overrated, let him try the experiment once with two or three of his own children, and we defy him, if he has a heart within him as big as an olive, to ever try it a second time. Its evil would glare upon him with a reality so frightful, he would have no courage to encounter it again. We consider education, both the higher and lower, to approach its perfect condition, just as it succeeds in accomplishing its aims by the application of motives of a more exalted kind. But as emulation is the cheapest, easiest, and, at first, the most effectual appeal that can be made to the mind of a child, — the sharpest, fiercest spur that can be ground into a reluctant or sluggish nature, — so it will be long before the use of so powerful and convenient a weapon will be abandoned. But by and by, he who shall employ it as his chief or only implement, will come to be looked upon as no better than a moral assassin.

The last Book, on the School-house, gives excellent counsel as to the way in which the buildings should be put up, and the way in which they should be made agreeable to the pupil. Several drawings are given of pretty designs both for the school-house and grounds, which we should be glad to see adopted. There is every reason why they should no longer be the dismal hovels of darkness and dirt, in which the past generations of New England have for the most part been educated, to which the mind of the grown-up boy never reverts with a single pleasant association, unless good fortune gave him a teacher whose high attainments and qualities made the discomforts of the place to be forgotten. But all this is fast changing for the better. School-houses are building here and there on better plans, more pleasing to the taste, and of more convenient arrangement within — warm in winter, and well ventilated. With these improvements, the morals and manners of the pupils improve also. A boy will behave better, and the school be more easily managed in a neat, pretty apartment. The beastly habit of spitting might in this way be cut up by the roots. Visiting a school not long since, we found this habit regularly held up to the children as an abomination, and the floor was perfectly free of the nui-

sance. A good common school is *not* good unless it is a school of good manners.

With feelings of sincere gratitude to the gentleman who projected the plan of this work, and has distributed it so widely, — and to the other gentlemen, who in the midst of heavy cares have still found heart and time to prepare it, we wish it well on its way of beneficence through every State of the Union.

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*History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its settlement in 1630 to 1842.* By EDWIN M. STONE. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 324.

THE history of a single New England town does not commonly find many readers, except such as are lured by some local attachment. To these may be added a few antiquaries, scattered through a State, who are curious to look into the management of our little municipalities in primitive times, and to mark their progress. But the number of those who may be supposed to feel an interest, more or less direct, in a town or village of more than two centuries' growth, is far greater than would be imagined by one who should compute it by means of a moment's conjecture, or a casual thought. Such is the case in regard to Beverly. We could mention a large number of persons, and that probably a small proportion of the aggregate number who were either born there, or who trace their origin to the place through two or more generations, or who cherish a regard for it arising from ties of kindred or friendship; but who live in different parts of Massachusetts, and in other States.

Apart from the gratification derived by individuals, from a faithful history of a town, we regard such a history still more important in another particular. It is by means of a full history of the parts of a Commonwealth, that valuable materials are furnished for the history of the whole. Facts may thus be traced to their veritable sources, which might otherwise be imperfectly or erroneously stated, and incidents worthy of record be brought to light, which might otherwise be hidden or overlooked.

Mr. Stone has performed his labor diligently. He has made good use of his facts, presented them in an unostentatious manner, and clothed them in a simple style.

The "Revolutionary Period" forms a prominent part of the history. It appears that Beverly "furnished more men, and was at greater expense in carrying on the war, than almost any other town, in proportion to its ability." Of its citizens who

were distinguished in the councils of the Commonwealth, during that trying period, George Cabot was foremost. Col. Ebenezer Francis, who fell at Ticonderoga, in conflict with the British troops, was alike distinguished in the field, and some very affecting memorials of him are preserved by Mr. Stone. The biographical sketches of these, and of other persons who bore an active part in municipal and political affairs, or were entitled to notice for their professional respectability and individual worth, are interesting portions of his work.

Among the most remarkable men, for the variety of services performed for the town and the Commonwealth, was Robert Hale. He began the practice of medicine in 1723, and soon acquired great celebrity in his profession. In the course of a few years he was called simultaneously or successively, "to fill the various offices of surveyor, selectman, assessor, town clerk, treasurer, and chairman of the school committee," besides being a magistrate, collector of excise for the county, and a representative to the general court for thirteen years. In 1745 he received the commission of colonel, and commanded a regiment in the expedition against Louisburg. He was appointed by the legislature, in 1747, commissioner to New York, to adopt measures for "the general defence"; and in 1755, he was sent by Governor Shirley as an agent to the government of New Hampshire, for procuring aid in the meditated attack on Crown Point. Last of all, he was appointed, by Governor Barnard, sheriff for the county of Essex. In the midst of his various secular occupations, he took a leading part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. In March, 1735, "the church voted, by a small majority," to adopt the Cambridge platform. In the following month, the vote was reconsidered, and a committee was appointed, of which Mr. Hale was chairman, "to peruse and examine the platform, and to report such explanations of any part of it as they might think proper." The committee soon afterwards "reported that the church should accept the platform, reserving the liberty of receiving certain articles in *their own sense*, which report was accepted."

The ministers of the old parish in Beverly, during the latter part of the last century, were Joseph Willard, who became President of the University in Cambridge, in 1781, and Joseph McKean, who became the first President of Bowdoin College, in 1802.

Among the intimate friends of President Willard, who still lived in Beverly, after his removal to Cambridge, were Joshua Fisher, the scientific physician, Nathan Dane, the eminent jurist and statesman, and Moses Brown and Israel Thorndike, distin-

guished merchants. These gentlemen thus became interested in the University, and their peculiar attachment to it, from their respect to its head, may have been the remote cause of the benefactions which it afterwards received from them respectively.

The brief and discriminative biographical sketches of the great and good men of Beverly, who lived respected and honored, as benefactors to the town and to the public, are not among the least excellences of Mr. Stone's history; and we cheerfully recommend it to the notice of all who would derive instruction from the examples of the wise, beneficent, and virtuous, who have ceased from their labors, but live in the memory of their benevolent deeds.

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*Familiar Address, delivered at the Social Meeting of the Members of the Liberal Society, on the evening of March 16th, 1843.* By WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY, Minister of the Society. Springfield: C. E. White. 1843.

THE title of this Address is not fully descriptive of the occasion on which it was delivered, and we therefore quote a brief paragraph which immediately follows it.

“On the evening of March 16th, the members of the Liberal Society assembled in a social party, at the house of the minister, many of them bearing generous and valuable presents to him and his family, and all bringing with them a spirit of cordial kindness and good will. In connexion with devotional exercises, the following plain and familiar address was made. On the succeeding evening, the children of the society under the age of fourteen, were assembled in the same manner, in a happy and animated party. They were also addressed by the minister, in connexion with services of devotion.”

These few lines describe one of the most cheering scenes of which these modern times have afforded us any example. Whether the custom, of which this social meeting gives us the first hint, of bearing gifts to the house of the minister, is one that prevails generally in the valley of the Connecticut, or whether it originated in the present instance, we have no means of knowing. But whether common or not, it is a custom of good observance, not only or chiefly, as our readers we trust will believe, because of the gifts, but because of that spirit of a genuine Christian fellowship and friendship which it tends to foster and extend. The presents, as manifestations of an attachment which needs some expression beside words, may well be esteemed as invaluable. Given in an undoubted spirit of

affection, they can injure no one's self-respect, nor give anything but pleasure, save where a weak and foolish pride has usurped the place, not only of a true humility, but of genuine magnanimity. One can easily imagine relations between individuals, where a gift falling into the hand would scorch like a burning coal, if the mind so far mastered its feelings as to receive it. One can easily conceive a strong feeling, and a just one too, to lie against presents which usage in a manner compels people to offer, and along with which there goes no good will or kind feeling. But these are not the conditions under which the clergyman receives gifts from his people. They are, with the fewest exceptions, testimonies of regard which are more than voluntary, — which the spirit of love extorts from them, and will not be otherwise satisfied. To what true lover was a gift ever burdensome? and when was its reception held a humiliation? In the case of generous souls the pleasure is equal, — the balance of equality is never seen to be shaken. The true minister is always giving and doing more than the strict letter of his contract requires. A true people are ever giving and doing more than could be exacted of them. Whose just self-respect is injured? We confess that the scene at Mr. Peabody's, as the mind conceives it, presents itself with all its accompaniments, as beautiful and affecting in the highest degree, — beautiful and affecting in the proof given of the existence of a mutual confidence and respect, such as is rarely seen. It may often exist, but we are rarely permitted to see, as here, its proof.

The address, perfectly appropriate in every word as in its whole tone, is a familiar recital of the principal incidents of the Pastor's ministry, a picture of his earlier trials, and his later peace, a statement of the principles and methods according to which he deemed it best for his people, and for the cause of that form of Christianity he expounds, to conduct his ministry. In regard to the course adopted, of refraining, during the whole period of twenty years, from doctrinal and controversial preaching, there will be different judgments. Yet, the fact that the issue has been one of entire success, must lead those who would have been prompt to blame, to pause at least, before they condemn. The testimony and experience of Mr. Peabody are on this point of great value. He thus shows his practice, and gives his opinion upon it, at the close of a twenty years' trial.

"As soon as I took charge of the pulpit, a question rose up before me. Should I consider it my duty to explain and extend the Liberal opinions, or should I devote myself to the personal improvement of the members of my society, trusting that the truth, with respect to doctrines,



would make its own way in the public mind? In pursuing the former course I should have struck the key-note of the general feeling; zeal of this kind excites a ready sympathy, and the want of it is regarded as tameness; such a course would have added more to our numbers than any other, and many plausible reasons might have been given to show that it was the right one: it would have been easier also for myself: I remember being told by a distinguished physician that he was seldom consulted by controversial preachers: their sermons were written without any of that labor of mind which wears students down. But I could not persuade myself that this was the way of duty. I knew that as fast and far as party passions are excited, devotion and charity are apt to forsake the breast; I was well aware that many are made Unitarians, Calvinists, Baptists, and sectarians of every name, without being made Christians by the same conversion. 'I therefore determined,' if it is not presumption in me to use the words, 'I therefore determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified;' since men were sent into the world, not to put on the livery of a party, but to lay the foundations of character in preparation for immortal life. I would always spend the best of my strength to impress this solemn and indispensable duty on all whom my voice could reach.

"In looking back upon this determination at the distance of more than twenty years, I see in it nothing to regret: but I do see in it a strong reason for gratitude to the society, which, in such times of excitement, permitted me to pursue a course, so unpopular, obscure, and unlikely to add to their numbers. I have been grateful to them for many things, but most of all for this. It is not every society which would have consented to it, though perhaps in these peaceful times, the present generation cannot understand how great a sacrifice of feeling was necessary to receive the fire of other sects without returning it, to keep the white flag flying in the midst of war, and to maintain that moderation which requires strength of character and principle, but which is treated by partizans with supreme disdain. But whatever the sacrifice may have been at the time, I am persuaded that no one repents it now. They have lived to see that 'he who goeth forth weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless return rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'" — pp. 6-8.

After speaking briefly of early discouragements and fears, Mr. Peabody proceeds to state his practice in relation to the old vexed question of Exchanges, then in relation to the Temperance movement, then in relation to Abolitionism of which he thus speaks:—

"With respect to slavery, I declared to you from the beginning that I believed in the duty and practicability of emancipation: but I never had any sympathy with the coarse Philippics of one party of Abolitionists nor the political calculations of the other. I was the advocate of Colonization, because it offers at present the only way that I know for the emancipation of slaves. That it will ever relieve this country from the evil that oppresses it, I of course do not anticipate; but it has a right to be fully and fairly tried; and I detest and deplore the exclu-

sive spirit which makes us resist and condemn those who attempt to do good in a path different from our own. Let every man serve the cause of humanity in the manner which his judgment and conscience approve: for Divine Providence will never suffer any well meant efforts to do permanent injury to that cause; if made in the right spirit, they will result in blessing to himself and his fellow-men."—pp. 10, 11.

It will be curious to younger men to know the literary habits of a writer so distinguished for the most winning qualities of style. He says:—

"Since I am speaking of matters relating to myself, let me take this opportunity to say something in relation to my habits of writing which ought to be understood. I do not believe that anything worth reading or hearing can be produced without labor; and the labor of writing wears upon the nerves and exhausts the spirits more perhaps than any other. Let any man sit down to prepare an address for some public occasion, and he will have an idea of this labor. Doubtless it becomes easier by habit, but the effect of routine and the perpetual recurrence of the demand once if not twice in every week create a difficulty on the other side. My own habit has been, never to sit down to consider what I shall write, as many do. I find that my mind, such as it is, acts most freely away from the study and in the presence of nature. I therefore construct in my own mind an exact image of everything which I intend to write; and this, when completed, can either be spoken or written as the case requires. My sermons are thus written in my mind during my walks in the fields, the Cemetery, or the garden, and when matured, are committed to paper in very little time. This has given the impression that I write easily and rapidly, when in truth, I have no advantage in this respect, except perhaps that of a better system, which, after the experience of years, I would recommend to every writer, whatever his profession may be."—pp. 11, 12.

No doubt this is the true method. A writer will hardly, at the same time be a clear, consecutive thinker, and the master of a flowing style, who adopts any other. By such perfect possession of a theme before writing, a person becomes a good extemporizer, and a good writer by the same process. To write before thinking is to be neither.

The pamphlet closes with the following lines, which, we may presume, are from the same hand.

Bright eyes and cheerful voices  
In the Pastor's home to-night!  
The youthful heart rejoices,  
The burdened one grows light;  
For all with him are bending  
In sympathy of praise  
To God, whose love descending,  
Has crowned them all their days.

'T was not with celebrations,  
Nor with exulting hands,  
Our church's deep foundations  
Were set where now it stands;  
Upon our work depressing  
No smile of kindness shone,  
Nor word of Christian blessing  
Came answering to our own.

But soon, our trials ending,  
Our triumph followed fast;  
The star of hope ascending  
Its morning promise cast:  
It still our path enlightens  
With soul-inspiring ray,  
That ever towers and brightens  
Up to the perfect day.

Yet, when we thus assemble,  
And all that path review,  
The firmest well may tremble  
To think what Death can do.  
The loved ones of our number,  
The holiest and the best  
Are sunk in that calm slumber,  
That gives the weary rest.

But sons, their sires succeeding,  
Each vacant place shall fill,  
In all these changes reading  
The lessons of His will,  
Who spreads his banner o'er us  
With waving folds of love,  
And gilds the scene before us  
With mercy from above.

Now, for the near communion  
Which binds all hearts in one,  
For Heaven's delightful union  
In this cold world begun,  
For that glad Faith which raises  
Our dead to life again,  
Let the Pastor breathe his praises,  
And the People say Amen!

*The Confessions of St. Augustine.* Boston: E. P. Peabody.  
1843. 12mo. pp. 385.

WE can see no good reason either for, in the first place, translating these confessions of Augustine, or, in the second place, republishing them in this country. It is a book simply curious, and in its own language accessible to all who ever need to know its contents. As for the confessions, properly so called, like the worst of Gibbon's notes, they were fitly buried in the obscurity of a learned tongue. We cannot imagine what good end it can serve either old or young to pore over such details. We do not doubt the sincerity of the Saint, nor his piety, nor the reality of his conversion; but when he had written his book for his own edification, he would have done better to burn it than trouble posterity with it. The same moral objection may justly be urged against it, that lies against many of the modern works of fiction. As for the theology of the volume, it is mere rhapsody. As it is plain he did not know his own meaning, it is little likely that his readers will be greatly enlightened. Dealing with such entities as space, time, creation, and evil, it would not be strange if now and then there were an imperfect conception, or an obscure expression; but the metaphysics of St. Augustine will to most, who may attempt to unravel them, appear a mass of mingled confusion and contradiction. To some minds fond of the misty and undefined, it may all be very edifying; and just as in dying embers or the clouds they fancy they behold all sorts of glorious and beautiful shapes, so in the same way their lively imaginations may see in the incoherencies of the Bishop all the great truths of philosophy and religion. A learned critic says of him; "that the accuracy and solidity of his judgment were by no means proportionable to his eminent talents, and that upon many occasions he was more guided by the violent impulse of a warm imagination than by the cool dictates of reason and prudence. Hence that ambiguity which appears in his writings, and which has sometimes rendered the most attentive readers uncertain with respect to his real sentiments; and hence also the just complaints which many have made of the contradictions that are so frequent in his works, and of the levity and precipitation with which he set himself to write upon a variety of subjects, before he had examined them with a sufficient degree of attention and diligence."

*An Elementary Treatise on the Structure and Operations of the National and State Governments of the United States; designed for the Use of Schools and Academies, and general Readers.* By CHARLES MASON, A. M., Counsellor at Law. Boston: David H. Williams. 1842.

WE have found nothing so much to our mind for popular use, as this brief yet comprehensive work. It is condensed to the severest brevity. Some might think that too much is contained in the two hundred and three pages to which the body of the work is confined. We think not so. The great mass of readers, into whose hands it was intended to fall, and for whose use its author designed it, have but little time for the acquisition of such information as is here contained, and hence need it very much condensed. The brevity of the work is its great merit, — its clearness is its greatest. The writer has succeeded in making every part plain, notwithstanding the pressure with which he has condensed it.

We hope this book will find its way into every citizen's hands. It gives a brief sketch of the origin of our national constitution. This is followed by an account of the proceedings of legislative bodies, the rules by which they are governed, and the processes by which laws are enacted. We are introduced to the proceedings of committees, the order of business, the rules of debate. Then we are informed of the powers of the judiciary, the organization of courts, the construction of juries, the processes of trial, — and all so clearly set forth, that one feels competent after reading to enter court and manage his own cause. The author next introduces us to Congress, and all its rules of proceeding are lucidly presented before us. There are also appended to the work twenty pages of tables of great value. In short, it is just the work for those who wish, at a small expense, to obtain a knowledge of the nature and operation of the governments, state and national, under which they live, and to discharge understandingly the duties of a citizen. Let it be introduced into schools, and our young men would enter upon life ready to meet the demand, which their country makes upon them, of understanding its structure and maintaining its integrity.



*Edward's First Lessons in Grammar*; by the Author of "Theory of Teaching." Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 108.

If any reader has opened the "Theory of Teaching" with prejudice arising from its title, that prejudice must have been wholly removed by the perusal of the work. It is not an abstract scheme, a cold, philosophizing system; but a theory growing out of observation and experience, and founded in sympathy. The great object of the author is to show, by example, how the teacher, in advancing the pupil, should make everything subsidiary to the love of the pursuit, and should proceed from timely encouragement to the creation of that self-reliance on the part of the learner, which makes him feel that he is doing something for himself.

The "First Lessons in Grammar" proceed on the same system. The book is not a formal manual, but the teacher and pupil work together in its production, by oral, synthetic instruction on the one part, and the writing out of examples on the other. No doubt what is thus learned is better understood, and is acquired with less weariness, than by the mere exercise of memory in learning rules and illustrations from a dry elementary grammar.

In the hands of an intelligent teacher, this little work may be used with much advantage, either by itself or in aid of lessons contained in more technical works for beginners in the study of language. To the author belongs the praise of ingenuity devoted with success to a useful purpose, and consecrated by the sympathy which she so manifestly inspires in the tender objects of her culture.

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*Our Country safe from Romanism. A Sermon delivered at the opening of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, at its Sessions in the Western Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, April, 1841.* By the Rev. THOMAS BRAINERD, Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. L. R. Bailey. 1843.

EIGHT years ago there was a wide-spread alarm, existing especially in the Presbyterian church and among their Congregational brethren in New England, at the growth of Romanism. One would have supposed from the tone of the pulpit, that the Pope with his armies was at our very gates, and Protestantism at its last gasp. In a religious newspaper of a neighboring city, a series of very elaborate papers was written, and afterwards

circulated in the form of a volume, to prove the existence of a huge conspiracy, in Austria we believe, for the subversion of both our Protestantism and our republicanism, and the establishment of despotism and Romanism on their ruins. We had supposed that as the few past years had given the lie to so many dismal forebodings and confident predictions, they had quieted everywhere the fears of the people, and that as we Protestants continued to maintain the proportion of seventeen millions to one, the apprehension of being speedily outnumbered and outvoted by the other party had wholly subsided. But it seems that in some parts of the country it is necessary still to argue the question, and we have here a long discourse of forty-five octavo pages, to prove that our "country is safe from Romanism." It is a thoroughly sensible discourse, and takes just views of the whole subject. This is the more gratifying, as its author is of the great Presbyterian church, which has been most alive to these fears of Popery. The proposition which he lays down as the theme of his sermon, and which he supports by a series of proofs, is this; "that existing causes furnish no ground to fear that Romanism will ever become the prevailing religion of this country." We have no room to spare for a minute account of the discourse, nor are there here any who need the confirmation which Mr. Brainerd's arguments would give them. He writes and reasons like a man of a truly Christian and liberal spirit, and if there are, perchance, any who partake of the fears which led to the delivery of the sermon, we commend it to their attention; it will not only put good reasons into their mouths, but give them the example of a cause argued with modesty, good temper, and a catholic spirit.

In denying the fact often stated of the frequent conversions of Protestants to the Roman Catholic faith, he gives his own experience during four years of extensive intercourse with Catholics, which is valuable.

"I was five years in Cincinnati, one of the strongholds of Romanism. Four years of that time I conducted two religious papers, one for adults and one for children. I had correspondents all over the central portion of the Great Valley, and yet I never knew personally one man, one woman, nor one child, to abandon Protestantism for Romanism. I doubt not there have been such conversions. I have seen accounts of such in Catholic periodicals. But not one either fell under my own eye, nor was ever brought to my notice by a correspondent, so far as I now remember. On the other hand, I have known many native Romanists introduced into the Protestant churches. One obscure clergyman, in a single revival, brought twenty Catholics hopefully converted into the fold of Christ.

"I take this occasion to say that in the West there is but little more reason to apprehend the controlling prevalence of Catholicism, than in

the East. You may travel for days and weeks over that vast and beautiful region, without the vision of a Roman priest or a Roman chapel. In Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, and here and there over the country, you will find large clusters of Romanists, but they are mostly poor foreigners from Germany and Ireland. Their influence, literary, pecuniary, social, and political, is very small; and in numbers they are as a drop in the bucket compared with the Protestant population.

"I know the eagle eye of Rome is fixed on the great Western Valley. I know that immense amounts of money are sent over to erect splendid cathedrals, and establish seminaries, to aid in its subjugation. I know a project is on foot to introduce Irish paupers, by thousands, to aid in the work. But I also know, that the true spirit of Protestantism nowhere beats with more energy than among the first settlers of the West. They may be tempted to abandon all concern for the soul in strife for the world. Their very independence and insulation from the fixed habits of the old States may expose them to strike out new paths, and run into new *isms*. But to give up their own judgment, and submit passively to the control of an Irish, French, or German priest, would be scouted by the most ignorant Protestant of the West. Hence, while Romanists here wield a vast and apparently dangerous machinery, they make in fact but few converts. Our Home Missions, if rightly sustained, will save the West. \* \* \*

"One clergyman of our Presbytery tells us, that during his labors in this city, he has received into his church thirty converts from Romanism. Among the pew-holders of my own church, there are several who were educated in the Roman creed; and within the last few years, five persons brought up by Catholic parents have united with us, one of whom, under the best auspices, is now studying for the gospel ministry at Yale College.

"On the other hand, in this city I know personally but a single Protestant who has made a transition into the Roman church."—pp. 21–23.

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*On Political Idolatry. A Discourse delivered in the First Church in Roxbury, on Fast Day, April 6, 1843. By GEORGE PUTNAM, Minister of that Church. Published by request of the Parish. Boston: Crosby & Co. 1843.*

HERE is excellent medicine for hack-politicians, party tools, and self-seeking demagogues. The political sabbath was well occupied by the preacher in administering it to his people, many of whom no doubt needed it, and now must feel all the better for it. We trust that many editions will be the means of sending it abroad through the country, that the largest possible numbers may share the benefits of those who had the happiness to listen to it from the lips of the eloquent preacher. Our newspaper editors could not employ one or two of their columns more profitably for their readers than by filling them with this admirable discourse. If it should have the effect to clear out of the

eyes of their readers a little of the dust some may have been amusing themselves with throwing in, no harm would be done.

When one reads a political sermon like this, eminent alike for truth and ability, he is at first led to regret that such topics do not more frequently find their way into the pulpit. But sermons of this kind are so apt to degenerate into mere vehicles of small party politics, instead of dealing with the great conservative principles of all governments, that we think the prejudice a good one, that permits them to be but rarely heard. The "little government Sunday," however, offers a fair opportunity for such discussions, and is with good judgment often devoted to them. We should offer quotations to bear out what we have said of this discourse, were it not that it will so soon find its way to our readers in a pamphlet or newspaper form.

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*The Four Pillars: or the Truth of Christianity demonstrated, in Four distinct and independent Series of Proofs; together with an Explanation of the Types and Prophecies concerning the Messiah.* By HARVEY NEWCOMB. Boston: Seth Goldsmith and Crocker & Brewster. 1842. 12mo. pp. 298.

THIS is a work on the evidences of Christianity, as its title indicates. Its aim is not to be either original or learned — but popular and useful. It is not, however, a sufficiently thorough treatise to obtain a very wide circulation, or come into very general use as a school book. For this last purpose it wants condensation and the rejection of the practical inferences and remarks which come better from the teacher.

It is a poor way to make a work on a subject that should be treated with scientific precision, to use for that purpose a series of sermons written and preached in the ordinary course of pulpit duty. It will rarely, however altered and improved, possess much value. On practical or devotional topics such discourses may be used to excellent effect; though even in this case, unless they go through a rigid process of weeding and pruning, winnowing and sifting, they will soon perish. The chaff will so abound over the grain, that after the generation of personal friends is gone, few will take the pains requisite to separate the one from the other. Nevertheless, for a time even such volumes may do great good; they will be read when better books would be passed by. But on subjects of a different sort — not higher, but different — subjects that require to be handled not by the affections, but by the intellect, to be enforced not by exclamations or declamations, but by logic, a very different mode of managing

them must be adopted to secure the assent or respect of a reader. We do not know that the present volume had its origin in the manner supposed; that it had, is mere matter of inference.

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*Devotional Exercises for Common Schools.* Boston: J. T. Buckingham. 1842.

AN unexceptionable book. The Compiler in his preface thus describes it, which will give to those of our readers, who have not seen it, a clear notion of what it is.

"The first is a selection of short sentences of a didactic character, selected chiefly from the Book of Proverbs, each calculated to impress on the mind some important moral truth. These are to be read by the instructor, or by an advanced scholar appointed by the instructor.

"The second division is a selection from the Book of Psalms, arranged in a suitable manner to be read by the instructor, or one, whom he may appoint to perform that office, and the pupils. The portion assigned to the pupils is *generally* a response in sentiment, as well as in form, to that, which is read by the person, who leads in the service.

"The third division is selected chiefly from the Gospels, and embraces a complete narrative of the birth, ministry, death, and resurrection of the Founder of the Christian religion, with as copious extracts from his discourses and conversations as the limits of the book would admit. This portion is also to be read by the instructor, or some one under his direction.

"The Lord's prayer is then to be recited by all the pupils in concert, following the instructor." — pp. 5, 6.

A better plan could hardly be devised than this, and the execution is as good as the plan. It will win its way, we trust, into all the schools of Massachusetts.

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*The Baptismal Question. A Discussion of the Baptismal Question. Consisting of 1. Hints to an Inquirer on the Subject of Baptism. By Rev. Messrs. COOKE and TOWNE. 2. Review of the "Hints." By Rev. WILLIAM HAGUE. 3. Rejoinder to the Review. By Rev. Messrs. COOKE and TOWNE. 4. Examination of the Rejoinder. By Rev. WILLIAM HAGUE. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1842.*

THE volume comprises the pamphlets on the question of Baptism which appeared during the last year, in a controversy between the persons named in the title page. Those, who feel interested in the general subject, will find here the arguments usually urged on the two sides. Why so wide an interest is



felt in the mere *manner* in which the same rite is administered, is not easy to explain, — especially as it appears, whether administered in one manner or another, or not at all, no longer to be regarded as an essential saving ordinance. Mr. Hague, for reasons which he gives, considers it of importance to rest in true and just views on this subject, but at the same time declares his opinion that “the observance of no outward rite is of saving efficacy.” We could feel no more objection to any one mode of administering this rite, than to any one mode of observing the Lord’s Supper, or of performing the outward office of prayer. Any manner that answered best the ends of devotion would be best.

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*Thoughts on Spiritual Subjects, translated from the Writings of Fenelon.* Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins.

EVERYTHING of Fenelon is welcome. There are no portions of this little volume so valuable as the fragments and extracts already given in the Selections of Mrs. Follen; but it forms a pleasant supplement to that beautiful book. The translator rightly judges that much will seem to some minds vague and shadowy. But the charm about Fenelon is so positive, that all defects of this sort are overlooked and forgotten. It is his spirit for which the reader chiefly cares, and this pervades the whole alike. His very vocabulary — whether one clearly apprehend or not the exact sense — breathes of devotion and heaven. We are grateful to the translator for this new addition he has furnished to the pleasures of the lovers of this great divine.

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*Greek Lessons adapted to the Author’s Greek Grammar; for the Use of Beginners.* By E. A. SOPHOCLES, A. M. Hartford. 1843. 18mo. pp. 116.

IF one may judge of a school-book without having used it with classes, we should not hesitate to pronounce this a good book of its kind. There are explanatory notes, and the help they convey to the pupil seems to be what and where it is needed. The little volume closes with a vocabulary and directions for parsing Greek. Twenty-seven pages contain the text; the remainder is occupied by the notes and vocabulary. It is a neat volume, printed with a large, fair Greek type.

*A Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, with an Introduction on the Nature of Prayer.* Boston: William Crosby & Co.

THIS is a volume of devotional thoughts, suggested by the different clauses of the Lord's prayer, the work of the deaf and dumb pupils of an Institution in the West of England. It is curious and interesting, as showing what is done by the training of these excellent Charities. A fine religious spirit pervades the book, with no touch of sectarian theology.

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*The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April.* This number contains six articles beside Critical Notices. The first is a translation from the French of an introductory lecture on the Elocution of the Pulpit, by Professor Adolphe Monod, attached to the Protestant Seminary in Montauban. It is full of valuable suggestions and good counsel for the student, as the following passage will show; but such directions would form anything else, rather than the manner which we term the French style of pulpit oratory.

"The delivery should be simple or natural. In speaking from the soul, one will speak simply; for the soul is simple. It is only the presence of man which can make us affected; when alone, we are always simple, for the single reason, that then we are ourselves. The accents of the soul are those of nature. It is these which we are to reproduce; and we must take care not to substitute for these the accents of conventional artifice, or of arbitrary choice. It is necessary that the hearer should recognise himself, and that the instinct of his nature should be satisfied with each of our inflections. In other words, we must speak, and not declaim. I have already said, Elevate, ennoble the tone of conversation and of common life, but while you elevate, do not forsake it. An able painter does not slavishly copy the traits of his model; he idealizes them, and transfers them to the canvass only after he has subjected them to a sort of transfiguration in his brain; but even while idealizing them, he so imitates them that they may be recognised at once. Thus it is, that a portrait may be a perfect likeness, and yet more beautiful than the original. The same thing occurs in good speaking. The tones of common parlance are embellished, and yet they are perfectly recognisable, because their essence is carefully preserved. But to declaim, to take a new tone because one is in the pulpit, in fine to speak as no one ever speaks, is a grievous fault, while, strange to say, it is a fault very common, very hard to avoid, and which perhaps no one of us escapes altogether. For it is far easier to assume a sustained and unaltering tone, than, step by step, to follow thought and sentiment in their infinite sinuosities; and then, there are never wanting hearers of bad taste, for whom the pomp of language is imposing. Nevertheless, Gentlemen, consulting only the human effect of your preaching, if this consideration were not unworthy of you, the man who *speaks* in the pulpit will rise above him who *declaims*. Even

those who at first suffer themselves to be dazzled by the cadence of periods, and the outbreaks of voice, at length grow weary, and are less pleased with the artificial preacher, than with him whose very tones make them feel that he thinks all that he says. And what shall I say of the real and useful effect produced by these two preachers? How much more directly, nay, exclusively, will the latter find his way to the heart and conscience! How will his vehement parts be relieved by the calm and simple tone of his habitual manner! How much more truly will he be what he ought, in the sight both of God and of man, by continuing to be himself, and not stepping aside from truth in announcing truth! Yes, Gentlemen, if you would have a pulpit delivery which shall be dignified and Christian, and which shall make great impression, speak always with simplicity. Say things as you feel them. Put no more warmth into your manner than you have in your heart. This honesty in speaking, — allow me the expression, — will constrain you to introduce a more sincere, and a profounder warmth, which you would never have attained in any other way. It will, besides, have a salutary reaction on your writing, and even on your soul. For, displaying things as they are, it will bring your faults to light, and admonish you to correct them. I have spoken of the pulpit. If it had been proper here to speak of the stage, many similar observations might be made. Great actors no longer declaim; they speak. Talma, whom I have so often named, began by declaiming, as do others. An interesting circumstance made him feel the necessity of adopting a new manner, more conformed to nature; and from that day he became another man, in regard to his art, and produced extraordinary effects. Those who have heard him will tell you that the extreme simplicity of his playing astonished them at first, and that they were tempted to take him for a very ordinary man, whose only advantage over others consisted in a magnificent voice: but they were soon subdued by the power of nature, and the vivid impressions by which they were seized made them understand, that the very simplicity of his acting constituted its force as well as its originality." — pp. 206 — 208.

The other articles are the State of the Country, Psychology, Alison's Europe, Presbyterian Board of Education.

*The Christian Review (Baptist) for March* offers nine articles with notices of books, viz. The Life and Times of Baxter, Emmons's Works, Translation from Neander on the Life of the Early Christians, Immorality of Thought, Alison's Europe, Anglo-Saxon History and Literature, Historical Sketch of Chiliasm, Perkins's residence in Persia.

*The Pathfinder*, a weekly New York Journal, edited by Parke Godwin, Esq. It is formed on the model of the London Examiner, and Spectator, as to its outward form, and interior arrangement. In politics, it represents the extreme left of Democracy. Whether one likes all its doctrine, or not, he cannot fail to be struck with the talent shown in its articles, and in the general management of the paper.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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JULY, 1843.

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POSITION AND DUTIES OF THE NORTH WITH  
REGARD TO SLAVERY.

It has been common, both at the South and the North, to deny not only the duty, but the right of Northern men to discuss the subject of slavery. The attempt has been made to draw around the Africans in bondage a line of circumvallation, which philanthropy, sympathy, nay, not even calm, dispassionate investigation can cross with impunity. This line, however, we cannot hold sacred. For the Africans are within the pale of human brotherhood, which Christianity has marked for us; and the fact, that they are part and parcel of our own body politic, certainly cannot render them less our brethren. Nor, on the other hand, can the fact, that they belong to States which wield some of the attributes of independent sovereignty, rightfully exclude them from our sympathy, unless we have been wrong in sympathizing with the Greeks and Poles, and with the Asiatic tributaries of Great Britain, with whose oppressors we surely have as little political connection as with the Southern States of our own Confederacy. Is it said that the Constitution and laws of the Union preclude our action in the premises, and therefore should suppress our sympathy, or at least the free utterance of it? We deny that the Constitution or fundamental laws of the Union put this subject beyond the reach of our political action; and, if they did, and it should still appear that God had placed us under religious obligations to the enslaved, we cannot for a moment admit that human compacts

or enactments are valid against the divine law. Is it peremptorily asserted, that we at the North have no responsibilities or duties with reference to slavery? We still will contend for the right of trying this question ourselves, inasmuch as the question of responsibility or of duty can never be answered by others in our stead. We say not at the outset that it is our right or duty to act upon this subject; but merely maintain the right, nay, the duty of inquiry, — of determining, by the free exercise of our own judgment, whether and how far we at the North are accountable for the wrongs and evils of slavery, — whether and how far Providence has entrusted to us the power, and given to us the means of decisive influence and action in the cause of emancipation. To put and answer these inquiries is the object of the present article.

We will first define the position of the people of the North with reference to slavery, and our position will determine our duties.

In the first place, we stand in undoubted relations of brotherhood to the entire slave population; and, however much or little we may be able to do for them, they are legitimate subjects of our interest, sympathy, and intercession; nor can it be questioned that we should hold ourselves in readiness to perform in their behalf any brotherly office, which implies no trespass upon the rights or well-being of others.

In the next place, we have with us at the North not a few of the African race, with whom we have immediate social relations, and our treatment of whom will be determined mainly by our feelings towards their race as a whole. These negroes are among us, as the outcast Pariahs are in Hindoostan. They are generally excluded from our common schools, and in some places are left without any provision for their education. From some churches they are shut out, and in others seated in a solitary loft above the organ, forbidden so much as to stand on the same floor with their white brethren in the house of Him, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men," nay, not permitted to kneel at the sacramental altar, till the last white communicant has retired to his seat. There are very many, who seem to look upon the whole race with loathing and detestation. Now if there be anything wrong in this state of things, compassion for and sympathy with the slave are more likely than aught else to set it right. But, if the great body of the African race in our country be viewed with a resolute



hardness of heart, the few, with whom we come occasionally in contact, will be sure to suffer neglect and contumely from us.

Yet again, there are at the North many ardent, devoted friends of the slave, to whom, unless they have forfeited them by misconduct, we owe all the duties of good neighborhood, friendship, and Christian fellowship; and our views of the subject of slavery must determine, whether we shall treat them as deluded, erring, and guilty men, or whether we shall regard them as endowed with the true spirit of charity and philanthropy. They are, many of them, persons of the most exemplary lives in every other point of view, — persons, of whom it is often said, that their anti-slavery principles are their only fault. Is this to be regarded as a heinous fault, worthy of vehement reproof, censure, denunciation, excommunication; or as in itself amiable and commendable? If we are right in considering slavery as a forbidden subject, and the slave as shut out by the will and law of God from our sympathy, prayers, and efforts, then is the anti-slavery man, as such, a disorganizer, a man full of treason, a dangerous member of society, to be treated with suspicion and distrust. But if, on the other hand, we have duties incumbent on us with reference to slavery, then he, who has the courage to meet these duties with a bold front, is worthy of high esteem and honor, so far as he preserves the meek and gentle spirit of his Master. To be sure, if he be a fanatic, his fanaticism on this, as on any other subject, is proof of a weak head. If he be denunciatory, his bitterness of spirit on this, as on any other subject, betrays a bad temper. But, simply as an anti-slavery man, he is to be regarded with the same esteem, with which we regard any other consistent and devoted laborer in any philanthropic work. But, we repeat it, our duties towards this portion of our fellow-citizens depend upon our views of the evil and the remedy of slavery.

Then again, there is a great deal of emigration from the Northern to the Southern States, and a heavy responsibility\* rests on us as to the tone of feeling and principle, with which

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\* We know not how to write on a moral subject without using this same word *responsibility*, which, we are as well aware, as any hypercritical reader can be, is not a legitimate English word. Why not take from the word its *bar sinister*, and affiliate it at once? The idea which it represents had slumbered in Christendom for fifteen centuries or more; its resuscitation in these latter days is well worth the coining of a name.

those shall be imbued, who go from our midst to communities, where their immediate influence must be given either for or against this form of oppression. New England men, wherever they go, occupy prominent places, and exert a commanding influence. They are more apt to give than to receive law, — to control the current of opinion than to yield to it. In some of the Southern towns and cities, the chief men in every department of business and enterprise are natives of New England. At present, these adopted citizens of the South are, for the most part, among the strongest and least tolerant advocates of slavery. The Editor of the *Southern Review*, a work established chiefly for the maintenance of distinctively Southern principles, is a Northern man. Many of our readers have seen the recent correspondence of a Church in Savannah with the American Unitarian Association, in connection with their sending home unheard a clergyman, who had been selected for them on the express ground of his standing uncommitted with reference to Northern abolitionism. From their unwillingness to listen for a single Sabbath, or to give the slightest countenance to one, who could be suspected of hostility to Southern institutions, it might be inferred that this parish was composed of people, in whose veins pure Southern blood had flowed for many generations. But, in point of fact, this parish is composed almost entirely of Northern men. A clergyman, who recently officiated there, can recall the names of but three natives of the South among the male parishioners. Of the three members of the Committee of correspondence with the Unitarian Association, two are Northern men by birth; and still another member of the parish, who bore a prominent part in the transactions relating to Rev. Mr. Motte, and indeed is an acknowledged leader in all ecclesiastical matters, is a Northern man, and holds an auction every Thursday for the sale of human flesh. These facts we have specified as illustrating the state of principle and feeling which prevails, with hardly an exception, among Northern men, who have become citizens of the South. Now there must be something grossly wrong in the state of public feeling at the North, while such men and few others are sent Southward. There must be bitterness at the fountain, whence such streams flow. And we have no doubt that, if the New England people, who are now at the South, had carried with them what ought to be New England principles, and simply lived them out by tacitly declining all connection with slavery and all action in its

favor, without any insurrectionary language or movement, they would have done a vast deal towards mollifying the tone of public sentiment at the South, and preparing the way for the gradual emancipation of the enslaved. A healthy and active state of general sentiment at the North is then, in this point of view, if in no other, of prime importance, and would be of extensive and controlling influence.

We have as yet named prominent indeed, yet only secondary features of our position with reference to slavery. We are still more intimately connected with the system. We, the people of the North, are slave-holders and slave-dealers. The Constitution and history of our Federal Government cover a vast amount of pro-slavery recognition, sanction, legislation, and executive action, and for all this the non-slaveholding States are accountable; for they have always had the majority in the national counsels, and, had they been true to the principles, for which they professedly contended in the war of the Revolution, the Federal Government would have been clear of this unholy compact. Now what the non-slaveholding states have done, they may undo. What they have established they may abolish. What they have sanctioned they may disavow. Let us then take a cursory view of what they have done, established, and sanctioned; for this is requisite in order to define their position.

Our Constitution embraced at the outset an atrociously guilty compromise, guaranteeing the continuance of the slave-trade for twenty years, without providing for its abolition even then; and against this many earnest and fervent voices were raised by not a few of the first and best men in the nation, among whom we would make honorable mention of Joshua Atherton, of New Hampshire, (grandfather of *Hon. Charles G. Atherton*,) who opposed the adoption of the Constitution on this ground alone; for, said he, "If we ratify the Constitution, we become consenters to and partakers in the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic." By the Constitution, also, a larger than its due share of representation and influence was secured to the Southern States, by reckoning three-fifths of the slaves in the numbers, on which the apportionment of representatives in Congress is made, — an arrangement, by which the Southern minority of the free citizens of the country have been fast approaching a majority in the representation, and will, if the process go on unchecked, soon attain that majority by

the increase of slaves in the extreme South, the creation of new slaveholding states, and the admission of Texas. There is also an article in the Constitution, which permits the reclaiming of fugitive slaves in the free States, and thus declares our territory, what it has often been made, a hunting ground for slave-drivers. Under this article, according to the construction of our Supreme Judiciary, any citizen of the North, (he need not be black, men as white as most of our readers have been claimed and seized as slaves at the North,) may be seized and carried into slavery without the form of trial, on the mere affidavit of the claimant before a justice of the peace. The redeeming trait in this article is, that it does not make it incumbent on the State authorities to act in such cases, and its force may be evaded, (as it has been, to the honor of Massachusetts, by the unanimous vote of her legislature,) by prohibiting, under severe penalties, any of the State functionaries from aiding in the arrest or verification of persons claimed as slaves, and forbidding the use of the jails of the State for the detention of such persons. But still the article is a foul blot upon our Constitution, and a memorial of a sycophancy and subserviency to the South on the part of the North, which has been as the life-blood of Southern slavery.

By the Constitution, Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over the territories belonging to the Union; and, south of thirty-eight and a half degrees of north latitude, Congress has sanctioned slavery in all those territories. Several new slaveholding States have been admitted to the Union; and particularly, in 1820, Missouri, the question of whose admission was made to turn solely on the point of slavery, was admitted with liberty to hold slaves, by means of the infamous defection of Northern members of Congress from the true principles of freedom.

Under the authority of Congress, also, and by the votes and the acquiescence of Northern legislators, slavery and the domestic slave-trade, in its most revolting features, are sustained in the District of Columbia, of which the entire, unrestricted jurisdiction is vested in Congress. There are nowhere in the Union more severe slave-laws than are sanctioned in that District by act of Congress. The barbarity of the slave-laws in force there may be judged of from one single item. A slave, convicted of setting fire to any building, is to have his head cut off, his body divided into quarters, and the parts set up in the most public places. In the very seat of government, any

colored person may be apprehended as a fugitive slave ; and, if he proves himself free, he is charged with all the fees and rewards given by law for the apprehension of runaways, and, upon failure to make payment, he is liable to be sold as a slave. Thus, under the very eye of Congress, a free man of color, on his lawful business, may be arrested, thrown into jail, and, if too poor to pay charges, which range from forty-five to ninety dollars, sold into irredeemable slavery. There have been, however, cases in which blacks thus arrested have been discharged. There was reported to the House of Representatives a case, in which a black man was taken up on suspicion of being a runaway slave, and kept confined *four hundred and five* days, in which time vermin, disease, and misery had deprived him of the use of his limbs, and made him a cripple for life, and he was then discharged because no one would buy him. Yet, while these things are well known in Congress, and are brought before that body by committees of their own, they have repeatedly voted to make no alterations in the slave-laws of the District, and to such votes scores of Northern legislators have recorded their names in the affirmative. Meanwhile the neighboring State of Maryland, from which many of these slave-laws were derived, yielding to the spirit of the age, has expunged the most obnoxious of them from her statute book ; and on her soil, the man, who confesses himself a slave, is released, if his master does not answer an advertisement, and appear to claim him, within a limited time.

Under the eye, and with the sanction of Congress, the District of Columbia is also made the great slave-market of the Union. There have been single numbers of the *National Intelligencer*, that have contained advertisements relating to the purchase or sale of not only hundreds, but even thousands of slaves. In the city of Washington, so lucrative is this trade, that licenses to carry it on, still under the authority of Congress, are given and regularly paid for at a rate prescribed by the city corporation, which has been and probably is now no less than *four hundred dollars*. Northern members of Congress are often compelled to meet droves of slaves on their way to a market or to the river, handcuffed and chained together. This traffic is disgusting to the best people of the District, has been petitioned against by large numbers of them, has been presented as a nuisance by grand juries, has been commented upon with righteous severity in Charges from the Bench, and yet



legislators from the non-slaveholding States have not principle, energy, and independence enough to do it away.

By the Constitution, the regulation of commerce between the several States is vested in Congress, and Congress has enacted laws permitting the slave-trade between the States coastwise in vessels of over forty tons burden, and prescribing minutely the manifests, forms of entry at the custom-house, and specifications to be made by the masters of such vessels. By the same authority a vast inland slave-trade is carried on, and immense numbers are driven in herds from the Northern to the Southern and Southwestern extremities of the slave-holding district, often thirty or forty attached to the same long chain, each by a short chain affixed to his iron handcuff. In Maryland and Virginia, this is a business of prime importance; and large, jail-like places of deposit, well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, and cowhides, are scattered at not infrequent intervals over the territory of those States. In 1836, no less than *forty thousand* slaves were sold out of Virginia, for a sum of not less than *twenty-four millions* of dollars; and, not long before that date, a distinguished statesman of Virginia publicly declared, that his native State had been converted into "one grand menagerie, where men were reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles." And all this under the authority of Congress, and with the consent of Northern legislators.

But our Federal Government has not confined its action on this subject within its own jurisdiction. By express votes of Congress, and of course, of Northern members to constitute a majority, the Government has repeatedly negotiated with Great Britain, (though happily with no success, except a paltry pecuniary remuneration in one or two instances,) for the restoration of fugitive slaves from Canada, and of slaves that have been cast by shipwreck upon British soil. And, to cap the climax of degradation, our republic, when the permanence of slavery in the island of Cuba was supposed to be threatened, made to the courts of Madrid and of St. Petersburg, and to the Congress of Panama, the most dolorous representations of the effect, which emancipation in Cuba must needs have upon her own domestic institutions, and intimated in the most explicit terms, that the United States would without hesitation embark in any war, which might be necessary to perpetuate slavery in that island, — yes, pledged the entire strength and resources of this nation, which styles itself free, to keep hundreds of thou-

sands of human beings out of its own precincts in hopeless degradation and bondage.

Now, while such has been the spirit of a large portion of the delegation to Congress from the non-slaveholding States, we cannot regard the rejection of petitions bearing upon slavery as a matter of surprise, or as furnishing additional ground for moral indignation to an honest and philanthropic heart. Before the right of petition was formally denied, the majority of Northern members had sufficiently shown that there was no right too sacred to be yielded up to Southern dictation; and, as they would at any rate have treated the subject-matter of these petitions with neglect and indignity, it may have been as well for them to do the work in brief, and to save the time and money of the nation by one sweeping vote of rejection.

Such is the amount of action, permission, and sanction, for which we at the North are accountable. To this degree are we slave-holders and slave-dealers. We are not indeed directly responsible for slavery within the borders of the several States. That is their concern. But for every act or recognition on the part of the Federal Government we are accountable, — that is, we the people, not our representatives or rulers, who are our agents, but we individually, whenever we have voted for a man, who was likely to cast a pro-slavery vote in Congress, whenever we have learned with indifference, that our agent had cast such a vote, whenever we have voted a second time for a man, who had once cast such a vote. The acts of our representatives, which we let go by unrebuked, are our acts. When Northern men have thus voted, it has been because their constituents were either indifferent to the whole matter, or strongly tinged with Southern principles. A late member of Congress, who never failed, when the opportunity offered, to vote in behalf of slavery, recently made, in an official document from the executive chair which he now fills, the following exposé of his political creed: “While in public life, it has ever been, and will ever continue to be, my effort, first to learn, and then to do the will of my constituents.” This man, had he belonged to the Massachusetts or Vermont delegation, would no doubt have voted differently on many of the questions involving the subject of slavery; but he represented New Hampshire, where the general tone of public feeling is either absolute indifference, or a leaning towards the pro-slavery side of all these questions. The use of the representative’s own

conscience seems to have grown obsolete, and instructions and pledges have so far supplied its place, that, on all matters of importance, the alternative is obedience or the resignation of one's office. Thus the burden rests upon the consciences of the citizens at large.

Such is the position of the people of the North, with regard to slavery. What are the duties growing out of this position?

In the first place, it is undoubtedly the duty of every citizen to take cognizance of the subject, to know what slavery is, and to have a just, and, so far as may be, an adequate idea of its evils and enormities. In judging of Southern slavery, we have no need to discuss the question, whether slavery is intrinsically and under all circumstances an evil and a wrong. It is certainly within the range of abstract possibility, that a state of things might exist, in which something corresponding to the relation of master and slave should be mutually beneficial. Such a state of things did probably exist in the patriarchal families in very early times; and, from all the hints that we can glean of those times, the servants or slaves were generally the privileged party. But this has nothing to do with our negro slavery. The bondage of the African race is the fruit of man-stealing, a crime denounced in the severest terms by revelation, and utterly abhorrent to the very first principles of humanity. Then again, our system of negro slavery sets aside that law of God, by which the marriage covenant is pronounced inviolate and permanent. There are among the slaves no husbands and wives joined till death shall part them. Their union is not marriage, nor is it usually sanctioned by the sacrilegious mockery of a marriage ceremony. Those united for a season may be, without their consent, separated scores or hundreds of miles from each other, and then each is permitted, expected, nay, compelled to enter into a new union, and, perhaps a few months after, into yet another. The leading ecclesiastical bodies at the South have even issued proclamations, declaring that the gospel laws of matrimony are not to be considered as binding upon the slaves, or with reference to them, and that the slave may lawfully change his or her wife or husband with every change of residence. This one feature is sufficient to make the whole system unspeakably degrading and demoralizing, inasmuch as it entirely breaks up the institution of families, which is the choicest instrument of civilization and refinement,

the surest bond of virtue, and an essential means of religious culture and discipline. Then too, in most of the Southern States, deep and hopeless degradation is entailed upon the slaves, by their being wholly cut off from the means of education, stripes, fines, and imprisonment impending over him or her, who would teach a slave to read, or give him a Bible. Of course, this system precludes all just and accurate knowledge of truth and duty, and all opportunity to rise in the scale of intellectual and moral being. Under the present state of things, the female slaves are necessarily, and almost universally, made victims of the licentiousness of the whites. The most decisive and unanimous testimony is borne on this point by every honest witness.

With regard to the moral condition of the slaves, our fairest estimate must of course be that based on Southern testimony. In a report adopted and published by the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, made but a few years since, it is said, "that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things," — that they "will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world," — that "not a twentieth part" of the slaves attend public worship. A recent writer in the *Western Luminary*, a respectable religious newspaper in Kentucky, says:

"I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that heathenism is as real in the slave States as it is in the South Sea Islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it constitutes heathenism? Is it to be destitute of a knowledge of God, — of his holy word, — never to have heard scarcely a sentence of it read through life, — to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction, and mission of Jesus Christ, — to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling, of sentiments of probity, truth, and chastity? If this constitutes heathenism, then are there thousands, millions of heathens in our beloved land. There is one topic to which I will allude, which will serve to establish the heathenism of this population. I allude to the universal licentiousness which prevails. It may be said emphatically, that chastity is no virtue among them, — that its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, nor that of their master or mistress. No instruction is ever given, no censure dispensed. I speak not of the world, I speak of Christians generally."

Compared with this mental and moral degradation, (we might almost say *annihilation*, for the system does all that it can to sink the man into the brute,) the mere physical sufferings connected with it, severe as they are, dwindle into insignificance. These may perhaps be often overrated; the moral evils no imagination can overrate. As to the fare, as to the clothing of the slaves, it is indeed scanty and poor, bearing no comparison, at least on the plantations, with that of free laborers at the North, yet much better, no doubt, than the English manufacturers and many classes of free laborers in Europe can procure. With regard to cruel treatment, there are doubtless many humane masters, and there is a degree to which the slaves are protected by law, that is, they cannot be killed in mere sport or wantonness. But the slave-laws of all the Southern States are written in blood, and are a burning shame for a nation that boasts of its freedom, and a foul outrage upon humanity. In Virginia, there are *seventy-one* offences, which, subjecting a white man only to imprisonment, are in a negro punished with death. In Georgia, any person may inflict *twenty* lashes on the bare back of a slave found off the plantation where he belongs without a written license; and there are very many Southern laws, by which, not for crimes, but for merely nominal offences, any irresponsible person whatsoever, without the intervention of a magistrate, may inflict from *twenty* to *forty* lashes. By the law of Maryland, a slave may, for riding a horse without leave, and for other like insignificant offences, be whipt, have his ears cropt, or be branded on the cheek with the letter R. But we will not go on with the loathsome and harrowing recital; we might fill many pages with it; nor do we believe that there stands written, whether in fact or fiction, poetry or prose, anything so horrible, so shocking to every sentiment of humanity, as the statute-books of the Southern States.

In addition to the legal cruelty to which the slave is liable, he is left in a great degree unprotected against private violence and wrong. To force applied for however unlawful or brutal purposes, the slave can make no resistance. Passive submission, not only to one's own master, but to the whole white population, is enjoined by the severest penalties. There are some cases, in which a slave, for merely striking a white man, may be lawfully killed on the spot; and death, in Georgia for the second offence, and for the third in South Carolina,



is the legal penalty for a slave's striking any white person, under circumstances of whatever provocation, or in resistance of any treatment, however unlawful, brutal, or malignant. The slave is cut off from the benefit of trial by jury, except in capital cases; and in South Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana, life may be legally taken without the verdict of a jury. In Louisiana, if the court is equally divided as to the guilt of a slave, judgment is rendered against him. In 1832, *thirty-five* slaves were executed at one time in Charleston, S. C., without the intervention of a jury. The degree of protection which the slave enjoys against over-working, and the security in which he holds any little property of his own, may be judged of from the fact, that the lowest prescribed limit of a slave's daily labor is *fifteen* hours, that in several of the States a slave is not permitted to raise cotton or to keep domestic animals for his own benefit, and that in several of the States masters are forbidden, under heavy penalties, to let their slaves work for wages for their own benefit. The extent to which the slave's life is protected may be inferred from the law of South Carolina, which provides that, if a slave be murdered by a white person in a sudden passion, or by excessive punishment, the man who kills him shall pay a moderate fine, and be imprisoned six months.

Now these laws are not merely indications of what may in extreme cases be done to, or suffered by the slaves. Laws are the surest index of the state of public sentiment in a community, and these laws show in what light the rights, the comfort, and the life of the slave are regarded at the South. These laws are the true criterion of judgment. Individual cases of hardship and gross cruelty may exist under the most humane laws, wherever man has power over his fellow-beings. We have ourselves known, in our own neighborhood, cases of the cruel treatment of children bound out at service, which, had they occurred at the South, would have figured largely in anti-slavery reports; but they would here have been the subjects of the severest legal animadversion, and would have roused the indignation of the whole community, while at the South they would have been far within the liberty granted by law, and would have excited no surprise or censure. We doubt not that there are very many humane and conscientious masters at the South,—many, who bear the burden of slavery unwillingly, and who cherish a Christian sense of

duty towards this species of property, from which they know not how to escape. But we want no other proof than the advertisements in Southern newspapers, to convince us that cases of gross inhumanity are appallingly frequent; and even in the cities, where the slaves are supposed to enjoy a condition of greater comfort than on the plantations, the severe whipping of adult slaves, both male and female, either by the master or by the public functionary appointed for that purpose, is a common and habitual thing.

Such is slavery, — the institution for which our kind construction, our tolerance, our sympathy, our tacit approval, is often claimed. Such is the slavery, which we Northern men help sustain in the District of Columbia, and in the territories under the national jurisdiction, and which, in the portions of the country where it has the deepest dye, is replenished by a traffic conducted under our sanction and authority. Such is the burden, which, as it exists in the Southern States of the Union, claims not indeed our interference until it is solicited, but our prayers and our sympathy both for the enslaved and for their masters. And can it be Heaven's will, that we should close our hearts against the knowledge of such wrong and misery? Shall constitutions and enactments restrain prayer, and make void the law of God and of Jesus, which says, "All ye are brethren?" But what shall we, what can we lawfully do for the benefit of the slaves taken collectively?

In the first place, we can and should pray for the slave and his master, in public and in private, not in mere form, but heartily, fervently. And this we say, not *pro formâ*, because we are writing for a religious periodical, but because we believe in the efficacy of prayer. The evil is one of appalling magnitude. The stone is very great. We cannot roll it away unless God strengthen us and teach us how. But if all Christian people at the North would unite in earnest supplication to God for their unhappy brethren, he would open their eyes to modes of influence and effort now hidden. And on a subject so exciting, the calm and gentle spirit of prayer is especially needed to purge philanthropy from all base admixture of earthly passion, to temper it with justice and candor, and to prevent sympathy with the oppressed from degenerating into hatred and vindictive feelings towards the oppressor. We fear that on this subject there has been too much preaching and too little praying.

But we ought to preach as well as pray, and to write as well as preach. The subject is an open one, and demands discussion; nor by its discussion can wrong be done to any, so long as the laws of truth and of brotherly love are kept inviolate, and all bitterness and wrath are put away. It is often said, that slavery is not a subject for the pulpit. But why not? A just moral perspective will not indeed ensure it the broad and engrossing place in pulpit services, which some assign to it. But we regard it as a fit subject for discussion in the stated services of the sanctuary, because slavery is a moral rather than a physical evil, and presents its most alarming and revolting aspects in a Christian point of view; because the evil is so desperate, that no power short of the omnipotence of Christian truth and love can reach it; because the slaves and the slaveholders are our brethren, children of our Father, bound to us by religious ties, and it is therefore fitting that we should bear them on our minds and hearts in our Father's house; because, if we have any duties towards them, they are religious duties, and therefore within the legitimate scope of the pulpit; and, finally, because the subject is encompassed with so many difficulties, and needs for the solution of them so much of the wisdom that is from above, and for its discussion without offence so much of that calmness and meekness, which should characterize the pulpit more universally than it does, that we may well apply to it the language and imitate the example of the Psalmist, with regard to perplexities of a different class: "If I say, I will speak thus, behold, I should offend against the generation of thy children. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me, until I went into the sanctuary of God." Let then a firm and strong disapproval of the whole system breathe from the pulpit and the press, throughout the non-slaveholding States. Let no man be ashamed, or afraid to utter or to write what he believes and feels. Let this state of public sentiment be cherished at the North, without any aggressive movement towards the South; and it cannot but make itself felt there. It has there even now many hearts ready, yearning to respond to it. And those at the South, who cling to slavery, depend for their support to a very great degree upon popular feeling at the North, and feel fortified by the strong pro-slavery ground taken by the Northern press and pulpit, more than by any or all things else. While slavery has its friends at the North, its hold upon the South cannot be relaxed. But right feeling

here will work its way there. Our literature tinged with it will be read and felt there. Our great political orators once imbued with it will send the truth home to Southern hearts in breathing thoughts and burning words. Our ecclesiastical bodies are more or less intimately connected with the Southern church, and their unanimous, decided, and strong sentiment will soon find a response from every devout and intelligent Christian at the South, and will awaken to sincere penitence and a better mind those portions of the Southern church, which have entered into willing compact with this iniquity. Let the whole North be set right on this subject, and there would be no call for active interference or expostulation. Slavery would expire without a blow. It could not live a day without sympathy and support from beyond its own borders. Public sentiment is not the lame and slow agent which it once was; but it moves on wings of fire, and is like lightning which glances through the whole firmament with a flash.

In addition to this general expression and full establishment of right feeling upon this subject, it is most manifestly our duty to undo our own work, — to abolish slavery and all operations connected with it, so far as the field of our jurisdiction extends. This is the most momentous subject of national legislation; nor can we hope for the smile of Providence upon any of our counsels, while this is overlooked. We deem it of the utmost importance, (and it certainly is important,) that our legislators should be sound in the faith on such subjects as the tariff and the currency, on which men yet may honestly differ, — it is of incomparably greater importance that they should be men, who will not by their continued subserviency to a system, which no Northern man in his heart approves, call down the judgments of long-suffering Heaven upon our land. The domestic slave-trade should be stopped; and that movement would insure speedy emancipation in the slave-breeding states, where slaves are confessedly not worth keeping for their labor, and confine the evil to the extreme South and Southwest. The portion of the country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government should be purged of this contamination. Let it be done by purchase, — it would not cost a third of what the Florida war has cost, and it would be far better to pay men for what is not their property, than to let the most shadowy suspicion of injustice rest upon a philanthropic movement. Let the whole North too, as one man, resist the admission into the

confederation of any new slaveholding member. Let all the non-slaveholding States also follow the noble example of Massachusetts, and forbid the agency of their magistrates and the use of their jails for the detention and restoration of fugitive slaves. Let the entire strength of the non-slaveholding States also be put forth in behalf of such amendments to the Constitution, as shall blot out all recognition of slavery, and base representation on the actual number of free citizens in the several States.

But, on all these subjects, the present is the time for prompt and energetic counsel and action. Let new slaveholding States be admitted into the Union, let Texas become a member of the confederacy, (and this may take place during the very next session of Congress, and scores of Northern votes be cast in favor of it,) and not improbably the majority of representatives at the end of another ten years will belong to the slaveholding States, and the chains of slavery will then be riveted, till the iniquity of the nation is full, and our name and place shall be blotted out from among the nations of the earth. Is it said, that a decided stand against slavery on the part of the non-slaveholding States would destroy the Union? Let it then be destroyed. If the Union cannot be preserved, and the laws of God be at the same time kept, better that human compacts yield, and God be obeyed at all hazards. In saying this, let us not be understood as speaking treasonably of our national Union. We prize and love the Union, and sincerely pray that God may keep it. But we expect safety for it only by its conformity to the divine will and law. We do not believe that it is threatened by any philanthropic principle or movement. On the other hand, were slavery removed from a place so near its foundations, it would be built up at once in the strength and beauty of liberty and virtue, and would be the desire of all nations, the glory of the whole earth. But, if the Union is threatened, it is by the reciprocal encroachments of the South and sycophancy of the North, and by the reckless, unprincipled tone and spirit thus given to the whole legislation and action of the Federal Government. There is no part of the national administration not infected by the spirit of slavery. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint." The South is arrogating to itself a vast preponderance of government patronage and influence, and dictating laws for the whole Union, while Northern men, making shipwreck of principle on the



subject of slavery, preserve it on no other subject, and are pushing the country as fast as they can into misrule and anarchy. The only salvation of the country is for the non-slaveholding States to assert their own principles, and to send to the national legislature men of principle, Christians, philanthropists, men that fear God, — not pledged and packed men, but men whose consciences their constituents can trust, — not men, who need to be instructed, but such as shall go thoroughly furnished for every good work.

We have as yet said nothing of anti-slavery societies. We know little of their movements. We have seldom seen, and never read their reports; nor have we examined any of their documents, except in search of facts bearing upon the general subject. The only anti-slavery meeting that we ever attended was one, to which we were drawn a few months ago, by the fame of certain negro orators, who were to be present. We suppose that the anti-slavery movement has done both good and harm, and probably very much more good than harm. So far as those societies have breathed a denunciatory spirit, we heartily disapprove of it. Yet they have not been the aggressors, nor can there have been anything in their most bitter speeches and writings, which can bear comparison with the rancor of their assailants, and the contumely and injury, which have been heaped upon them without redress. They have never mobbed defenceless women, nor stormed churches, nor set fire to public buildings, nor taken the lives of their opponents. We would far sooner have stood in their ranks than in those of their adversaries; for, whatever their excesses may have been, they have had principle on their side, though we wish that they had had grace, after their great Master's example, when they were reviled, not to revile again, when they suffered, to threaten not, but to commit themselves to him that judgeth righteously. Had they all breathed this spirit, as many of them uniformly have, their cause would by this time have outgrown all opposition. Had such men as the lamented Follen and Channing, and some living luminaries of the church, whom we could name, (men who never harbored an unkind thought, or wrote or uttered an ungentle word,) given the whole tone to the anti-slavery movement, we should by this time have seen the most glorious and successful reformation in modern Christendom far advanced towards its completion. But though the professed advocates of this cause have not done

all that they might, or so well as they might, though they have been men of like passions with other men, and not angels, which reformers are always expected to be, and never are, they deserve at our hands a few words of vindication, as to the alleged injury to their own cause, which has been charged upon them.

It is said, that their movement has closed many hearts against the claims of the slaves. Many hearts have indeed remained closed; but, in addition to the many thousands of active and zealous members of anti-slavery organizations, there is a far more general and strong feeling on the subject throughout the entire North, than when this movement commenced. Nor was this a new movement. There had been, all over the non-slaveholding States, and in the more northerly of the slaveholding States, abolition societies under that express name, in active operation for many years from the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and in the Northern and Middle States till 1820. In looking over their reports and memorials, we find that they used as strong and earnest language on the subject of slavery, as can have been used in the most vehement recent publications. Their reprobation of the whole system is unlimited and intensely emphatic; and they numbered among their active members the confessedly first and best men in Church and State. They poured in upon Congress petitions and memorials against the admission of Missouri into the Union, and in these documents the strongest, most uncompromising anti-slavery ground was assumed, as the unanimous expression of Northern sentiment. That was their last great battle. Defeated then through the treachery of men, on whom they implicitly depended, they left the field, and were probably disbanded; for we find no subsequent traces of their existence.

The defection of the North from its legitimate principles on that occasion no doubt deadened the general conscience; and little was said or thought on the subject of slavery for the succeeding ten or twelve years. Meanwhile new relations were growing up between the North and the South. The Southern cotton trade during this interval rose from utter insignificance to a place second to no other branch of business. The manufactories of the New England States became numerous and extensive, and depended on the South for their raw material. Our New England ships, shut out by universal peace from the general carrying trade, which they had once enjoyed, found

the transportation of Southern cotton their surest and most lucrative employment. Thus had the North in a very brief space of time become connected with the South by the closest and most constraining pecuniary ties, so that the republication of views, which twenty years before it had been scandalous not to admit, now touched new chords of interest, on which it jarred harsh and unwelcome music. The principles were not new; but the relations of Northern men had become changed.

Maryland and Virginia abolitionism owes its decline to a similar chain of causes. For many years slavery had been in those States an intolerable pecuniary burden. For the ordinary operations of agriculture, slave labor was well known to be less lucrative than free labor; and yet the latter could not be had, while the former was employed. Much of the cultivated land of those States was exhausted by the perpetual succession of the same crops, and it could not be improved, nor could new land be brought under cultivation, without a larger capital in human stock, than owners could generally afford, or the profits of agriculture authorize. The African slave-market was open until 1808, and the more Southern States could buy slaves stolen ready grown in Africa, cheaper than they could be raised in Virginia and Maryland; and the suspension of the African slave trade left the country fully stocked, if not overstocked with slaves, and, Southern industry remaining nearly stationary for a series of years, the slave-growing States found no regular or lucrative market for their increase. No wonder that they talked loud and long of emancipation. They were undoubtedly on the eve of decided action. But when cotton, from being little cultivated, became in a few years the great staple of the South, the demand for slaves grew large and constant, the raising of slaves for the market became the most lucrative business in the country, and Virginia and Maryland found a mine of wealth in an institution, which had long been draining their resources. What room then is there for surprise, that public feeling in these States should have undergone an entire revulsion? And is it not much more reasonable to attribute this revulsion to new mercenary motives operating in behalf of slavery, than to the re-echoing from the North of the very sentiments of Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph,—of sentiments, which for nearly fifty years had found free and fervent utterance in the legislature of Virginia?

It is often said, that the anti-slavery movement at the North has been the cause of many hardships and disabilities to the slaves at the South, particularly of the restrictions upon their movements and social gatherings, and of the laws against their being taught to read. But we find on examination, that most of these effects preceded their alleged cause. The American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in December, 1833; the New England Society, which accomplished but little, a year or two sooner. It was not till 1834, or 1835, that the recent anti-slavery movement became of sufficient magnitude to attract attention at the South, or to be generally regarded at the North as anything more than an ephemeral effort of a few visionary and fanatical philanthropists. But the severest of the slave-laws are as old as the constitutions of the respective States; and most of the additional restrictions and disabilities may be traced back to at least ten or twelve years before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The prohibition of Sunday and other schools for the education of slaves, we can trace back in South Carolina to 1821; and, on looking over Niles's Register for the four or five years next preceding and following that date, we find numerous enactments of the same kind in that and other Southern States, and very many indications of an anxious and disturbed state of feeling with reference to the negro population, which we do not find within the last ten years. Possibly laws of this character may have been more rigorously executed since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but very few such laws have been enacted since that time. The state of things, which Northern abolitionists have been so freely charged with bringing about, existed in full during the interval when the North hardly lifted a voice against slavery. With regard to the present condition of the slaves, we have unimpeachable testimony that they are better treated than formerly; and this is doubtless to be attributed to the influence of public opinion at the North, even in the partial and distorted forms in which it has reached the people of the South. It is said in the article in the Southern Review, which we made the subject of comment in our March Number, "The fact is notorious, that slaves are better treated now than formerly, and that their condition is still improving." Gen. Scott, in a recent letter, in which he expresses strong disapprobation of the anti-slavery movement, makes the same assertion. So much for the alleged injury to the slave from his Northern friends.

It is also said, that the efforts of Northern abolitionists have fanned an insurrectionary spirit at the South. Against this charge there is abundant *primâ facie* evidence, without our looking into the history of slave insurrections. It is well known that living anti-slavery agents are not suffered to go at large in the Southern States. The only effort that can be made, therefore, at the South, is by sending anti-slavery books, pamphlets, and newspapers. These are indeed sent and circulated in large numbers, not among the slaves, (for the slaves cannot read,) but among the masters; and, if the slaves are made acquainted with their contents, it must be through the gratuitous agency of their masters. In point of fact, all the great slave rebellions on record took place before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The writer in the Southern Review, already referred to, says, that "under no circumstances can a servile war ever take place;" that "*in vain* has the United States mail been infested and burdened with incendiary documents;" and that "no temptations or artifices can seduce the slaves from their allegiance." This Review is published at Charleston, which was the seat in 1823 and 1832 of extensive negro insurrections, discovered just on the eve of execution. It is well known to many of our readers, that the whole population of Charleston was, for a long series of years, in a state of perpetual alarm and apprehension from the slaves, and that South Carolina took the lead in those legislative restrictions, which imply a state of dread and consternation. It is truly gratifying, while anti-slavery principles are so rapidly extending themselves at the North, to find descriptions of a state of entire and fearless security emanating from the highest literary authority in that very city and State, in which, prior to the anti-slavery movement, the most fearful elements of combustion were believed to exist.

Is it farther said, that the anti-slavery movement at the North is entirely devoid of influence upon the South? Not thus do Southern people say. We might fill half a score of pages with unimpeachable Southern testimony to the effect of this movement upon the Southern mind and heart. Judge Upshur, a member of the present cabinet, said, in his prospectus for the establishment of the Southern Review: "The defence of the peculiar institutions of the slave-holding States is the great and leading object of the work. That they are in danger, it would be folly to disguise. A party has arisen in



the other States, whose object is the overthrow of the relation between master and slave ; and from present appearances it will continue to increase till the object it has in view is consummated, unless efficient measures be taken to arrest further progress." The editor of the South Carolina Messenger, in earnestly soliciting subscriptions for this same work, says : " If your institutions are ever to be defended, no time is to be lost. Delay, in all cases dangerous, would be fatal in this." The North Carolina Watchman says : " We are inclined to believe there is more abolitionism at the South, than prudence will permit to be openly avowed." A letter from the Maryville Theological Seminary to the Editor of the Emancipator says : " At least one half of the students of this theological institution are decided abolitionists, and are very much strengthened by perusing the publications sent by you." A gentleman of Frederick County, Md., writes : " The anti-slavery cause is rapidly gaining ground in this section of the country. Three years ago, abolitionist and insurrectionist were interchangeable terms, and an abolition paper a prodigy ; now anti-slavery papers are read regularly by our most respectable and intelligent citizens." Gen. Duff Green writes in a recent editorial at Washington : " We believe that the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend to excite the slaves to insurrection. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of the slave-holders themselves ; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles."

We have, we trust, been successful in defending the anti-slavery organization from some of the grave charges, which have been made against it. But it is not by societies alone that the work can be accomplished. They can only sow the seed ; and this they have done faithfully, diligently, though not always in good temper. It remains for us, citizens, Christians, to supersede them, (as every true friend of the cause will be grateful to have them superseded,) by adopting, all as one, the great principles, which they have cherished.

## THE VALUE OF NATURAL RELIGION.

Read in the College Chapel at Cambridge, May 10, 1843, as the Dudleian Lecture for this year.

THE Founder of this Lecture, in his testamentary provision, directs that it shall be for "the proving, explaining, and proper use and improvement of the principles of Natural Religion." Fortunately for him on whom this service may be laid, language admits of various interpretations, and the obvious sense is not always the true sense. At first it might seem, that he was required to bring within the compass of a single discourse, of moderate length, all that might be said on one of the largest themes of human inquiry — to condense the substance of folios into a tract, the lessons of the universe into a passing word. But, happily, he can construe the terms of the requisition in a sense that shall not impose a task so remote from human faculties. The object of the Lecture on successive years may be such as is described in the passage already quoted; yet of each one of them who contribute their several parts towards the accomplishment of this object no more be demanded, than that he set forth, with such ability as he may possess, some single point whose elucidation shall fall within the province over which the Lecture extends its ample title. So interpreting the duty which has been assigned me, I shun the path which my immediate predecessor in the discussion of this subject pursued, with a success that could wait only on his habits of profound thought and accurate study,\* and, instead of attempting to present an abridgment of the "proofs and explanations" which must be given by him who would establish the "principles of Natural Religion," shall confine myself to a single inquiry, — what is the value of this branch of knowledge, this source of instruction. It seems to me, that in endeavoring to fix the precise place which it is entitled to have in our regards I shall aim at securing "its proper use and improvement."

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\* The Dudleian Lecture in 1839, when according to the order prescribed by the Founder the same subject was treated, was delivered by Rev. John G. Palfrey, D. D., and has lately been printed as an Appendix to the first volume of the "Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity."

If I do not mistake, this topic might lay a special claim on our attention. It has an immediate interest for our minds and hearts, as it involves results more directly practical than any other arising out of the general subject. At the same time, it may be doubted whether it be not the topic on which there is the least of clear discernment or of correct opinion. Comparatively few persons take the trouble to ascertain the precise value of the disclosures which Nature makes on the great subject of religion, and satisfy themselves with vague impressions or superficial judgments. While they whose minds assume a tone of greater decision are apt to run into one or other of the extremes that here, as every where, tempt the fallibility of man to substitute dogmatism for impartial conviction. On the one hand, are those whose estimation of Natural Religion deprives Revelation of much of its importance, and makes the Bible little more than a republication of what is conceived to have been uttered in an equally intelligible, though not perhaps so distinctly audible, a voice by the harmonies of the universe and the testimonies of experience. Some persons indeed appear anxious to strip Christianity of whatever might distinguish it from the oracles whose whispers, as they float on the still air of meditation, reason catches and interprets according to its ability, and imagine that by thus denuding Revelation of its peculiar claims they recommend it to a more hearty confidence. And on the other hand, there is often a depreciation of Natural Religion which almost amounts to a denial of any intrinsic worth, and would reduce it to a mere broken utterance of uncertain sounds. They by whom this view is taken conceive that they too are rendering a service to Christianity, by calling in question the value of all instruction but that which has come through a specially commissioned teacher. But Christianity requires neither of these methods of establishing its right to be welcomed with gratitude and reverence. It is benefitted by neither of them; and it might be difficult to say from which it receives the greater injury.

The inquiry before us then gathers importance alike from its nature and from the mistakes that are either carelessly embraced or religiously entertained. Our sense of the value, if not our judgment concerning the import of Revelation, must be seriously affected by our appreciation of Natural Religion.

Let me approach the answer I should give to this inquiry by placing the meaning of the terms we use beyond the reach of

misapprehension. What do we mean by Natural Religion? It is not the interpretation which Christianity enables us to give to the voices of creation and providence, of our own souls and of the outward universe. We must divest ourselves of our Christian associations, if we would ascertain the force of what may be learned without the aid of Revelation. There is no mistake more common, — yet none more manifest or more fatal to all just decision, — than the confounding of Christian reasonings upon natural phenomena, whether material or spiritual, with the conclusions to which an intelligent observer might be led by the phenomena seen under no other light than that of Nature. Natural Religion, in its concrete form, is the amount of instruction which man in the fair and full use of his powers might derive from Nature, independently of Revelation. It is therefore manifestly wrong, in determining what Nature teaches, to borrow from Revelation assistance in studying its lessons. If I would know how distinctly the outlines of objects may be traced in a cavern, I must not let in a gleam of sunshine; nor must I pronounce a judgment, till my organs of vision have ceased to feel the effect of the broad daylight, and have acquired their proper adaptation to the dimness of the place.

But into an error not less serious shall we fall, if we confound Natural Religion with the actual religion of Pagan lands. This is no more Natural Religion than is the actual religion of Christendom Christianity. That we may discover what the Christian Religion is, we go to the Christian Scriptures and study them with an honest mind. So if we would know what might have been learned on the great themes of religion before Christ or Moses spoke, we must go to the Scriptures written on the heavens and the earth, on man's nature and man's experience, and decypher them without regard to the perversions of their meaning into which others have fallen. It is not to the fanes of Roman idolatry, nor to the temples of Egyptian polytheism, that we must resort, to determine what is proclaimed in the ear of a sober and reverent reason concerning the Object of worship or the duty of man. It is not by the graceful mythology of Greece, nor by the ruder forms into which the imagination of Northern Europe shaped its religious fancies, that we must judge of the instruction which Nature conveys respecting the unseen and the Divine. It is neither from the sacred books of Hindoo wisdom, nor from the Aboriginal traditions of our own continent, that we may obtain the grounds of a correct

opinion concerning the amount of knowledge which the meditative soul might acquire without the help of a special instructor. For these, whether they be the lowest or the highest forms in which the religious sentiment has expressed itself, reflect the peculiarities of the people, the age, and the individual, rather than the solemn decisions of the race.

What then is Natural Religion? I answer that it is the title we give to the conclusions to which one would be brought who, without any assistance, direct or indirect, from Revelation, and without the bias either of a popular worship or a philosophical system, should examine the teaching of his own soul and of the outward universe upon the subjects that fall within the province of religion; the results at which a candid and studious inquirer, in whatever part or period of the world, would arrive through the legitimate exercise of the human faculties upon what is presented in reason, creation, and providence as the materials out of which to construct religious faith.

But what, it may be asked, are the subjects that fall within the province of religion? Sometimes this question receives too broad, sometimes too narrow a reply for our present purpose. The reply is too broad, when looking rather at its practical control than at its scientific basis, we make religion to include all that concerns man. As a law of life, indeed it does; but as one of the departments of human study, it does not. The reply is too narrow, when we confound religion with theology, and consider it only as instruction concerning God.

As a science, the first and greatest of all sciences, religion includes four branches of inquiry. It undertakes to solve four problems, for which a solution can be found nowhere else. First, the problem of the *universe*. We are part of a vast sum of being. We belong to the world; but this belongs to a system of worlds, which again constitutes a fragment of the immense whole, which is embraced within the unmeasured walls of the universe. So do we pass from individual being to a conception which overtakes our laboring faculties. But we are not content to rest here. We would comprehend something more than the fact, however large, of existence. We inquire after its origin. Whence came the universe? And after its security. On what Power or Will does it lean? It is the office of religion to answer these questions, in a single word, God. The universe has its solution in God.



Next, the problem of *life*, of human life, of man's inevitable experience. It begins with the helplessness of infancy, and if it be prolonged through its full measure of days, it runs over a various history of want, exposure, success, disappointment, growth, decay, till it disappears in the darkness of the grave. Life, with its mysteries of birth, death, and intermediate suffering, what does it mean? It seems to present strange inconsistencies; tokens of a providence, with signs of indifference or caprice, in Him who has established its laws, if any such laws there be, if any one there be who cares for its progress or its events. What apparent injustice, what actual inequality, of condition! What mixtures of evil and good in the cup of man's experience, which his own hand has not mingled! Life, the scene of trial and disaster, of uncompleted plans, of unadjusted relations, what does it mean? It belongs to religion to answer this question, which curious minds and aching hearts are ever ready to propound. The reply is given in a single word, *immortality*; which with a twofold significance, pointing backward to discipline and onward to retribution, causes the perplexities of the present to disappear in the contemplation of the future. The life of man finds its solution in human immortality.

The problem of *duty* comes next into view. Man feels within himself a moral nature and a law of obligation. He is compelled by the structure of his nature to acknowledge an essential difference between right and wrong; he is made to confess that this is a difference which arises in every case of action, whether extended beyond or confined within himself; and he is so constituted as to realize an inseparable connexion between the performance of right and the experience of satisfaction, as likewise between the consciousness of wrong-doing and the sense of discomfort. Here then is a continual admonition to rectitude. But where shall he find the standard of rectitude? What is the comprehensive statement of duty which expresses all its requisitions? Religion meets this demand by unfolding the *will of God*, the Author of man's nature, and the Legislator of his conscience. Duty is ascertained through faith, happiness is found in obedience; and these both have their solution in Divine commandment.

One other problem remains, — that dark mystery of *sin*, with which the human breast is disquieted, the human mind alternately exercised and baffled. Man is a sinner; his own soul

witnesses the terrific fact, and his observation shows him that sin is the condition and curse of universal humanity. Must it always be so? Must this sad fate ever attend the human spirit, filling it with discontent and dread? The acknowledgment of sin awakens the sense of desert. The sinner has separated himself from the moral harmonies of the creation, and erected his will in opposition to the right and the good. What is before him, but condemnation and punishment, — the forfeiture of his true place in the universe? The position which belongs to him he has already lost; can it ever be regained? Where, where are the encouragement, the pity, the help, which he needs? Where are the means of recovery and of hope? Convinced of sin, he looks to heaven, to earth, around, within, and implores the answer without which his days must be spent in gloom. He receives the answer from religion, which lightens his sadness and dispels his fear by the single word, *mercy* — mercy that reaches down its saving hand from the Offended to the offender, and proffers the gifts of pardon and peace, of new energy and new life. The sin of man (precious truth!) finds its remedy and reconciliation in the mercy of God. The most fearful of all mysteries is solved.

The universe, life, duty, sin, — these are the titles of the chapters into which we divide the subject of religion. The universe, whose author is God; life, whose explanation is immortality; duty, whose index is the Divine will; sin, whose conqueror is Divine mercy. Now how far does Natural Religion write out either of these chapters?

First, of God nature speaks intelligibly and decisively. It proclaims its Author. To one who examines and reflects as he ought, the universe furnishes its own explanation. The works of God bear witness concerning him. They affirm the intelligence, benevolence, and unity of their Cause. So far the argument from what is seen to what is unseen, the *a posteriori* argument of the theologian, proceeds without difficulty; but here it may be thought to stop. The infinity of the Divine attributes must be established by another kind of proof; and this is found in those elements and laws of the mind, which conduct us by a sure, though somewhat refined course of argument to the conclusion, that God possesses all the natural and moral attributes which can be ascribed to a being of infinite perfection. The being and perfection of God are doctrines of Natural Religion, legitimately deducible from the physical and spiritual facts of the universe.

But with this class of truths ends, as I think, the positive instruction of Nature upon the themes included under the survey of religion. Upon the next inquiry — life — it does not adopt that tone of decision with which it proclaims the Divine existence and unity. In regard to the Providence which watches over the life of man it does not speak in an unambiguous voice, and respecting immortality it presents only probabilities in opposition to the facts, of silence and decay, which belong to death. I suppose that on this point it is particularly difficult for us to define the exact import of the teachings of Nature; since it is almost impossible to lay aside, even for an hour, those associations with which early discipline bound faith in immortality around our hearts. But what stronger proof do we need of the insufficiency of the argument for immortality which can be constructed without the aid of Revelation, than the fact, known to every student of classical antiquity, that while the popular mind embraced without examination a doctrine so welcome to one ever walking, with those whom he loves, on the brink of an unfathomable abyss, they who sought out the grounds of such a persuasion, the philosophers of the ancient world, sighed for a firmer basis than they could discover for their hopes? Nay, when we listen to the elaborate and ingenious reasonings with which the lecturer on Natural Religion attempts to build up faith in the immortality of man, do we not perceive their want of an unassailable stability, and feel a secret joy that so insecure a fabric is not our only refuge from the anguish of doubt? Intimations many and strong does Nature afford in behalf of such a faith, but along with them start into view those appearances of the death-chamber and the grave, which it requires a direct voice from Heaven to pronounce only superficial.

As on this subject the teaching of Nature is uncertain, in regard to duty its instruction is imperfect. We are not indeed left without some knowledge of the Divine will, for the laws which our Maker has written on the human heart are recognised as his; and they bear a character of authority to which we cannot be blind. But the instruction is incomplete; how incomplete, I need not attempt to show. Suppose only that all the assistance in determining what is right and good which we have derived from the discourses and life of Christ were withdrawn, and the impressions which his history and Gospel have made upon us were effaced from our minds; and you may be

able to estimate the comparative inadequacy of the information which we might draw from other sources, as the foundation of our moral judgments and the occasion of calling conscience into exercise. Conscience, it must be remembered, does but enforce the necessity of obedience to convictions of right. Upon the soundness of those convictions it is not its office to pronounce sentence. Man's moral nature renders him amenable to law, and to a certain extent makes him a law unto himself; but it falls far short of disclosing to him the length and breadth of Divine commandment, by which his life must be regulated.

If upon these two last topics of religious instruction the teaching of Nature be obscure or incomplete, upon that which remains to be considered it will be found, I believe, that Nature is silent. Neither reason nor experience enables us to lift the veil from the portentous mystery of sin. Man has in all ages felt its oppression and trembled at the thought of the displeasure which he knew it must provoke. Hence has he sought means to avert the anger of the deities whom he worshipped. Costly sacrifices have been laid on their altars, and the blood of human victims been poured out for propitiation. Bodily penance has been voluntarily inflicted, and patiently and long endured. Yet by such means he has dared only to *hope* that he might obtain forgiveness. Mercy is not included among the terms of Natural Religion. Nor does it belong to this teacher to give man the aid which he needs in raising himself from moral degradation to spiritual life. Sin not only shuts out confidence in the efficacy of repentance; it impairs the native ability of the soul, so that it is far more difficult to retrace the steps of error than to persevere in the right path. Special assistance was needed to overcome the difficulties of a return to virtue. It is Revelation alone that holds out the promise, or unfolds the conditions of pardon; that offers the sinner the armor, or enables him to gird about him the strength, which will be demanded in the conflicts that lie between his present servitude and his final redemption.

It might seem that we are now prepared to answer the inquiry which we proposed respecting the value of Natural Religion. But we shall clear for ourselves a more direct path to the true answer by one farther preliminary remark.

The sources of instruction upon the subjects which come within the survey of religion, (as has been all along implied,)

are two, — Nature and Revelation. Under the former of these terms we include whatever in the creation or the established order of things, in the world without or the world within, in the facts of experience or the laws of the reason or the instincts of the soul, may throw light upon the momentous problems which we have stated ; while by the second of these terms we understand a special and direct communication from Heaven. Now it is plain, that the value to us of any such communication must rest upon certain facts previously ascertained, to wit, the existence and character of a Being from whom the communication could proceed. In other words, Revelation supposes man's faith in God to be established. The being of a God must be proved antecedently to a revelation ; if it be not, from whom shall the revelation be accredited ? It must be received as worthy of belief ; but how can this point be settled, so long as they to whom it is addressed are ignorant of its source ? We must have confidence in the Author of the revelation, or it will be to us no more than a phantom or a fiction. We must have *confidence*, I say ; therefore more than a knowledge of his existence is necessary. We must entertain no doubt of his power to communicate instruction by extraordinary methods, and we must place such an implicit reliance upon his veracity, as shall prevent our raising any question respecting the truth of the instruction which he may please to communicate. What is this but saying, that previously to any supernatural revelation we must exercise faith in the physical and moral attributes of the Divine Being ? And this faith must have a sufficient, that is, an impregnable basis. Unless therefore Natural Religion makes known the existence of God and his perfections, a barrier is placed in the way of all acquaintance with Divine truth, Revelation is stripped of all authority, and man must forever live amidst the spectres of uncertainty and the miseries of spiritual want.

Now it appears from what has been said, that Natural Religion meets this very case. It proves the Divine existence and attributes. It opens the fountain whence may issue the stream of revelation. The argument which it supplies for the being of a God — of one Supreme, Perfect, Infinite Mind — is incontrovertible. The absurdities of Atheism do not merit even the praise of ingenious sophistry. To the eye of an enlightened reason the primary truth of religion stands forth distinct amidst surrounding obscurity. Man needs not a revelation to prove a



God. His faith in God is the origin of his faith in revelation.

Hence we find this fundamental truth continually assumed in the Scriptures. The Bible opens with a declaration which excludes the admission of doubt on the subject: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." When Moses promulgated his system of national worship and polity, he announced that its foundations were laid in Divine command, as if the people would at once recognise the authority of a law emanating from Jehovah, the Eternal "I AM." And when Christ introduced his Gospel into the world, he proceeded upon the facts of the Divine unity and supremacy as unquestionable verities. Christianity never undertakes to prove the Divine existence, and rarely makes it a matter of direct inculcation. It is always treated as an indisputable truth. "There was a man sent from God," is the description of the forerunner of the Christ; as if every one knew that there was a God. "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you, God that made the world and all things therein," was Paul's language before the assembled wisdom and curiosity of Athens, as if Nature had taught them a truth which he needed only to re-affirm in positive terms, to obtain a sure basis for his subsequent discourse. The Bible throughout supposes, but seldom affirms, and never labors to prove, the fact of a God.

The value then of Natural Religion — to give now a direct answer to the inquiry before us — in the first place lies here; that it discloses the fundamental truth, on which all religious faith and practice, all worship, duty or hope must be built — the being of God. Thus it lays the foundation for Revelation. It makes known Him from whom alone the revelation can proceed, and it clothes him with the attributes which alone can impart to any revelation the character of authority. Upon this point let me for a moment detain your regards. The only possible way of authenticating a revelation from Heaven is by miracle. No other proof of a Divine mission is conclusive, for the simple reason, that no other evidence which may be adduced bears that peculiar stamp which can be impressed only by the hand of God. About all other proof hangs the possibility of a human origin. The very definition of miracle involves the ideas of superhuman power and Divine volition. The only two questions therefore that can arise are, whether miracle be possible, and whether the sensible or the historical testimony

in its favor in any particular instance be irrefragable. These two points being proved or conceded, there is no room for question respecting the supernatural claims of him who brings such credentials of a Divine mission. That he bears a message from God is a necessary inference from the admitted facts; nay, scarcely is an inference, for it is rather a part of the statement. Whether we are justified in esteeming him faithful to his office in the delivery of the message he has received is yet another point, to be decided on entirely distinct considerations, drawn from the general character and deportment of the messenger. Now of the two first named points, that which relates to the reality of an alleged fact must be settled according to the principles which we apply to any other case of sensible or historical proof; but that which relates to the possibility of miracle can be decided only by Natural Religion. And by Natural Religion it is decided in the affirmative, through the ascription to the Supreme Being of a power adequate to the production of such an effect, and of a will which for the good of his creatures would call this power into exercise. In regard therefore to the possibility and the proof of a Revelation we are obliged to rely upon Natural Religion, from which alone we derive our knowledge of a Being by whom a revelation could be given, or by whom it could be stamped with the only indubitable marks of a superhuman origin.

In like manner, as I have said, we must be able to place an entire confidence in the integrity of the Divine mind, to secure us against the suspicion of deception on his part, which would be fatal to all the uses of a Revelation. This confidence we are enabled to repose through the instruction which Nature affords, as it establishes the perfection and unchangeableness of God; and thus does it complete the amount of pre-requisites to the reception of revealed truth.

Just in proportion then to the estimation in which we hold Revealed, will be the importance we allow to Natural Religion. Practically considered, the former is an impossibility without the latter. The one is needed as a support to the other. The altar around which cluster our dearest associations and best hopes cannot be suspended in the air. The Bible must rest upon the Rock of ages. The voice which said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him," must have been preceded by a not less intelligible voice proclaiming the one true God, who has sent his Son to be the Instructor of our race. The Christian

above all others should honor the teachings of Nature, without which his faith in the Gospel would have neither security nor justification.

But now, having described the positive worth of Natural Religion, I proceed to point out what may be called its negative value; which consists in the evidence it furnishes, through its own incompleteness, of the need of Revelation. Nature does not answer questions which man proposes with all the curiosity of a perplexed and suffering soul. It does not dispel the mystery which overhangs life; does not present a sufficiently comprehensive law of duty; does not show a remedy for the greatest and most extensive of all evils, sin. Man cries out with unsatisfied impatience, or groans in speechless agony, over these dread problems of his humanity. From the ancient world came the sound of ignorance and want, like the moan of childhood weary and lost amidst the perils of the wilderness. Through ages of gloom and fear, of alternate belief and skepticism, of conflicting hope and despair, that sound rose up, and from the walls of the past its echoes still fall upon our ears. I know there was faith in another life among the ancients; but it was not, I repeat, a faith which would bear the test of examination. It was not a faith on which Cicero could lean in his hour of sorrow. It lacked certainty, *it lacked certainty*; and without this it was a poor, poor solace for the bereaved parent or the orphan child. Take from me the loved and the honored, who make the earth pleasant to me, from whom home derives its joy, and life its sweetness, lay them in the grave, and then offer me comfort in the *probability* that death has not devoured their essential being, — you mock my grief by the vain attempt at consolation. I want certainty, not probability. I want the faith which is “the evidence of things not seen,” as well as “the substance of things hoped for,” — the faith which Revelation only can give. I know you may find in the writings of Pagan moralists many excellent maxims, and much concerning duty and happiness that a Christian is glad to repeat as a lesson to his own conscience. But why did not this ethical wisdom produce any effect? Why was it to the people at large, and even to the disciples of these extolled teachers, like a strain of soft music in a twilight hour, — a soothing, but a passing breath? Because it had not the character of *authority*. Because it did not bear the mandate of Heaven. Because they who heard traced it to no higher

than a human origin. When the Prophet arose whose preface to every exhortation which fell from his lips was, "Thus saith the Lord," the people acknowledged the force of the instruction; when *He* appeared who spake "as one having authority," they "heard him gladly," and the sound of his words has gone through the world, bearing an efficacy that has regenerated communities. I know that men sought in various ways to appease the fury of the gods and to soften the voice of condemnation within their own breasts, giving even "the fruit of their body" to purchase forgiveness "for the sin of their soul." But I do not learn that the Heathenism of ancient or modern times found satisfaction in these acts of sacrifice and self-denial. They were only the signs of a guilty conscience, not of a heart restored to peace.

Great and terrible wants then remained and always must have remained without relief, if a supernatural revelation had not been given. Natural Religion is essentially defective. But its insufficiency supplies an argument of great force in favor of Revelation. It renders a revelation probable, if not necessary to the vindication of the character of the God whom it describes from the imputation of unfaithfulness to his own attributes. In other words, a revelation is needed to save Natural Religion from the absurdity of self-contradiction. In its own character, therefore, the latter contains a prophecy of the former. And what a lesson of gratitude does it teach to them who enjoy the influences of truth and grace that have come through Jesus Christ. The poverty of the world before the entrance of the Gospel does but make our abundance more manifest. As the uncertain help of the stars causes the traveller to rejoice in the light of day, so should the obscurity in which men groped during the long ages before Christianity awaken in our hearts a thankfulness beyond language for him who is the Light of the world, — its Light, and its Life also.

We have examined two of the relations which connect Natural with Revealed Religion; from each of which we derive proof of the value of the former. Alike from the clearness of its reply to one of the chief demands of the soul, and from its imperfect answers or its total silence upon other questions of the greatest moment, we learn in what estimation it should be held. There is one other use which we may make of its teachings that should not be overlooked, — in the analogies it furnishes for the relief of difficulties or the elucidation of

truths which belong to Revelation. These analogies it requires a delicate eye and a skilful hand to detect and apply with justice. They may be improperly multiplied and unduly pressed. Their value too may be exaggerated. It should not be forgotten, that it is the office of analogy to reduce or remove difficulties, or to suggest or confirm truth, but not to establish or prove it. What is the effect of such a book as Butler's celebrated treatise? Not to convince the reader of the truth of religion, but to show him that objections which may be urged by the skeptic or the sciolist lie not against religion alone, and therefore cannot invalidate its authority, since they may also be urged against "the known constitution and course of things." Butler's own words, chosen with his usual accuracy, are, that "in some few instances, perhaps," the analogy he proposes to trace "may amount to a real practical proof; in others not so. Yet in these it is a confirmation of what is proved other ways." Revelation is not free from occasions of perplexity to him who reads with the most docile temper. How could we expect that it should be? On such high themes as those of which it treats, much must be left in the dimness of an imperfect disclosure. Upon many of these obscure points it is pleasant to find, that reason and experience help us to enlarge the instruction which we draw from the Bible. Hints, which under the light of Nature alone would have profited us nothing, may be taken up by the Christian believer and be made productive of a large amount of probability, or even become the key which shall open before him an increase of positive information. Let me illustrate my meaning by a single example. The light of Nature, we have seen, was unable to disclose the reality of a future life. The Gospel has made this an unquestionable article of faith. But the *forms* of the life to come it did not please the Father of our spirits to reveal through his Son. Having however ascertained the fact of another life, we are able to bring into use many analogies which before were destitute of practical value. So long as the doctrine of immortality needed proof, these analogies were like coin of genuine metal but without the stamp which placed their genuineness beyond dispute. When this doctrine was raised out of the uncertainties of desire into a positive article of religion, these analogies immediately became available as sources of instruction. And now, although the direct teaching of Christianity in regard to another state of existence comprehend little more than the two essential facts of



consciousness and retribution, we can by legitimate inferences from the present state define many of the circumstances of that untried future.

Is there now any one formula in which we may express the value of Natural Religion, as ascertained by these remarks? Let me attempt to enclose the result to which we have come within a single sentence. It shall be this. Natural Religion by what it teaches lays an indispensable and sufficient foundation for Revealed Religion; by its inability to teach more renders Revelation both acceptable and probable; and by hints that it affords, which become available to any purpose of instruction only after the entrance of Revelation into the world, confirms and expands the teachings which come through this latter source.

To many persons this may seem an inadequate exhibition of the worth of Natural Religion; but I believe it will be found to stand midway between the extremes of error which were noticed at the commencement of this Lecture, and to do justice to each of the methods by which man is led from earth to Heaven.\*

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\* To some readers it may appear, that I have omitted all mention of one of the most important uses of Natural Religion, and have therefore fallen much below a full exhibition of its value. By many persons Natural Religion is represented as a sort of test of Revelation, a standard by which to try its contents and determine their meaning or authority. Nature is made to sit as the interpreter and judge of Scripture. There seem to me to be serious objections to clothing it with these functions. In the first place, there is no occasion for their exercise. It will be time to look to the decisions of Natural Religion as a guide to inform us what part of Revelation shall be accepted, when it shall appear that Revelation contains anything by which the judgments of a sound reason respecting the true and the good are contradicted. As yet, I conceive, nothing of this kind has been found among the instructions which the Bible delivers as from God. But, in the next place, it seems almost absurd, to talk of interpreting the language of Revelation, or of ascertaining its validity, by what was previously known. The essential idea of Revelation is, that it brings to light what was not known before. What would be thought of him who should propose to rectify the impressions which objects make upon our sight under the blaze of noon by our conceptions of them as seen in the morning twilight? And to add only one other remark, Revelation furnishes within itself the proper measure of its significance, in its general strain of doctrine and commandment, or in what was formerly styled the analogy of faith. The Bible affords us the means of qualifying and construing its own expressions. While, therefore, I maintain the perfect harmony of the teachings of Nature and Revelation, I cannot regard the former as presenting a standard by which we must try the latter.

On one point, however, it may be proper to pursue our remarks a little farther. The view which has now been taken of the office of Natural Religion may give rise to a question respecting its sufficiency to the wants of man before the appearance of Christ. We have said that the actual religion of mankind without Revelation must not be confounded with the instruction which might be fairly drawn from the sources of religious knowledge which exist independently of Revelation. Still it may seem that we have so far reduced the amount of legitimate instruction from these sources, as to leave man previously to the Gospel in such a state of unavoidable ignorance on the highest questions of human concernment, as on the one hand to exculpate him from guilt, though he fell into habits of grievous depravity, and on the other hand to involve the character of God under a heavy imputation of neglect, if not of injustice towards his creatures. I have stated the objection in its full strength. Let us see if it rest on solid ground.

We have affirmed, that Nature teaches the being and perfection of God; establishing not only his existence, but his unity, supremacy, and infinite attributes. Manifestly, then, it lays the foundation for a true worship and a devout life. Idolatry stands in as direct antagonism to Natural as to Revealed Religion; so that, as the Apostle says, they were "without excuse," who with "that which may be known of God manifest in them, even his eternal power and divinity, the invisible things of him being understood by the things that are made, yet glorified him not as God, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man and the brute beast." That a filial piety like that which grows up under Christian influences should have prevailed in ancient times, was not to be expected, for the ascription to the Supreme Being of the title "Father," in all its moral significance, is one of the distinctive marks of the Gospel. But that Nature rebukes the polytheism and the licentiousness of Heathen worship, admits not of question. It went farther even than the determination of the Object and character of religious worship; for in the disclosures which it made respecting the Divine Being, it read a perpetual homily on the dispositions with which he should be regarded, and justified the language of the passage we have in part just quoted, in which Paul condemns the Pagan world because they were not "thankful" to Him, of whose care and bounty their daily experience should have re-

minded them. But farther yet. We have seen that Nature is not silent in regard to duty. Its intimations have not the clearness nor the authority of the teachings of Christ, but they do not leave man without any rule of conduct. Here again the language of Paul, who in the earlier part of his Epistle to the Romans shows how well he understood the relations of this whole subject, is pertinent. "When the Gentiles, who have not the Law, do by nature," or in obedience to convictions springing out of their nature, "the things contained in the Law, these, though they have not the Law," written on tables of stone or rolls of parchment, "are a law unto themselves, and show the work of the law written in their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another:" for, through the testimony of their own moral being, they "know the judgment of God, that they who commit such things," as were practised in ancient Rome or Corinth, "are worthy of death." Nature then delivers instruction which might have kept man from the polytheism, idolatry, and disorder into which the world had sunk before the mission of Christ. If the people had but given a just interpretation and paid a proper regard to the truth which was spoken by the unwritten Word that "was in the beginning," and though "with God," and in effect "God," was "in the world," the "life and light of men," they would have avoided the dreadful wickedness which in consequence of their wilful or hereditary blindness was the condition of universal humanity at, and long before, the commencement of the Christian era.

Natural Religion was therefore at once sufficient and insufficient; — sufficient so far as the character of its instruction was concerned, if this had been followed, to have prevented the debasement into which successive generations were but the more deeply plunged by their disregard of its lessons; but insufficient as a means of conducting the race to perfection, or of lifting either the race or the individual from the depths of a voluntary or entailed sinfulness.

Is not this then the result to which we are brought, — that the history of religion, as it appears in the Divine providence, is precisely that which exhibits the most wise and tender care for mankind? Three methods were before the Creator when his omniscient foresight drew out the plan of man's education on earth. According to the first, he would have given at once the whole amount of instruction and influence which are now

enjoyed under the blended teaching of Nature and Scripture. Adopting the second, he would have never enlarged the boundaries of religious knowledge beyond the limits to which it might be carried by reason and experience. The third was that which he chose, — of bestowing at first the means of spiritual culture which we have seen to be deducible from Natural Religion, and afterwards, at such a period in the progress of the race as circumstances, included within the prescience of the Eternal Mind, should determine to be best, communicating by a special instrumentality a revelation that should place within the reach of man all the knowledge which it would comport with the character of his present existence for him to possess. For a moment it might seem to us, as we compare these methods, that the last is that which infinite Goodness must select. But we should remember that the object to be attained is, the largest amount of benefit to the race through its successive generations ; or in other words, such a development of humanity as shall be found, when the world's history shall be closed, to have given to the greatest number of individuals the greatest assistance in securing the true end of their being, without involving injustice or unkindness to any. It certainly is not difficult to see that this object is realized more effectually through an accumulating amount of assistance, than by the communication in the first instance and at once of all that could be bestowed. By the former method an opportunity is given for the trial of human capacities under different degrees of tuition, the value of the aid furnished by Revelation is made more clear, and the point which shall be ultimately gained in the progress towards a full development of the religious character lies beyond that which would have been reached, had all the facilities enjoyed by us at the present day been entrusted to the race in its infancy. Besides all which, the gradual unfolding of divine truth which belongs to a series of communications is most favorable to the display of mercy, and to the relief of those wants which experience alone could have enabled mankind to understand. By this method of progressive instruction no injustice is done to the earlier generations who had not, nor to the lands who do not now possess, the Gospel ; for we have seen that their light, if it had been properly used, was sufficient to guide them to God and virtue. It is unreasonable, for those who turn away from streets lighted, however dimly, into the darkness of forbidden passages, and en-

counter loss or destruction, to complain that a more brilliant illumination is not poured upon the thoroughfares which they forsake. They who love darkness will find it, though they burrow for it in the earth. Even Christianity does not make men good in spite of themselves.

Not only the principle of a progressive instruction for the race, but the actual history of that principle, as it is recorded in the Bible, illustrates the Divine Wisdom. The special interrupted the course of the ordinary at the right moment. The supernatural came when the natural had proved itself inadequate for the guidance or help of man in the midst of the difficulties which he had accumulated about himself, and when the world was in the best state of preparation to receive a messenger from Heaven. Christianity was not an accident, nor the fruit of an arbitrary decision; but the accomplishment, in the fulness of time, of the beneficent purpose which the Creator entertained when he made "the first man Adam a living soul," — of leading the race along the path of experience till they should welcome that "Son of Man" who should be "a quickening spirit" to their depressed and toilworn energies. The Mosaic economy was not an episode in the history of religion, but an essential and necessary part. Judaism finds its explanation in Christianity. It was needed as a passage along which the human mind should advance from the delusions of Paganism to the convictions of Christian faith. Judaism without Christianity would be an inexplicable phenomenon. Christianity without Judaism is hardly conceivable. Moses and the Prophets came to prepare the way for Christ. Christ came when the preparation which they had made was complete. To regard the history of the Old Testament as having an interest only for the people whom it describes, seems to me not less irrational than it is foreign from the associations of the Christian Church. As a part of Divine Revelation Judaism belongs to Christianity as much as a suitable entrance belongs to a building intended for common use. Among the monuments of former periods of violence and insecurity, the traveller in Europe sometimes comes upon a lonely tower, the only access to which is by a most difficult and somewhat dangerous ascent along its perpendicular walls, by means of crevices left at intervals of painful length, till they terminate at a passage leading into the interior of the building many feet from the ground. May not this afford a not unapt illustration of the manner



in which the world must have penetrated the citadel of Christian truth, if a previous revelation had not facilitated their entrance? By difficult and almost impracticable steps must they have toiled up to the point at which they could obtain the protection that it offered from doubt and despair. How few would ever have accomplished, how few have attempted such an undertaking. Behold in the Divine instruction and supernatural facts of the Old Testament the steps by which an easy ascent was secured to the open door of Gospel salvation.

But I am tempted to wander from my subject. Yet have I not lost sight of the purpose to which I have thought this discussion should be made finally available. Its effect, if it have been properly conducted, must be to establish a tranquil and grateful faith in religion, as it extends from the fundamental truths which Nature proclaims to the closing strains of the Christian Revelation. The whole is needed. The whole should be accepted. Let no one lay rash hands on any part of the structure whose strength lies in the symmetrical adjustment of its several portions. Natural Religion cannot bring its eternal principles to bear upon human affairs without the aid of Revelation. Revelation cannot address a single appeal to the human being without adopting as its own the principles of Natural Religion. 'Through twenty-five centuries of the world's experience was the teaching of Nature tried, and it was found insufficient for tempted, struggling, sinful man. Through fifteen centuries more were the two great characteristics of the Jewish Law and history, to wit, the republication in a positive form of the doctrines of Natural Religion, and the introduction of a supernatural proof in favor of religion — through fifteen centuries were these, the essential points of Judaism, which constitute its permanent value, while all else that belonged to it was transitory in its nature and subsidiary in its design — through fifteen centuries were these preparing the way for Him who should complete the instruction which it was necessary for man to receive on his way to heaven. Through eighteen centuries has Christianity, concluding and comprising all other instruction, been in the world, and though that law of the Divine Providence which rebukes human impatience by what we are apt to account the slow realization of the Divine purposes has been in force here, yet what conclusive and abundant proof has it yielded of its sufficiency for those practical ends in respect to which Natural Religion had proved its own incompleteness.

It has solved the problems whose unexplained magnitude embittered life. It has led multitudes to an elevation of character overtopping what was reached in ancient times, as much as the Andes of the Western continent the heights of Parnassus or the mountains of Lebanon. It has still kept in advance of the loftiest attainments of the wisest and best of them who have submitted to its discipline, and has shown its ability to conduct the race to a state of intellectual and moral development inferior only to our conceptions of angelic life. Such have been its effects. How much wider and deeper an action it is suited to exert upon society and humanity, it is not difficult to foresee; yet who shall be bold enough to describe? Nature and Revelation, the mightiest influences that can reach the soul of man or affect the destiny of the world, are made one in Christianity. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

E. S. G.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE HON. EMANUEL  
SWEDENBORG.

It must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that the writings of an intelligent and philosophical author, must always be the bodying forth, in visible and tangible language, of his original and individual character. Hence, in estimating the character of a man, we examine and classify the acts of his life, and the result of this classification we declare to be his intellectual and moral worth. Sometimes, however, the process is reversed. Having previously ascertained the character of a man, we apply this knowledge, thus ascertained, to the explanation of some portion of his actions, which, without such a clue, might seem enigmatical, or lead us unjustly to ascribe to one cause an action that belongs manifestly to another. Thus, interpreters rely much on what they call the historical sense, that is, that meaning of a passage which is derived from a consideration of the character of an author, and the circumstances under which he lived. Who does not see, for example, how much light would be thrown upon the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, if there were to be discovered among the rubbish of some old library, or in the tomb of some contemporary Egyptian, a minute and authentic biography of Homer, or still more, a full and copious narrative of his personal history, with an analysis of his poems written by the author himself! What a mighty revolution would such a discovery effect in the republic of letters! How many a voluminous commentator, now culminating in the zenith of exegetical glory, would descend quietly below the horizon! How many a learned Theban, in sorrow if not in anger, would bid a mournful adieu to the results of a life of profound and sagacious research! The whole work of interpretation would be to be gone over again, and a new form of knowledge would be established on the basis of unchangeable truth. How much we need a knowledge of the character of an author, in order to interpret his writings, is then evident. And how much such a knowledge, properly applied, would facilitate progress, needs no illustration.\*

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\* Wayland's "Dependence of Science upon Religion."

Now no one who has examined them will doubt, that the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, both his philosophical and theological, are as truly an exemplification of his character, as the *Iliad* is of the character of Homer. If a knowledge of the character of the author of the one would assist us to interpret his meaning, the same must be at least as true of a knowledge of the character of the other. Now a knowledge of Swedenborg's character is contained in his writings. We there have a perfect transcript of his mind, his mental and moral powers, the rules by which he governed his life, so that nothing is wanting to enable every honest and fair-minded inquirer to arrive at a just estimate of his character. Does not reason teach us, then, that the study of the works of this author should first commence with the study of the character of the author himself? And may we not anticipate, that, when this shall have been done, as great a change will take place in the progress of opinion in reference to his character, as we supposed above in the progress of interpretation, by a knowledge of the character of the author of the *Iliad*?

It is to enable the reader to form a just and enlightened opinion of the character of this truly most extraordinary man, that we propose to act the part of an impartial historian, and furnish an outline of his history and writings. Everything in philosophy, in science, and in religion is brought before the severe ordeal of human reason, and is received or rejected according to its correspondence with, or opposition to, the great fundamental truths of nature and of God. Old opinions, old institutions, old habits of thought, are fast going into oblivion, before the triumphant spirit of free inquiry, which has extended itself over the whole face of the Christian world. This spirit is acquiring an astonishing strength in the minds of men, and is closely interweaving itself with the constitution of states and kingdoms, and gaining an ascendancy over the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the world. The human mind, restless, feverish, and unsatisfied, is turning itself upon the past, and stretching its eager gaze into the future, in the hope of obtaining a clearer information on spiritual subjects than has yet been known. Nor does this hope involve anything which is inconsistent. Of this the pious and enlightened Dr. Watts seems convinced; for in his excellent little treatise on the Improvement of the Mind, after remarking "that the

hope of new discoveries, as well as the satisfaction of known truths, should animate our daily industry," and "that we should never despair finding out that which has never yet been found," in the natural sciences, he makes the following observation: — "Nor should a student in divinity imagine that our age is arrived at a full understanding of everything which can be known by the Scriptures. Every age since the Reformation hath thrown some further light on difficult texts and paragraphs of the Bible, which have been long obscured by the early rise of Antichrist; and since there are at present many difficulties and darknesses hanging about certain truths of the Christian religion; and since several of these relate to important doctrines, which do still embarrass the minds of honest and inquiring readers, and which make work for noisy controversy; it is certain there are several things in the Bible yet unknown, and not sufficiently explained; and it is certain there is some way to solve these difficulties, and to reconcile these seeming contradictions. And why may not a sincere searcher of truth, in the present age, by labor, diligence, study, and prayer, with the best use of his reasoning powers, find out the proper solution of these knots and perplexities, which have hitherto been unsolved, and which have afforded matter for angry quarrelling? Happy is the man who shall be favored of heaven to give a helping hand towards the introduction of the blessed age of light and love."

Such, then, being the condition of the human mind, let us see whether there is anything in the character and writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, to give him credibility, as a philosopher and theologian, in the estimation of mankind, and to encourage and justify them in directing their attention to his works, with the expectation of obtaining therefrom any new light on the hitherto dark and insolvable mysteries of nature and of revelation.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 29, 1688. His grandfather was a Miner at Fahlun. His father, Jesper Swedberg, was born in 1653; was bishop of Skara, in West Gothland; a member of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, formed on the plan of that in England; and president of the Swedish churches in England and America. He is represented as a man of learning and abilities, and of an amiable private character. He was ennobled in 1719,



by the name of Swedenborg, and his descendants were introduced into the House of Nobles in 1720. He died in 1735.

Swedenborg was educated principally at the University of Upsala. Great care was bestowed by his father on his early education. His youth was marked by an uncommon assiduity and application in the study of philosophy, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, and anatomy, together with the Eastern and European languages, in which he was well versed. He had an excellent memory, quick conceptions, and a most clear judgment.

Of his childhood and youth there is no record excepting that his mind was early occupied by religious subjects. "From my fourth to my tenth year," says he, in a letter to Dr. Beyer, "my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflecting upon God, on salvation, and on the spiritual passions of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times, that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith, and I often observed to them, that charity or love was the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity or love was no other than the love of one's neighbor; that God vouchsafes this faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only, who practise that charity."

His mind, in early life, was but little imbued with the prevailing theological doctrines of his time, as appears from the following extract:—"I was prohibited reading dogmatic and systematic theology, before heaven was opened to me, by reason that unfounded opinions and inventions might thereby easily have insinuated themselves, which with difficulty could afterwards have been extirpated; wherefore when heaven was opened to me, it was necessary to learn the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences of which the whole Bible is composed, which led me to read the Word of God over many times; and inasmuch as the Word of God is the source whence all theology must be derived, I was thereby enabled to receive instruction from the Lord who is the Word."

Swedenborg had certain rules which he prescribed to himself for the regulation of his conduct. These are found interspersed in various parts of his manuscripts, and are as follows: 1. Often to read and meditate on the Word of the Lord.

2. To submit everything to the will of Divine Providence. 3. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. 4. To discharge with fidelity the functions of his employment, and the duties of his office, and to render himself in all things useful to society.

In 1716, at the age of 28 years, he was appointed by Charles XII. Assessor Extraordinary of his Board of Mines. He did not, however, enter upon the duties of his office till 1722, being unwilling to exercise its functions before he had acquired a perfect knowledge of metallurgy. The diploma appointing him to this office states, that "the King had a particular regard to the knowledge possessed by Swedenborg in the science of mechanics, and that his pleasure was that he should assist Polhammer, (afterwards called Polheim,) in constructing his mechanical works." Charles XII. is said to have been fond of devoting his leisure hours to the subject of mathematics and mechanism; and in Dr. Norberg's history of that king, are detailed many interesting conversations between Charles, Swedenborg, and Polheim.

Swedenborg spent the greater part of his time from 1716 to 1720, in Universities in England, Holland, France, and Germany. In 1721, he undertook a second journey into foreign countries to examine their mines and smelting works, particularly those of Saxony and the Hartz. He was particularly noticed, at this time, by the Duke of Brunswick, who did much to facilitate his travels, and afterwards published, at his own expense, Swedenborg's *Opera Philosophica*, which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. He was absent on this journey but one year, during which time he published the following works, or rather pamphlets: — 1. *An Outline of a Work on the Principles of Natural Things, or a New Attempt at explaining the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics on Geometrical Principles.* 2. *New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, especially respecting the Elementary Nature of Fire, with a new mode of constructing Chimnies.* It is in this work that Swedenborg has fully developed all the principles on which the so-called *Arnott Stove* is constructed. It also contains a beautiful drawing of the same. 3. *A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places either on Land or at Sea, by Lunar Observations;* (to which work were appended the following tracts: first, *A Mode of constructing Dry*

Docks for Shipping; second, A New Mode of constructing Dykes; third, A Mode of ascertaining by mechanical means the qualities of Vessels.) 4. Miscellaneous Observations on Natural Things, particularly on Minerals, Fire, and the Strata of Mountains.\*

Previously to the publication of the above works, he published, when only 28 years of age, *Essays on Mathematics and Physics*, under the title of *Dædalus Hyperboreus*; An Introduction to Algebra; A Proposal for fixing the value of Coin, and determining the Measures of Sweden, so as to suppress Fractions and Facilitate Calculations; A Treatise on the Position of the Earth and the Planets; On the Height of Tides, and the greater Flux and Reflux of the Sea in former times, with proofs furnished by various appearances in Sweden.

In 1718 he executed a work of the greatest importance at the time of the siege of Frederickshall, where he gave evident proof of his extraordinary abilities. Charles could not send his heavy artillery to Frederickshall, on account of the badness of the roads, which were then deeply covered with snow. In this extremity, Swedenborg brought the sciences to the aid of valor. By help of proper instruments he cut through the mountains, raised the valleys which separated Sweden from Norway, and then sent to his master two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, loaded with pieces of artillery, to be employed in the siege. The length of this canal was about two miles and a half, Swedish measure, or upwards of sixteen English miles. Mechanism, however, was not his only study; for he gave the Continuation of his *Dædalus Hyperboreus* in 1717 and 1718. He is said to have been the first person in Sweden who wrote on the subject of the integral and differential calculus.

In 1724 he was invited by the consistory of the university of Upsala to accept the professorship of pure mathematics, vacant by the death of Nils Celsius, because "his acceptance of the chair would be for the advantage of the students, and the ornament of the University;" but he declined the honor. He was admitted a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm in 1729; and was appointed a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in 1734.

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\* All Swedenborg's works, both philosophical and theological, were written in Latin.

He spent much time in Venice and Rome, about the year 1738, and on his return, published an account of his travels in Italy. He also visited Berlin, Dresden, Prague, and Carlsbad, in 1733, and, arriving at Leipsic at the end of the year, put to press a great work he had just completed. During the printing of this work he spent twelve months in visiting the Austrian and Hungarian mines.

The Philosophical and Mineral works (*Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*) of Swedenborg, were published at Dresden and Leipsic, in 1734, in 3 vols. folio, of about 400 pages each. These are three distinct works, each treating upon different subjects, and dedicated to different men; but they were published together, and were always alluded to by Swedenborg as one work. It was published in a very elegant style, at the expense of Ludovicus Rodolph, Duke of Brunswick, at whose court Swedenborg tarried for some time, receiving from him many marks of favor.

The first volume is entitled *The Principles of Natural Things, or, New Attempts at a Philosophical Explanation of the Phenomena of the Elementary World*. It is generally called Swedenborg's *Principia*. It is dedicated to the Duke of Brunswick, has an engraved likeness of Swedenborg, and is adorned with many fine engravings and copper-plates illustrative of the subjects treated of.

The *Principia* may be regarded as a treatise on cosmology. The author attempts to arrive at the cause and origin of the phenomena of the universe by a mode of inquiry peculiar to himself. He asserts that nature, in all her operations, is governed by one and the same general law, and is always consistent with herself; hence, he says, there is no necessity, in exploring her hidden recesses, to multiply experiments and observations. The means leading to true philosophy are represented as three-fold. Firstly, knowledge of facts, or experimental observations, which he calls *Experience*. Secondly, an orderly arrangement of these facts and phenomena, or *Geometry*, and *Rational Philosophy*; by means of which we are enabled to compare our experiments, to digest them analytically, to reduce them to laws, rules, and analogies, and thence to arrive at some more remote principle or fact which before was unknown. Thirdly, the *Faculty of Reasoning*, by which is meant the ability to analyze, compare, and combine these phe-

nomena, after they have been reduced to order, and to present them distinctly to the mind. We here make an extract for the purpose of giving a specimen of his style at this period. Speaking of the futility of multiplying experiments and observations to the neglect of attending to their causes, he says: —

“Nature may be styled a labyrinth, whose intricacies you are anxious to explore. Fruitless would be the attempt to wander through its meandering turns, and note the dimensions of all its ways; the difficulty would but grow the more inextricable, you would pursue your footsteps in a circle; and recognise the self-same spot, when most elevated by the prospect of success. But would you gain with ease, and possibly by the shortest road, the exit of the labyrinth, reject then the senseless wish of exploring all its turns: rather plant yourself at any intersection of its paths, strive to ascertain somewhat of its general form, from the ways which you have trodden, and thus in some degree retrace your steps. When once you have gained the exit, a mere thread can serve to guide you through all its circuitous tracks, and to retrace your errors; but even this, after a time, you may cast aside, and wander fearlessly without it. Then, as if seated on an eminence, and at a glance surveying the scene which lies before you, how would you smile in tracing out its various breaks and contortions, which have baffled the judgment by multiplied and illusive intersections. But let us now return to the phenomena, and leave similitudes for the subject itself. By too great an accumulation of phenomena, and especially of those which are at a distance from their cause, you not only defeat the desire of scrutinizing the occult operations of nature, but plunge yourself more and more as into a labyrinth, where you are perpetually drawn aside from the end in view, and misled into a distant and contrary region. For it is possible that many things of opposite natures may exist from the same first cause; *as fire and water, and air which absorbs them both.*”

It is maintained by our author that no one can become a true philosopher who is not a *good man*. Previous to the fall, he says, when man was in a state of integrity, he had all the essentials of wisdom and true philosophy inscribed on his heart; he had then only to open his eyes in order to see the causes of all the phenomena of the universe around him; but in his present state of sin and non-conformity with Divine Order, he is obliged to investigate truths by a laborious external application of the mind. On this subject he says: —



“No man seems capable of arriving at true philosophy, since that first of mortals who is said to have been in a state of the most perfect integrity, that is, who was formed and made according to all art, image, and connexion of the world, before the existence of vice. . . . One reason why man in a state of integrity was made a complete philosopher, was, that he might better know how to venerate the Deity, the origin of all things, or that being who is all in all. For no man can be a complete and truly learned philosopher, without the utmost devotion for the Supreme Being. True philosophy and contempt of the Deity are two opposites. Veneration for the Infinite Being can never be separated from philosophy; for he who fancies himself wise whilst his wisdom does not teach him to acknowledge a Divine and Infinite Being, that is, who thinks he can possess any wisdom without a knowledge and veneration of the Deity, is in the profoundest ignorance.”

The second part of this work treats of Magnetism and the variations of the magnetic needle. The third part treats of the sun and its vortex, of the creation of the planetary earths from the sun, of paradise and the first man. He alleges that there were seven planets created from the sun at the same time; he has eight or ten drawings illustrative of the subject, in all of which seven planets are laid down. This work was published more than forty years before the discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel.

It is believed that in this work Swedenborg made many discoveries in philosophy, which, owing to the little attention paid to his writings, have not been accredited to him. And from the following testimony of a philosopher of reputation in our own country, this belief appears to be not without some foundation. Dr. R. M. Patterson, late professor in the University of Pennsylvania, in a letter written to Dr. Atlee, respecting the *Principia*, says:—

“The work of Swedenborg, which you were so kind as to put into my hands, is an extraordinary production of one of the most extraordinary men, certainly, that has ever lived.” And after stating, among other things, that he should like to peruse it farther before he could form an opinion of it, “a thing not to be done in few words,” he continues; “This much, however, I can truly say; that the air of mysticism which is generally thought to pervade Baron Swedenborg’s ethical and theological writings, has prevented philosophers from paying that attention

to his physical productions, of which I now see that they are worthy. Many of the experiments and observations on magnetism, presented in this work, are believed to be of much more modern date, and are *unjustly ascribed to much more recent writers.*" Indeed it has been frequently remarked, by other learned men, that several important discoveries in science, claimed by different writers, were anticipated, and in some cases minutely described, by Swedenborg. But more of this in what follows.

The second and third volumes of the work now under notice, are together called the *Regnum Minerale*; (the Mineral Kingdom;) but they are distinct works. The second volume is entitled,

The Subterranean or Mineral Kingdom, or a Treatise on Iron. It treats of the various methods employed in different parts of Europe, for the liquefaction of iron, and converting it into steel; of iron ore and the examination of it; and also of several experiments and chemical preparations made with iron and its vitriol. It is illustrated by a great number of fine copper engravings. A part of this volume has been translated into French, and inserted in the Description of Arts and Manufactures. The third volume is entitled,

The Subterranean or Mineral Kingdom, or a Treatise on Copper and Brass. It treats of the various methods adopted in different parts of Europe, for the liquefaction of copper; the method of separating it from silver, converting it into brass, and other metals; of Lapis Calaminaris; of Zinc; of Copper Ore, and the examination of it; and lastly, of several chemical preparations and experiments made with copper. Like the other volumes, it is illustrated with many copper engravings. Each volume is subdivided into three parts.

This work, in England, is esteemed very valuable. In the translation of Cramer's Elements of the Arts of Assaying Metals, by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society, it is mentioned by the translator in the following terms: "For the sake of such as understand Latin, we must not pass by that magnificent and laborious work of Emanuel Swedenborgius, entitled, *Principia Rerum Naturalium, &c.* Dresdæ et Leipsiæ, 1734, in three tomes, in folio; in the second and third tomes of which he has given the best accounts, not only of the methods and newest improvements in metallic works in all places beyond the seas, but also of those in Eng-

land and our colonies in America, with draughts of the furnaces and instruments employed. It is to be wished we had extracts of this work in English." p. 13, 2d ed. London, 1764.

The *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, (*Œconomia Regni Animalis*), was published at Amsterdam, in 1740 – 1, in 4to. The first part treats of the Blood, the Arteries, the Veins, and the Heart; with an introduction to Rational Psychology. The second part treats of the Motion of the Brain, of the Cortical Substance, and of the Human Soul. Psychology is termed "the science which treats of the essence and nature of the soul, and of the mode by which she flows into the actions of the body."

The object of Swedenborg in investigating the organization of the human body, was to obtain a knowledge of the soul, which he was convinced had some correspondence with the body. It is everywhere maintained in his theological works that the mind fills and governs the whole body; that it corresponds with the whole and every part of the body; that when the mind of man is fully regenerated, it is fully in the human form, but when unregenerate, it is not in the human form. Therefore all purification and advancement in goodness and truth are seen, in the other world, as successive developments of the human form. By an angel the affections and thoughts are seen to operate according to the organic laws of the human system; and there is no secret operation in the internal structure of either the spiritual or natural body, which may not be seen from the light of heaven. Just in proportion, therefore, as a person is elevated above a knowledge of the comparatively imperfect anatomy of the human body to the more perfect organization of the human mind, the more light will he necessarily have concerning the anatomy of the body which corresponds to the mind. For this reason Swedenborg is supposed to have possessed a more perfect knowledge of the human system than any other man of any preceding or any subsequent age. It is well known to those who are acquainted with his *Œconomia*, that he has made many discoveries in anatomy which were afterwards attributed to others. This fact has been noticed and published by Mr. C. A. Tulk, of London, a gentleman who has paid much attention to Swedenborg's philosophical works.

In a work, entitled "The Institutions of Physiology," by Blumenbach, treating of the brain, he says, "that after birth it

undergoes a constant and gentle motion correspondent with respiration ; so that when the lungs shrink in expiration, the brain rises a little, but when the chest expands, it again subsides." In the note he adds, that Daniel Schlichting first accurately describes this phenomenon in 1744. Now it does so happen that Swedenborg had fully demonstrated, and accurately described this correspondent action, in that chapter of the *Œconomia Regni Animalis*, which treats of the coincidence of motion between the brain and lungs. In another part of the same *Institutions of Physiology*, when speaking of the causes for the motion of the blood, Blumenbach has the following remark : — " When the blood is expelled from the contracted cavities, a vacuum takes place, into which, according to the common laws of *derivation*, the neighboring blood must rush, being prevented, by means of the valves, from regurgitating." In the notes, this discovery is attributed to Dr. Wilson, the author of *An Inquiry into the Moving Powers employed in the Circulation of the Blood*. But it appears that the same principle was known long before to Swedenborg ; and is applied by him to account for the motion of the blood, in the *Œconomia Regni Animalis*. For in the section on the circulation of the blood in the *fœtus*, and on the *foramen ovale*, he says : —

" Let us now revert to the mode by which the cerebrum attracts its blood, or according to the theorem, subtracts that quantity which the ratio of its state requires. If now these arteries, veins, and sinus are dilated by reason of the animation of the cerebrum, it follows, that there must necessarily flow into them, thus expanded, a portion of fresh blood, and that indeed by continuity from the carotid artery, and its tortuous duct in the cavernous receptacles, and into this by continuity from the antecedent expanded and circumflexed cavities of the same artery ; consequently from the external (or common) carotid, and thence from the aorta and the heart ; nearly similar to a bladder or syphon full of water, one end of which is immersed in the fluid ; if its sides be dilated, or its surface stretched out, and more especially if its length be shortened, an entirely fresh portion of the fluid flows into the space thus emptied by the enlargement ; and this experience can demonstrate to ocular satisfaction. Now this is the beneficial result of a natural equation, by which nature, in order to avoid a vacuum, in which state she would perish, or be annihilated, is in the constant tendency towards an equilibrium, according to laws purely physical. This mode of action of the brains, and their arterial

impletion, may justly be called physical attraction; not that it is attraction in the proper signification of the term, but that it is a filling of the vessels from a dilation or shortening of the coats, or a species of suction such as exists in pumps and syringes. A like mode of physical attraction obtains in every part of the body; as in the muscles, which, having forcibly expelled their blood, instantly require a re-impletion of their vessels."

In another part, p. 458, he says:—

"There exists a great similitude between the vessels of the heart, and the vessels of the brains, so much so, that the latter cannot be more appropriately compared with any other. 4. The vessels of the cerebrum perform their diastole, when the cerebrum is in its constriction, and *vice versâ*; so also the vessels of the heart. 5. In the vessels of the cerebrum there is a species of physical attraction or suction, such as that of water in a syringe; and this too is the case with the vessels of the heart, for in these, by being expanded and at the same time shortened, the blood necessarily flows, and that into the space thus enlarged." Swendenborg says also, "That it is this constant endeavor to establish a general equilibrium throughout the body, which determines its various fluids to every part, whether viscus or member, and which being produced by exhaustion, the effect is such a determination of the blood, or other fluid, as the peculiar state of the part requires."

There cannot be a doubt that had Swedenborg been desirous of fame, he would have made a different use of his knowledge. He regarded scientific knowledge only as a means of becoming wise. Speaking, in the *Œconomia*, of those who are in pursuit of genuine wisdom, he says: "They reckon the sciences and the mechanical arts, only among the ministers of wisdom, and they learn them as helps to their attainment, not that they may be reputed wise on account of their possessing them. They modestly restrain the external mind in its tendency to be elated and puffed up, because they perceive the sciences to form an ocean, of which they can only catch a few drops. They look at no one with a scornful brow or the spirit of superiority; nor do they arrogate any of their attainments to themselves. They refer all to the Deity, and regard them as gifts from him, from whom all true wisdom springs as from its fountain."



There is another discovery in anatomy by Swedenborg, which was unknown to other learned men of his day. A passage of communication between the right and left, or two lateral ventricles of the cerebrum, was thought to have been first discovered by a celebrated anatomist of Edinburgh. But this is a mistake.

The first discovery and description of this passage was claimed by the celebrated anatomist, Dr. Alexander Monro, of Edinburgh, and has since been conceded to him by succeeding anatomists: hence it goes by the denomination of the *Foramen of Monro*. Dr. Monro read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, on this subject, December 13, 1764; but in his work entitled, "Observations on the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System," he says, that he demonstrated this *Foramen* to his pupils so early as the year 1753. He allows that a communication was known and asserted to exist between these ventricles and the third, long prior to his time; but he shows, that it was never delineated after such a manner, nor in any way that could convey a precise idea respecting it; much less was implied the existence of the *Foramen* he describes.

The channel of communication seemed to be referred, chiefly, to the posterior part of the lateral ventricles, whilst the *Foramen of Monro* is situated at their anterior part.

Now in the *Regnum Animale*, (a work to be spoken of shortly,) p. 207, note (r), the following striking observation occurs: "The communicating *Foramina* in the *Cerebrum* are called *Anus* and *Vulva*, BESIDES the passage or emissary canal of the lymph; by these the lateral ventricles communicate with each other, and with the third ventricle."

This work was printed in the year 1714–15; but written, as we have reason to think, two or three years before its publication: hence the *foramen* here spoken of must have been described by Swedenborg from ten to twelve years prior to the earliest notice taken of it by Dr. Monro.

These are by no means the only instances in which his claims to new discoveries have been transferred to others. But we have not time to allude to others. Swedenborg's object did not appear to be to astonish the world by discoveries in natural science; hence no pains seem to have been taken to give circulation to his discoveries. His great object in investigating the organization of the human system, judging from his writings,

was to attain to a knowledge of the nature, form, and constitution of the human mind. He ascertained that there were, in the composition of the blood, three distinct degrees; that the arteries, veins, &c. were also divided into three distinct degrees: the red blood is a substance of a lower degree, to which corresponds the purer or colorless blood, and to this again, the animal spirit, which holds a common and universal sway through the lower gradations. So in the *means* of carrying on the threefold circulation, the arteries are of the lowest degree, to which correspond in a higher degree the vessels for the purer blood, and in the highest, the medullary fibre, or simple nerve. The muscles have their several corresponding degrees in the carneous moving fibre, the white moving fibre, and the highest, the nervous moving fibre. Hence he concluded that there were three degrees in the human mind, answering to, and corresponding with, the three degrees in the human body. The first or lowest degree of the mind he termed sensual; the second degree, moral and intellectual; the third degree, spiritual; to the first he ascribed the province of the natural sciences, and the enjoyment of sensual delights; to the second, rational wisdom, and the enjoyment of social order; to the third, spiritual truths relating to heavenly life. He made the salvation and happiness of man to consist in the due subordination of the several parts, the lower being always subject to the higher degrees.

Continuing earnest in the pursuit of physiology, he published, in 1744, *The Animal Kingdom*, (*Regnum Animale*), in three parts. The first two parts were printed at Amsterdam, in 1744, and the third at London, 1745; they make together a thick quarto volume. The first part treats of the Viscera of the Abdomen; the second of the Viscera of the Thorax, and the third of the Organs of Sense. It appears that it was Swedenborg's intention, when he commenced this work, to have extended it to great length; for, in the introduction, he promised, besides the subjects above named, to attempt the following:—

“It is my purpose afterwards to attempt a kind of Introduction to a Rational Psychology, or to establish some new Doctrines, by the aid of which we may be led from the material organization of the body, to the knowledge of its soul, which is immaterial; namely, the Doctrine of Forms; the Doctrine of Order, and of Degrees; also the Doctrine of Series and of Society; the Doctrine of Influxes; the Doctrine of Corre-

spondences and of Representations; lastly, the Doctrine of Modifications.

“From these doctrines I shall proceed to a Rational Psychology itself, or to a Treatise concerning Action; concerning External and Internal Sense; concerning Imagination and Memory; as also concerning the Affections of the Mind, (*animus*); concerning Intellect, or concerning Thought and Will; concerning likewise the Affections of the Rational Mind (*mens*); and concerning Instinct.

“Lastly, concerning the Soul and its State in the Body, its Commerce, Affection, Immortality; also concerning its State after the Life of the Body: to which will finally be added the Concordance to the various Systems. Since the soul exerts her activity in supreme and inmost principles, and cannot be brought forth to view, until all the coverings with which she is enveloped are unfolded in order, I have determined not to desist from this part of my task, until I have traversed the whole field above mentioned, even to the goal; in other words, until I have explored the whole animal kingdom even to the soul. Thus it is my hope, if I bend my course continually inwards, that I shall be enabled, through divine favor, to open all the doors which lead to her presence, and at length to be admitted to the view and contemplation of herself.” — But for some cause this purpose was not carried into effect.

At the beginning of 1745, Swedenborg published in two parts, 4to, “The Worship and Love of God,” (*De Cultu et Amore Dei*.) The first part treats of the Origin of the Earth, of Paradise, of the Birth, Infancy, and Love of the First Man, or Adam. The second part treats of the Marriage of the First Man; of the Soul, the Intellectual Spirit, of the State of Integrity, and of the Image of God. This book is a sublimation of Swedenborg’s scientific system, with a correlative statement of his psychical doctrines, in which both are blended, and clothed with the narrative form; it is the link between his physiology and a class of doctrines which was yet to come. It was written previous to his professed illumination, but was not published until after that period. The style of this work is rather peculiar, and differs from that of all other works written before or after it.

In explaining the subject of creation the principle maintained by him, is, that seven planets were created at the same time from the sun of our solar system. It is to be observed that this book was published long before the actual discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel.

The most important principle contained in this work is that of the creation of the earth from the sun as its proximate cause. To those who are accustomed to think that the earth was created out of nothing, the above idea may seem strange. But Swedenborg thinks that those who reflect on Providence as operating according to the laws of order, will see proofs enough in the works of nature of the principle of creation as laid down by him. It is but reasonable to conclude that the creation of the earth from the sun, in the first instance, could not have differed, essentially, from the re-creation which we see constantly taking place. It is known in botany, that a tree is created anew every year. The outer bark and the wood, which constitutes the middle of the tree, are merely the relics of successive productions or creations. The same law extends to the whole vegetable kingdom. Thus we see that the earth is continually created anew by the operation of heat and light from the sun. All things in the natural world are dependent for life and support on the sun, even as our affections and thoughts, and whatever we have that is spiritual within us, depend for their support and continuance on the sun of the spiritual world, which is directly from the Lord himself. In the operations of outward nature, the man of reflection will thus perceive an image of the work which is going on within him; while his natural man is delighted with a view of the earth's richest scenery, his spiritual man is interested in things appertaining to his immortality.

We shall now endeavor to take a brief review of Swedenborg's scientific progress, with particular reference to method, principles, and doctrines. His proper career may be dated from the publication of the "*Prodromus Principiorum.*" In this work he attempted to account for chemical combination, by a theory of the forms and forces of the particles of bodies; and to resolve chemistry into natural geometry, that it might have the benefit of first principles, and the rank of a fixed science. Of these forms he gave many delineations. He broached the ingenious doctrine, that the particles of primary solids are moulded in the interstices of fluids, and take the shape of these interstices; and that particles so modeled, by undergoing fracture at their weakest points, give rise to new shapes, which become the initial particles of new substances. He anticipated Dr. Wollaston's suggestion of the spheroidal compo-

sition of crystals, as well as the atomic theory of Dalton, and even some of its details, as when, geometrically predicting the composite nature of water, he assigned to it the equivalent of 9.

The rules which he proposed for investigating the constitution of the magnetic, luminous, and atmospheric elements come next under our notice. 1. That we take for granted, that nature acts by the simplest means, and that the particles of elements are of the simplest and least artificial forms. 2. That the beginning of nature is the same as the beginning of geometry; that natural particles arise from mathematical points, precisely as lines, forms, and the whole of geometry; and this, because everything in nature is geometric; and *vice versâ*. 3. That all the above elements are capable of simultaneous motion, in one and the same place; and that each moves naturally without hinderance from the others. 4. That ascertained facts be the substratum of theory, and that no step be taken without their guidance.

From these rules we pass to their application, in the outset to which Swedenborg boldly averred that the records of science, accumulated as they had been for thousands of years, were sufficient for an examination of things on principles, and *a priori*; that a knowledge of natural philosophy does not presuppose the knowledge of innumerable phenomena, but only of principal facts which proceed directly, and not of those which result obliquely and remotely, from the world's mechanism and powers; and that the latter species of facts confuse and disturb, rather than inform the mind. Also, that the restless desire, from age to age, for more facts, is characteristic of those who are unable to reason from principles and causes, and that no abundance would ever be sufficient for such persons. The following is a statement of the doctrine of the elemental world proposed in the "Principia." 1. In the simple (substance) there is an internal state and corresponding effort tending to a spiral motion. 2. In the first finite which arises from it there is a spiral motion of the parts; so also in all the other finites. 3. From this single cause there arises in every finite a progressive motion of the parts, a motion of the whole on its axis, and if there be no obstacle, a local motion also. 4. If a local motion ensues, an active arises; each active similar to the others. 5. From finites and actives arise elementaries, each so similar to the others, as to differ from them only in degree and di-



mension. Thus we presume the existence of only three kinds of entities, — finites, actives, and their compounds, elementaries, of which the finites occupy the surface, the actives the interiors. With regard to the finites, one is generated from the other, and they are all exactly similar, excepting in degree and dimension : thus the fifth finite is similar to the fourth, the fourth to the third, the third to the second, the second to the first, and the first to the simple ; so that when we know the nature of one finite, we know that of all. Precisely the same may be said of the actives and of the elementaries. In the effort of the simple towards spiral motion lies the single cause and the first force of all subsequent existences. Swedenborg first states these doctrines synthetically, and then educes the same from, and confirms them by the phenomena of nature. We may here, with propriety, introduce a remark from Sandel : — “ He thus formed to himself a system founded upon a certain species of mechanism, and supported by reasoning ; a system, the arrangement of which is so solid, and the composition so serious, that it claims and merits all the attention of the learned ; as for others, they may do better not to meddle with it.”

In approaching the human body, he again insisted on the necessity for principles and generalization, without which, he said, “ facts themselves would grow obsolete and perish ; ” adding that “ unless we were much mistaken, the destinies of the world were leading to this issue.” A knowledge of the soul became the professed object of his inquiry, and he entered the circus with a resolve to examine thoroughly the world, or microcosm, which the soul inhabits, in the assurance that she should be sought for nowhere but in her own kingdom. In this search he repudiated synthesis, and resolved to approach the soul by the analytic way, adding, that he believed himself to be the first investigator who had ever commenced with this intention ; a surmise in which he is probably correct. We shall here content ourselves with a brief illustration of one of these doctrines which, with the most intense study, he elaborated for his guidance ; we mean the “ doctrine of series and degrees.” We have slightly alluded to it already. Each organ, he observed, commences from certain unities or least parts which are peculiar to it, and derives its form from their gradual composition, and its general function from the sum of their particular functions. The mass is therefore the representative of its minute compo-

nents, and its structure and functions indicate theirs. The vesicles or smallest parts peculiar to the lungs are so many least lungs; the biliary radicles of the liver, so many least livers; the cellules of the spleen, so many least spleens; the tubuli of the kidneys, so many least kidneys; and the same function is predicable of these leasts, as of their entire respective organs, but with any modification which experience may declare to be proper to the minuter structures. 'This new method of analysis, in which the greatest things were presumed to indicate the least, with just such reservation as our experience of the least necessitates, was designed to throw light on the intimate structure and occult offices of single organs, — the same way identified the higher with the lower groups of organs, — the cranial with the thoracic, and both with the abdominal viscera. Whatever is manifested in the body is transferable to the brain, as the source of all functions and structures. If the abdominal organs supply the blood with a terrestrial nourishment, the thoracic supply it with an aerial, and the brain with an etherial food. If the first mentioned organs, by the urinary and intestinal passages, eliminate excrements and impurities, so the lungs by the trachea, and the brain through the sinuses, reject a subtler defilement. If the heart and blood-vessels are channels of a corporeal circulation, the brain and nerves, or spirit-vessels, are channels of a transcendent or spirituous circulation. If the contractility of the arteries and of muscular structures depends on the nervous system, it is because that system is itself eminently contractile, and impels forward its contents in the most perfect manner. If the lungs have a respiratory rising and falling, and the heart a contraction and expansion, so the brain has an animatory movement, which embraces both the motions of the lower series. Thus every function is first to be traced to its essential form in the bosom of its own organ, and thence, through an ascending scale, to the brain, "which is eminently muscle, and eminently gland; in a word, which is eminently the microcosm, when the body is regarded as a microcosm."

On the whole we may admit these works to be a grand consolidation of human knowledge; an attempt to combine and reorganize the opinions of all the schools of medicine since the days of Hippocrates. The doctrines of the fluidists, of the mechanical and chemical physicians, and of the vitalists, and solidists, as well as the methods of the dogmatists and em-

pirics, and even the miscellaneous novelties of the present day, have each a proportion and a place in the catholic system of Swedenborg. His works, however, are a dead letter to the medical profession, or known only to its erudite members through the ignorant misstatements of Haller. The English scholar, however, will soon be put in possession of some of the best of Swedenborg's philosophical works, and then, but not till then, will justice be done to the memory of the immortal philosopher.\*

Swedenborg's name had been most deservedly enrolled among the academicians at Upsala, Stockholm, and Petersburg; and several distinguished foreigners were anxious to have the honor and advantage of corresponding with him. Wolfius, with many other learned men, valued his correspondence and consulted him on the most difficult subjects. The editors of the *Acta Eruditorum*, at Leipsic, found in his works a rich harvest to ornament their collection with. The authors, also, of the magnificent *Description of Arts and Trades*, which are carried on at Paris, found the second part of Swedenborg's work on Iron and the Preparation of Steel, which abounds with valuable information, of so much consequence, that they translated and inserted the whole in their collection of the best things written on these subjects.

Having given an account of the principal works, which Swedenborg published before he undertook to write on theology, it will now be proper, following out our plan as an impartial historian, to state that about 1743 or 1744, an extraordinary change seems to have taken place in his studies and pursuits. His views were directed to subjects which he conceived to be

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\* The Rev. Augustus Clissold, a learned and highly esteemed clergyman of the Established Church, and author of several very valuable works, has translated and is now publishing, at his own expense, the "*Principia*," the "*Prodromus*," and the "*Economy of the Animal Kingdom*" by Swedenborg. They will appear with numerous notes and plates to facilitate the comprehension of the text.

It gives us pleasure also to state that Dr. J. J. G. Wilkinson, a learned and eminent physician of London, is doing the same with another of Swedenborg's works, entitled "*The Animal Kingdom (Regnum Animale)*." This work will appear in two volumes, 8vo. It is proposed that all these works shall be published, as far as is possible, uniformly, so as to constitute a regular series. Some of these works are expected to be on sale in this country in the course of the present season, and all of them in the course of a year.

of infinitely greater importance than those of mere literature and science. By many persons the reputation of Baron Swedenborg (who, after the death of Charles XII. at the siege of Frederickshall, was taken under the protection of queen Ulrica Eleonora, the sister and successor of that hero, and, in 1719, was ennobled by her and named Swedenborg, from which time he took his seat with the nobles of the Equestrian Order in the Triennial Assemblies of the States) as a philosopher, and the high consideration in which he was held by the public academies of Europe, and by learned men of all nations, would have been prized almost beyond measure; but by him they were not so regarded, when he came to enter upon that new scene, which he now states to have opened before him.

“Whatever of worldly honor and advantage,” says he, “may appear to be in the things before-mentioned, I hold them but as matters of low estimation, when compared to the honor of that holy office to which the Lord himself hath called me, who was graciously pleased to manifest himself to me, his unworthy servant, in a personal appearance, in the year 1743; to open in me a sight of the spiritual world, and to enable me to converse with angels and spirits; and this privilege has continued with me to this day. From that time I began to print and publish various unknown Arcana, that have either been seen by me or revealed to me, concerning Heaven and Hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, and many other important truths tending to salvation and true wisdom. And that mankind might receive benefit from these communications, was the only motive which has induced me at different times to leave my home to visit other countries. As to this world’s wealth I have what is sufficient; and more I neither seek nor wish for.”

The extraordinary event, or impression of his mind, here related, was followed by a series of theological publications, which have no parallel in the annals of Christianity. We give the titles of them in the order in which they appeared; and as they have obtained in the world no small notice, even among persons of sound judgment and most amiable dispositions, we shall allow them to stand on their own merits, and leave the reader to form his own opinion of the nature of their contents.

1. *Arcana Cœlestia*, or *Heavenly Mysteries*, contained in the *Sacred Scriptures*, or *Word of the Lord*: being an explanation

of the spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and Exodus; interspersed with relations of wonderful things seen in the world of spirits, and the heaven of angels. In 8 vols. 4to. London: 1749 to 1756; published in this country in 12 vols. 8vo., of about 500 pages each. 2. *De Cœlo et Inferno, ex Auditis et Visis*; a treatise concerning Heaven and Hell, and the wonderful things heard and seen there. London: 1758. 8vo., pp. 400. 3. *De Nova Hierosolyma, et Ejus Doctrina Cœlesti*; concerning the New Jerusalem, and its Heavenly Doctrine. London, 1758, 12mo., pp. 72. 4. *De Ultimo Judicio et Babylonia Destructa*; concerning the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon; London, 1758. 5. *De Equo Albo, de quo in Apocalypsi*; concerning the White Horse, mentioned in the Revelation; London, 1758. 6. *De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari, quæ vocantur Planetæ, &c.*; concerning the Earths in our Solar System, and in the Starry heaven, with an account of their Inhabitants, &c. London, 1758. 7. *Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Domino*; the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem, concerning the Lord; Amsterdam, 1763. 8. *Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Scriptura Sacra seu Verbo Domini*; the doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scriptures or Word of the Lord; Amsterdam, 1763. 9. *Doctrina Vitæ pro Nova Hierosolyma, ex Præceptis Decalogi*; the Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem, from the Precepts of the Decalogue; Amsterdam, 1763. 10. *Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Fide*; the doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning Faith; Amsterdam, 1763. 11. *Continuatio de Ultimo Judicio, et de Mundo Spirituali*; Continuation concerning the Last Judgment, and concerning the Spiritual World; Amsterdam, 1763. 12. *Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et Divina Sapientia*; Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom; Amsterdam, 1764. 13. *Sapientia Angelica de Divina Providentia*; Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Providence; Amsterdam, 1764. 14. *Apocalypsis Revelata*; The Apocalypse Revealed; Amsterdam, 1766. 15. *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore Conjugiali, &c.*; The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love; after which follow the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory Love; Amsterdam, 1768. 16. *Summaria Expositio Doctrinæ Novæ Ecclesiæ*; A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church; Amsterdam, 1769. 17. *De Commercio Animæ et Corporis*; concerning the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body;



Amsterdam, 1769. 18. *Vera Christiana Religio, continens Universalem Theologiam Novæ Ecclesiæ*; *The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church*; Amsterdam, 1771.

These works have all been translated into English, and circulated very extensively both in Great Britain and America. The author left behind him many other works in manuscript, of which the following have been printed: 1. *A Coronis or Appendix to the True Christian Religion*; London, 1780. 2. *An Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries, by way of Representations and Correspondencies*; London, 1784. 3. *A Summary Exposition of the Internal Sense of the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament, and of the Psalms of David*; London, 1784. 4. *Apocalypse Explained according to the Spiritual Sense*; in 6 vols. 8vo., of about 500 pages each; London, 1785 to 1789.

Sublime things are announced by all these titles; and though the works are many, and embrace a great variety of subjects, they all assume to be connected by one chain of argument and illustration. The application requisite to produce so many and such important works, not allowing him to continue the necessary functions of his office as assessor, beyond the year 1747, he resigned his situation in the Royal College, and obtained in the same year permission from the king to retire, and to retain his salary as an appointment for life, without any prejudice to his title and rank. He assisted as a member of the house of nobles during several diets; and his behavior was such as to procure him universal esteem and respect. He was honored with the favor and particular kindness of the kings who reigned during his time; and all who had the happiness of enjoying his company soon became sensible of his superior wisdom, erudition, and virtue.

Of the particular circumstances connected with the appointment of this extraordinary man to the office, which he says he was called by the Lord to perform, we have no account that can be depended upon, but that which he has himself given in several of his printed works, particularly in his work entitled "*True Christian Religion*," in the chapter on the consummation of the age, the coming of the Lord, and the new heaven and the new church, ns. 779, 780; from which we quote the following passage:—

"That this second coming of the Lord is effected by means of

a man, before whom He has manifested himself, and whom He has filled with his spirit, and who is able not only to receive the doctrines of the New Church with his understanding, but also to publish them by the press. That the Lord has manifested himself before me, his servant, and sent me on this office, and that, after this, He opened the sight of my spirit, and thus let me into the spiritual world, and gave me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to speak with angels and spirits, and this now continually for many years, I testify in truth; and also that, from the first day of that call, I have not received any thing which pertains to the doctrines of that church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I read the Word. To the end that the Lord might be constantly present, he has disclosed to me the spiritual sense of the Word, in which divine truth is in its light, and in this He is continually present; for his presence in the Word is only by means of the spiritual sense; through the light of this He passes into the shade in which the sense of the letter is; comparatively as it happens with the light of the sun in the day time, by the interposition of a cloud."

A similar statement is made in n. 851 of the same work, where he asserts, "that the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits had continued with him for 27 years," that is, from 1743 to 1770, when he wrote that work two years before his death.

It may be easily supposed that the extraordinary nature of the writings of Swedenborg would make him an object of surprise to those who became acquainted with him during his life; and that investigation should succeed the excitement of curiosity. We find, accordingly, that several persons were desirous to ascertain whether his alleged communication with the spiritual world was really true. They adopted certain tests which were applied to the subject in question, and which, no doubt, were considered as rigorous as caution could suggest. Two of the most extraordinary instances of Swedenborg's access to the spiritual world, which we find on record, are those respecting the Countess de Martville, whose husband was ambassador at the Swedish court from Holland, and the Queen of Sweden, Louisa Ulrica, wife of King Adolphus Frederic and sister of the celebrated Frederic of Prussia. We will give it in the Queen's own words, as recorded, together with the anecdote of the countess de Martville, by an author who probably cannot be suspected of any partiality in favor of Swedenborg; we

mean M. Dieudonné' Thibault, a French *savant* of the school of Voltaire, and Professor of Belles Lettres in the Royal Academy of Berlin. The fact occurred in 1759.

“ M. Thiebault says, I know not on what occasion it was, that, conversing one day with the Queen on the subject of the celebrated visionary, Swedenborg, we (the members of the Academy) expressed a desire, particularly M. Merian and myself, to know what opinion was entertained of him in Sweden. I on my part related what had been told me respecting him by Chamberlain d'Hamon, who was still alive, and who had been ambassador from Prussia both to Holland and France. It was, ‘that his brother-in-law, (the Count de Martville,) Ambassador from Holland to Stockholm, having died suddenly, a shopkeeper demanded of his widow the payment of a bill for some articles of drapery, which she remembered had been paid in her husband's life-time; that the widow, not being able to find the shopkeeper's receipt, had been advised to consult with Swedenborg, who, she was told, could converse with the dead whenever he pleased; that she accordingly adopted his advice, though she did so less from credulity than curiosity; and at the end of a few days Swedenborg informed her, that her deceased husband had taken the shopkeeper's receipt for the money on such a day, at such an hour, as he was reading such an article in Bayle's Dictionary in his cabinet; and that his attention being called immediately afterwards to some other concern, he had put the receipt into the book to mark the place at which he left off; where in fact it was found, at the page described!’ The Queen replied, that though she was but little disposed to believe in such seeming miracles, she had nevertheless been willing to put the power of M. Swedenborg, with whom she was acquainted, to the proof; that she was previously acquainted with the anecdote I had related, and it was one of those that had most excited her astonishment, though she had never taken the pains to ascertain the truth of it; but that M. Swedenborg having come one evening to her court, she had taken him aside, and begged him to inform himself of her deceased brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia, what he said to her at the moment of her taking leave of him for the Court of Stockholm. She added, that what she had said was of a nature to render it impossible that the Prince could have repeated it to any one, nor had it ever escaped her own lips: that some days after, Swedenborg returned, when she was seated at cards, and requested she would grant him a private audience; to which she replied, he might communicate what he had to say before the company: but Swedenborg assured her he could not

disclose his errand in the presence of witnesses; that in consequence of this intimation the Queen became agitated, gave her cards to another lady, and requested M. de Schwerin (who also was present when she related the story to us) to accompany her; that they accordingly went together into another apartment, where she posted M. de Schwerin at the door, and advanced towards the farthest extremity of it with Swedenborg; who said to her, ‘You took, madam, your last leave of the Prince of Prussia, your late august brother, at Charlottenburg, on such a day, and at such an hour of the afternoon; as you were passing afterwards through the long gallery, in the castle of Charlottenburg, you met him again; he then took you by the hand, and led you to such a window, where you could not be overheard, and then said to you these words; ——.’ The Queen did not repeat the words, but she protested to us they were the very same her brother had pronounced, and that she retained the most perfect recollection of them. She added, that she nearly fainted at the shock she experienced; and she called on M. de Schwerin to answer for the truth of what she had said; who, in his laconic style, contented himself with saying, ‘All you have said, madam, is perfectly true, at least as far as I am concerned.’ The Queen in consequence of this intelligence, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she was come to herself, she said to those about her, ‘There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.’”

The relator of the next occurrence is Dr. Stilling, Counsellor at the court of the Duke of Baden, in a work entitled *Die Theory der Geister-Kunde*, printed at Nuremberg in 1808. The following is an abridgment of his narrative.

“About the year 1770, there was a merchant in Elberfeld, with whom I lived seven years in the most intimate friendship. He was much attached to mystical writings; but was a man of good sense, and one who would not tell a wilful untruth for all the world. He travelled on business to Amsterdam, where, at that time, Swedenborg was. Having heard and read a great deal of this extraordinary man, he went to see him. He found a very venerable and friendly looking old gentleman, who received him politely; when the following dialogue took place. After some preparatory remarks, the *Merchant* said, ‘I think you will not be displeased with a sincere friend of the truth, if he desires an irrefutable proof, that you really have communication with the spiritual world.’ *Swedenborg*. ‘It would indeed be very wrong, if I were displeased; but I believe I have given already proofs enough, which cannot be refuted.’ *M*. ‘Do you

mean those respecting the Queen, the fire of Stockholm, and the mislaid receipt?' S. 'Yes, I do; and they are true.' M. 'May I be so free as to ask for a proof of the same kind?' S. 'Why not? with all my heart.' M. 'I had a friend, a student of Divinity at Daysburg: a little before his decease we had an important conversation together: now could you learn from him what was the subject of it?' S. 'We will see:—come to me again in a day or two: I will see if I can find your friend.' The merchant returned accordingly; when Swedenborg met him with a smile, and said, 'I have spoken with your friend: the subject of your discourse was, the final restoration of all things.' Swedenborg then repeated to the merchant, word for word, what he and his deceased friend had maintained. My friend, says Dr. Stilling, turned pale; for this proof was irresistible. Perfectly convinced, my friend left the extraordinary man, and travelled back again to Elberfeld."

Mr. Springer relates, from his own knowledge, the following instance of a similar kind.

"Fifteen years ago (dated from 1782) Swedenborg was leaving London for Sweden, and begged of me (as Swedish Consul) to engage his passage with a good captain. I agreed with one named Dixon. When the captain came to fetch him on board, I took leave of him and wished him a good voyage: then turning to the captain, I asked if he had laid in a good stock of provisions; to which he answered, that he had as much as was necessary. On this Swedenborg interposed, and said, 'My friend, we shall not have occasion for much; for, by the help of God, on this day week, at two o'clock, we shall enter the harbor of Stockholm.' Which assertion, Captain Dixon informed me on his return, was exactly fulfilled."

Another similar instance is related by Mr. Robsam.

"I met Swedenborg in his carriage, as he was setting off on his journey to London, the last time but one. I asked him how he could venture on such a voyage at the age of eighty years: 'Do you think,' I added, 'I shall see you any more?' 'Do not make yourself uneasy, my friend,' he replied: 'if you live we shall see one another again: for I have another of these journeys to make after the present.' He returned accordingly. The last time of his leaving Sweden he came to see me the day he was setting off. I again asked him if we should see one another any more. He answered with a tender and affecting air, 'I do not know whether I shall return: but I am assured that I shall not die till I have finished the printing of my



work entitled *True Christian Religion*, which is the object of my journey. But if we do not see each other any more in this lower world, we shall meet in the presence of the Lord, if we have kept his commandments.' He did, accordingly, finish the printing of his last work here mentioned at Amsterdam; and he died at London not very long afterwards."

In the affidavit of the Shearson Smiths, also, it is declared, that he told one of them on what day he should die a month before it happened: he made the same communication to another person.

One more, and we have done with these relations. Respecting Swedenborg's communication with the spiritual world, Mr. Springer, Swedish Consul, in his letter to Perneti, makes the following statement.

"All that Swedenborg has related to me respecting my deceased acquaintances, both friends and enemies, and the secrets that were between us, almost surpasses belief. He explained to me in what manner the peace was concluded between Sweden and the king of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion: he even told me who were the three great personages of whom I made use in that affair; which, nevertheless, was an entire secret between them and me. I asked him how he could be informed of such particulars, and who had discovered them to him? He answered, 'Who informed me of your affair with Count Ekelblad? You cannot deny the truth of what I have told you. Continue,' he added, 'to deserve his reproaches: turn not aside, either for riches or honors, from the path of rectitude, but on the contrary, keep steadily in it, as you have done, and you will prosper.'"

During his latter years, Bishop Felenius and Dr. Ekebon instigated a prosecution against him in the consistory of Göttenburg, whence it was transferred to the Diet. Dr. Ekebon denounced his doctrines as "full of the most intolerable fundamental errors, seducing, heretical, and captious;" and stated furthermore, that "*he did not know Assessor Swedenborg's religious system, and would take no pains to come at the knowledge of it.*" Swedenborg addressed a letter to the king in relation to his persecutions, which, had we room, we would gladly transcribe. It is certainly a masterly production. He, however, came out of these trials with safety, unaccused by the Diet, and protected by the king. Towards Christmas, 1771, while in London, he had a stroke of the palsy, from which he

never perfectly recovered. A report has been circulated that he recanted his claims during his last illness; but this is a mistake. M. Ferelius, minister of the Swedish Lutheran church in London, who visited him on his death-bed, and administered the sacrament to him, wrote as follows (the 31st March, 1780) to Prof. Trätgard of Griefswalde: —

“I asked him if he thought he was going to die, and he answered in the affirmative: upon which I requested him, since many believed that he had invented his new theological system merely to acquire a great name, (which he had certainly obtained,) to take this opportunity of proclaiming the real truth to the world, and to recant either wholly or in part what he had advanced; especially as his pretensions could now be of no further use to him. Upon this, Swedenborg raised himself up in bed, and, placing his hand upon his breast, said with earnestness, ‘Everything that I have written is as true as that you now behold me: I might have said much more, had it been permitted me. After death you will see all; and then we shall have much to say to each other on this subject.’”

Swedenborg died at London, in Great Bath Street, Coldbath Fields, on the 29th of March, 1772, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His body was buried in the Swedish church in Ratcliff highway.

The following are, according to one of his respectable followers, the chief articles of doctrine deducible from the whole of Baron Swedenborg’s Theological writings, and it may be interesting to give them. 1. That Jehovah God, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is a Being of infinite love, wisdom, and power; that He is one in essence and in person; in whom, nevertheless, is a Divine Trinity, consisting of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, like soul, body, and operation in man; and that the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is that God. 2. That Jehovah God himself came down from heaven as divine Truth, which is the Word, and took upon him human nature, for the purpose of subduing and removing the powers of darkness, of restoring the spiritual world to order, of preparing the way for a new church upon earth, and thus of accomplishing the great work of redemption: that through the process of sufferings and temptations, he also glorified his humanity by uniting it with his essential divinity; and that all who believe in him from the heart, with the understanding, and in the life, will be saved. 3. That the Word of the Lord, or

Sacred Scripture, was written by divine inspiration; that it contains an internal spiritual sense for the use of angels in heaven, and an external natural sense for the use of men upon earth; and that in each sense it is holy and divine. That these two senses, the spiritual and the natural, are united by correspondences, like soul and body; and thus that the Word is the medium of communication with heaven, and of conjunction with the Lord. 4. That all evils, whether of affection, of thought, or of life, ought to be shunned as sins against God, because they proceed from the devil, that is, from hell, and destroy in man the capacity of enjoying the happiness of heaven. But that, on the other hand, good affections, good thoughts, and good actions, ought to be cherished and performed, because they are of God, and from God; and that every act of love and charity, of justice and equity, both towards society in general and towards individuals in particular, ought to be done by man as of himself, nevertheless under the acknowledgment and belief that they are really and truly from the Lord, operating in him and by him. 5. That man, during his abode in the world, is kept in a state of spiritual equilibrium between heaven and hell, or good and evil, in consequence of which he enjoys free will in spiritual as well as natural things, and has the capacity either of turning himself to the Lord, or of separating himself from the Lord; that so far as he does the work of repentance, and lives in charity according to the truths of faith, so far his sins are remitted, that is to say, so far his evils are removed; and in the same proportion also he is regenerated, or created anew by the Lord. 6. That man is not life in himself, but only a recipient of life from the Lord, who alone is life in himself; which life is communicated by influx to all in the spiritual world, whether belonging to heaven or to hell, and to all in the natural world; but is received differently by each according to the quality of the recipient subject. 7. That adequate means of salvation are, by the divine mercy and providence of the Lord, extended to all of the human race without exception; and consequently that men of every persuasion or denomination upon the face of the earth, whether they be Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans, may be saved, if they live in mutual love and charity from religious motives, according to the best of their knowledge and understanding. But that nevertheless the new and true Christian religion, inasmuch as it is more immediately derived from our Lord and

Saviour Jesus Christ, who is the One only God of heaven and earth, is of all religions the most capable of effecting close and intimate conjunction with him; and on that account is to be esteemed more excellent, more heavenly, and more divine than any other. 8. That every event or occurrence in human life, whether of prosperity or of adversity, is under the immediate superintendence and direction of the Divine Providence; and that nothing does or can befall man, either in his collective or in his individual capacity, but what even in the most minute, as well as in the more important circumstances attending it, is made to contribute in a way known only to infinite wisdom, to the final benefit and advantage of those who love and obey the Lord. 9. That immediately on the death of the material body, which will never be reassumed, man rises again as to his spiritual or substantial body, wherein he exists in a perfect human form, with every faculty which he before enjoyed; and that his eternal state, as to happiness or misery hereafter, will altogether depend on the quality of his past life, whether it has been good or evil. 10. But that with respect to children dying before they come to the use of reason, and the exercise of their own judgment, all such, whether baptized or unbaptized, whether within the Christian church or without it, and whether they be the offspring of godly or of ungodly parents, are received into heaven by the Lord, and after instruction, or improvement in understanding and wisdom, participate in all the happiness and perfection of angels. 11. That there is not in the universal heaven a single angel that was created such at first, nor a single devil in all hell that had been created an angel of light, and was afterwards cast out of heaven; but that all both in heaven and in hell are of the human race; in heaven such as had lived in the world in heavenly love and faith, and in hell such as had lived altogether according to the principles of self-love and the love of the world. 12. That true conjugal love, which can only exist between one husband and one wife, is a primary characteristic of the new church, being grounded in the marriage or conjunction of good and truth, and corresponding with the marriage of the Lord and his church; and therefore it is more celestial, spiritual, holy, and pure, than any other love in angels or men. 13. That baptism and the holy supper are sacraments of divine institution, and are to be permanently observed; baptism being an external medium of introduction into the church, and a sign representative of man's purification

and regeneration; and the holy supper being an external medium, to those who receive it worthily, of introduction, as to spirit, into heaven, and of conjunction with the Lord, of which it is also a sign and seal. 14. That the last judgment, so frequently spoken of in the Gospels, and in the Apocalypse, being a separation of the evil from the good in the spiritual world, where heretofore they had been collected and mixed in society together, from the time of the Lord's first advent into the world till the time of his second advent, was actually accomplished in the year 1757; when the former heaven and the former earth, or the old church, passed away according to the Scriptures, and the foundation of a new church was laid, wherein all things are become new. 15. That therefore, as an act of mercy towards the human race, which would otherwise have perished in eternal death, the second advent of the Lord has already taken place and still continues in the present day; being a coming not in person, but in the power and glory of the spiritual sense of his Holy Word, as demonstrated in the Theological writings of his servant Emanuel Swedenborg; and thus that the holy city, New Jerusalem, is now descending from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

We will not stop here to comment on these articles in whole or in part, because this is not the place, and because also we are determined, as before observed, to act the part of a faithful and an impartial historian. We have endeavored to adduce nothing, and shall continue to do so, that is not perfectly authentic, and which may not at once be recognised and acknowledged by every believer in the writings of Swedenborg, as a fair and candid exhibition of his doctrines.

In addition to these articles of doctrine, there are many other subjects contained in the writings of Swedenborg, which are peculiar to himself, and which well illustrate the metaphysical nature of his theology. To a few of these points we will now advert.

The Swedish Theologian does not appear to be a believer in the *eternity of matter*, or in the *creative energies of matter*, or in a *power of thought communicable to matter separate from spirit*. After speaking of the three different opinions or hypotheses, which have been advanced to account for the communication between the soul and the body, and for the operations of the one on and jointly with the other, he shows that



the first hypothesis attempts to solve the matter from physical or natural influx, that is, from body acting on spirit ; the second from a contrary influx, or from spirit acting on body ; and the third from a settled law of sympathy or harmony between both, established at creation.

The first of these, viz. physical influx, he shows, *takes its rise from the fallacy of sensible appearances* ; thus the objects of vision, by striking the eye, seem to produce the sensation of sight in the soul ; speech, to excite that of hearing, through the impressions made on the ear by the motion of the air ; and so in like manner as relates to the other senses. Now as the organs of sense are in contact with the material world, and as the faculties of the mind seem to be affected according to the impressions made by matter on those organs, therefore the old philosophers and schoolmen adopted this hypothesis of physical or natural influx.

The second hypothesis, called *spiritual influx*, and by some *occasional influx*, is shown by Swedenborg to be founded on the true order and nature of things, for the soul *being a spiritual substance*, and consequently of greater purity than the body, as also of a higher and interior nature, it follows that it must have the preëminence and influence over that which is more gross, and also inferior and exterior to it ; or, that the principal, which is spiritual, should exercise agency and rule over that which is material, and not *vice versa*, consequently that it is the soul which sees and hears through the rightly disposed organs, and not the latter that convey sight and hearing to the soul.

The third hypothesis, called that of harmony, or consent established by the law of creation, he shows to be founded on a false conclusion, that the soul acts jointly and at the same instant with the body ; for all operation is first successive, and then conjunctive, or simultaneous with the thing acted upon ; successive operation he calls influx, and simultaneous operation he calls harmony ; as when the mind first thinks and then speaks, or first wills to do a thing and afterwards acts ; therefore he maintains that it is nothing less than a deception from false reasoning, to attempt to establish simultaneous operation, without first allowing that which is successive. The soul then either must act upon the body, or the body upon the soul, or both in conjunction by consent. On one of these three opinions or hypotheses must the communication between the soul and body be explained.

“Forasmuch,” says Swedenborg, “as the doctrine of spiritual influx, or the operation of spirit upon matter and not *vice versa*, is founded upon the order and laws of the Creator, therefore it is received by the wiser part of the learned world in preference to the other two opinions; for everything that is according to true order is truth; now truth by a native kind of evidence carries with it a degree of clearness even in hypothetical matters, though these be but as the twilight of reason. The obscurity, in which the subject before us is involved, may be accounted for from human ignorance concerning the three following particulars: 1. As to the nature of the soul; 2. As to what we are to understand by the word spiritual; and 3. What by influx; wherefore these three things are to be explained in order to a rational comprehension of it; for what is merely hypothetical is not truth itself, but only conjecture concerning it, and may be compared to a picture on a wall seen confusedly by star-light, which the mind figures to itself according to the representation which fancy gives it; but when the sun is risen, and we behold it in clear day-light, the whole appears distinct in every part according to its true delineation; in like manner the truth here investigated arises out of the obscurity of an hypothesis into the light of evidence, when it is once clearly known, — 1. *What is the difference betwixt things spiritual and things natural;* 2. *What is the true nature of the human soul;* and 3. *How this receives its influx from God, and transmits it through the perceptive faculties of the mind to the body.*”

The author thus distinguishes between spirit and matter, and in direct opposition to the creed of the materialist, ascribes all influence and operation to the former, regarding the latter as a mere dead thing, which has no life, sensation, or activity in it, except what it derives from its connexion with spirit; it is also manifest, that he considers the soul of man as a *spiritual substance*, not only of greater purity than the body, but also of a higher and interior nature, and consequently entitled to preëminence over that which is more gross and external; he also refers all life properly so called to the Deity, and of course ultimately attributes to him the all of the life and activity observable either in the human soul, or in its body, or in the outward material world of nature.

A clearer and more extended view of Swedenborg's opinion on this subject may be obtained by attending to the following propositions.

1. "That the Lord from eternity, who is Jehovah, created the universe and all things in it from himself, and not from nothing. 2. That the visible things in the created universe testify, that Nature neither hath produced, nor does produce anything, but that the Divine hath produced and doth produce all things from himself. 3. That all things in the universe were created from the divine love and the divine wisdom of Jehovah God. 4. That all things in the created universe are recipients of the divine love and the divine wisdom of Jehovah God. 5. That the uses of all created things ascend by degrees from ultimates to man, and through man to God the Creator, from whom they proceed. 6. That the end of creation exists in its ultimates, which is, that all things may return to the Creator, and that there may be conjunction. 7. That in the substances and matters of which earths consist, there is nothing of the Divine in itself, but that still they are from the Divine in itself. 8. That from the Lord with man there are created and formed two receptacles and habitations for himself, which are called the will and the understanding; the will for his divine love, and the understanding for his divine wisdom. 9. That love and wisdom are emanations from God in one conjunctive influx into the soul of man, and through it into his mind, affections, and thoughts; and are from thence derived into his corporeal senses, speech, and actions. 10. That whatsoever proceeds from the material sun, considered in itself, must be void of life. 11. That the spiritual principle invests itself with material nature, as man invests himself with his garments. 12. That spirit, thus clothed with matter in man, renders him capable of being a rational and moral agent, and thus at once both spiritual and natural. 13. That the reception of this influx is according to the state of love and wisdom in man. 14. That the human understanding may, by due culture and improvement of the rational faculties, be elevated even to a degree of angelic wisdom; and that the human will, if the life be good, may be kindled into a flame of seraphic love; but then such an elevation of love can only take place where the will and practice are conformable to the dictates of wisdom in the understanding."

Are there persons who believe that matter, by certain combinations and modifications can become capable of thought, so as to reason and determine of itself, independently of any spiritual power or principle? Swedenborg disputes this doctrine, and attempts to show the absolute impossibility of matter possessing any such property, by proving that all thought proceeds from volition, and that both thought and volition are the dis-

tinguishing characters and operations of spirit, and only annexed to matter, so far as this latter is in some sort of connection and communication with the former ; for thus he again argues : —

“ The truth of this proposition follows by necessary consequence from the foregoing ; for as the soul continually receives an influx of life from God, so it transmits the same by influent communication through the perceptive mind to the body, giving to this last, through its close union therewith, the appearance of corporeal life ; hence we know by experience, that spirit united to matter in man, *as a living power to a lifeless subject*, qualifies him for rational speech and moral agency. It seems indeed to outward appearance, as if the tongue and the lips spake, and the arms and hands acted by some power of life in themselves ; whereas it is thought that speaks, and the will that acts (both spiritual in themselves) through their respective material organs formed from the outward natural world. That this is the case, will readily appear from considering, that upon the ceasing of thought, the tongue is immediately silent, and upon the will's refraining to exert its active power, the limbs are motionless in an instant. The union of spirit and matter, and the appearance of life in the latter arising from this union, may be illustrated from the comparison of a sponge replete with generous wine, from the rich juices in the grape or apple, and the aromatic virtue in cinnamon ; for express now these juices, and extract the tincture from their containing vessels and integuments, and what remains but insipid dry husks and filaments ? The case is just the same with the corporeal organs, when separated from their vital principle. That from this union of what is spiritual with what is natural in the human constitution, man has his denomination of a rational creature in this lower world, appears from the power of arranging and analyzing his thoughts, and the various exercises of his understanding ; as that of his being a moral agent does from the regulation of his actions and deportment by the rules of honesty and decorum, which high privileges he is endued with from the power given to him to receive influx from the Lord through the Heavens.”

There is another doctrine intimately connected with this, and which forms so peculiar a feature of Swedenborg's writings, that it may be interesting and acceptable to the reader to see unfolded. It may with propriety be called the doctrine of *Spiritual Association*. There is no doctrine more universally or more strongly insisted upon in the writings of Swedenborg than

this, that man is governed and guided at all times by associate spirits from the spiritual world, who are in the closest communication and connection with him in affection and thought, inasmuch that without such communication and connection he would be utterly incapable of being affected or of thinking at all. These associate spirits, it is insisted, differ in quality, according to the quality, that is to say, the ruling disposition of the person with whom they are associated, being angelic and heavenly where the ruling disposition of the man is such, but on the contrary, diabolical and infernal, where the mind of the human subject is degraded and deformed by diabolical and infernal principles.

“The case in general, (says he), with influx out of the spiritual world into man is this, that man cannot think anything, or will anything, from himself, but that everything flows in, good and truth from the Lord through Heaven, thus through the Angels who are attendant on man; and what is evil and false from Hell, thus through the evil spirits that are attendant on man; and this into man’s thought and will. . . . To the intent that the Lord’s life may flow in, and be received according to every law appertaining to man, there are continually attendant on man angels and spirits, angels from heaven, and spirits from hell. The reason why there are attendant spirits from hell is, because man from himself is continually in evil, for he is in the delight of self-love and the love of the world, and so far as man is in evil, or in that delight, so far the angels from heaven cannot be present. The spirits who are adjoined to man cause him to have communication with hell, and the angels cause him to have communication with heaven; man without communication with heaven and hell would not be able to live even a moment; if these communications were removed, he would fall down dead as a stock, for in such case would be taken away his connection with the first Esse, that is, with the Lord. But I am aware that few believe that any spirit is attendant upon them, yea that there are any spirits; and the principal cause of this unbelief is, because at this day there is no faith by reason that there is no charity; hence neither is it believed that there is a hell, nor that there is a heaven, consequently no life after death; another cause of this unbelief is, because with their eyes men do not see spirits, for they say, if I saw I would believe; what I see I know to be, but what I do not see, I know not whether it be or not; when yet they know, or may know, that the eye of man is so dim and gross, that it doth not even see things which are in ultimate nature, as is evident from artificial glasses, by which such things become visible; how then should it be able to see the things which are



within Nature, even purer than Nature, where are spirits and angels? From these considerations it may be manifest, how much modern faith differs from ancient faith; for it was a tenet of ancient faith, that every man had his attendant angel.

“The spirits, which have intercourse with man, enter into all his memory, and into all the science of memory which man possesses; thus they put on all things that are man’s, insomuch that they know no other than that these things are theirs; hence it is that all things which a man thinks, they think, and that all things which man wills, they will, and *vice versâ*. From these considerations it is evident that man, during his life in the world, as to his interiors, thus as to his spirit, is in consort with other spirits, and so adjoined to them, that he cannot think or will anything unless together with them, and that thus there is a communication of his interiors with the spiritual world; and that thus and no otherwise he can be led of the Lord.

“In regard to the origin of the influx of evil from hell, the case is this; when a man, first from consent, next from purpose, lastly from delight of affection, casteth himself into evil, instantly a hell is opened which is in such evil, (for according to evils and all their varieties, the hells are distinct one from another,) and presently there is from that hell also an influx; when a man thus comes into evil, it inheres, for the hell, in the sphere of which he then is, is in its very delight, when in its evil. It is further to be noted, that the reason why evil is appropriated to man is, because he believes and persuades himself, that he thinketh and doeth it from himself, thus he makes it his own; whereas if he believed as the case really is, evil would not then be appropriated to him, but good from the Lord would be appropriated, for in this case, when evil flowed in, he would instantly think that it was from the evil spirits attendant upon him, and when he thought this, the angels would revert and reject it, for the influx of the angels is into what a man knows and believes, but not into what he doth not know and believe.

“It is the office of the angels to inspire charity and faith, and to observe the man’s delights, in what direction they turn themselves, and to moderate and bend them to good, so far as the man’s free-will enables him to do so; it is forbidden them to act violently, and thereby to break man’s lusts and principles, but the injunction is to act with gentleness; their office also is to rule the evil spirits who are from hell, which is effected by methods innumerable, of which it is allowed to mention only the following: when the evil spirits infuse evils and falses, the angels insinuate truths and goods, which, if they are not received, are yet the means of temperament; the infernal spirits are continually making assault, and the angels affording protection; such is the

order. The angels principally moderate the affections, for these constitute the life of man, and also his freedom. By such offices the angels from the Lord lead and protect man; and this every moment, and every moment of a moment; for if the angels should only intermit their offices a single instant, man would be plunged into evil, from which afterwards it would be impossible he should be extricated. These offices the angels perform from the love which they derive from the Lord, for they perceive nothing more delightful and more happy, than to remove evils from man, and to lead him to heaven; that they have joy herein, may be seen, Luke xv. 7, 10. That the Lord hath such care for man, and this continually, from the first stamen of life to the last, and afterwards to eternity, scarce any man believes."

There is another doctrine pervading every portion of the theological writings of Swedenborg, and which we have seen also developed in his philosophical writings, which may be briefly elucidated; we refer to the *Doctrine of Degrees*. It is maintained by those who receive the writings of Swedenborg that he is the only writer in the world, who ever ascertained the precise boundary or limit between what is spiritual and what is natural, and thus taught his readers to distinguish most minutely between the two principles, thereby enabling them at all times to detect and repel the fallacious reasonings of the naturalist and materialist. This precise boundary or limit is pointed at in his doctrine of degrees above spoken of, a doctrine which his admirers consider of the highest importance. From this doctrine it is made to appear, so far as we can understand it, that spirit and matter are not distinguished, according to the favorite idea of our modern naturalists and materialists, by any degrees of rarity or density, as if spirit was matter in a more refined state, or matter spirit in a more gross and compacted state, for such a distinction, if we rightly understand the author, does not apply at all to the two principles, inasmuch as matter, it is shown, can never by any sublimation, or subtilization be converted into spirit, neither can spirit by any contraction or degradation be converted into matter. He informs us that there are three degrees of two kinds, viz. three degrees of love and three degrees of wisdom, which flowing from their Divine Author, are distinctly one; that although unconvertible into each other, and therefore eternally distinct, yet, in their source, they are inseparable. He distinguishes degrees into two kinds, degrees of *altitude* and degrees of *latitude*.

He represents the knowledge of degrees as a "key to open

the causes of things, and enter into them; since without this knowledge scarcely any thing of cause can be known; for the objects and subjects of both worlds without this knowledge appear so univocal, as if there was nothing in them except of a nature similar to what is seen with the eye, when, nevertheless, this respectively to the things which lie interiorly concealed, is as one to thousands, yea, to myriads. The interior things which lie hid, can by no means be discovered, unless degrees be understood; for exterior things proceed to things interior, and those to the things which are inmost, by degrees; not by *continuous* degrees, but by *discrete* degrees. The term continuous degrees is applied to denote decrements or decreasing from more crass to more subtle, or from denser to rarer; or rather to denote as it were, the increments or increasings from more subtle to more crass, or from rarer to denser, like that of light proceeding to shade, or of heat to cold. But discrete degrees are entirely different, they are as things prior, posterior, postreme, or as end, cause, and effect; these are called discrete degrees, because the prior is by itself, the posterior by itself, and the postreme by itself; but still, when taken together, they make one. The atmospheres from highest to lowest, or from the sun to the earth, which are ether and air, are discrete into such degrees; and there are substances, seemingly simple, the congregate of these atmospheres, and again the congregate of these congregates, which, when taken together, are called composite. These last degrees are called discrete, because they exist distinctly, and are understood by degrees of altitude; but the former degrees are continuous, because they continually increase, and are understood by degrees of latitude."

Swedenborg maintains that in everything, both in the spiritual and natural worlds, there are three degrees of both these kinds. He adduces many illustrations, which he regards as so many proofs of the reality of this principle of degrees. As already intimated, *discrete* degrees, or degrees of altitude, are derived one from another, in a series like end, cause, and effect. Let us endeavor to "illustrate this by example. It is known, by ocular experience, that each muscle in the human body consists of very small fibres, and that these being disposed in fascicles, constitute the larger fibres, which are called moving fibres, and that from collections of the latter, exists that compound which is called a muscle. It is the same with nerves; in them from very small fibres are composed larger fibres, which appear as filaments, and from a collection of these is a nerve compounded. The case is the same in other compaginations, confaciations, and collections of which the organs and viscera con-

sist ; for these are compositions from fibres and vessels variously formed by similar degrees. The case is the same also, with all and everything of the vegetable kingdom, and all and everything of the mineral kingdom ; in the different kinds of wood there are compaginations of filaments in a threefold order ; in metals and stones there are conglobations of parts also, in a threefold order. From these considerations it appears what discrete degrees are, viz. that one is formed from another, and by means of the other a third, which is called composite ; and that each degree is discrete from another. Hence conclusions may be formed respecting those things which do not appear before our eyes, because the case is the same with them as with the organic substances, which are the receptacles and habitations of the thoughts and affections in the brain ; with the atmospheres ; with heat and light, and with love and wisdom ; for the atmospheres are the receptacles of heat and light, as heat and light are receptacles of love and wisdom ; of consequence, since there are degrees of atmospheres, there are also similar degrees of heat and light, and similar of love and wisdom ; for the ratio (particular constitution and relation) of the latter is not different from that of the former."

According to Swedenborg, matter is the continent and basis of spirit. "That the *ultimate* degree is the complex, continent, and basis of the prior degrees, appears manifestly from the *progression* of ends and causes to effects ; that the *effect* is the complex, continent, and basis of the causes and ends, may be comprehended by enlightened reason ; but not so clearly that the end, with everything belonging to it, and the cause with everything belonging to it, *actually exist in the effect*, and that effect is the *full complex* of them. That the case is so, may appear from what has been premised in that part, particularly from the following considerations, that one is from the other in a triplicate series ; and that the *effect* is nothing else but the *cause* in *its* ultimate ; and forasmuch as the ultimate is the complex, it follows that the *ultimate* is the continent and basis." It is reasoning of this kind on which is founded an idea, often expressed by Swedenborg, that *spiritual existences* cannot operate in *external act*, until they have been *identified* and *fixed*, by an ultimate existence on some *natural earth*, that, of course, all "angels and devils" were once *natural* beings like ourselves. "As to what relates to love and wisdom, *love* is the *end*, *wisdom* the instrumental *cause*, and *use* is the *effect* ; and *use* is

the complex, continent, and basis of wisdom and love ; and *use* is such a complex and such a continent, that the whole of *love* and the whole of *wisdom* are actually in it, it being the *simultaneous* of them. But it is well to be observed, that all things of love and wisdom, which are homogeneous and concordant, *exist in use*, according to what has before been said and shown."

In the theology of Swedenborg, St. Paul's *three* Heavens are discovered to be three degrees of the spirit or emanating sphere of God, existing in various recipient forms, which thus receiving, transmit their reflected beams of intelligence, in ardent emotions of gratitude and love ! The same spirit, descending in smaller degrees, forms the soul of man, and the external perfections of nature in her three kingdoms of animal, vegetable, and mineral ; giving to each its peculiar degree of life, in proportion to their capacity of receiving that emanating spirit of the Great Author of all things.

Let us now turn our attention to another distinguishing doctrine of the Swedish theologian, which it may be interesting to the philosophical inquirer here to develop ; we mean the doctrine of a *Spiritual Sun*. Swedenborg maintains that the heat and light of the sun of our system solely derive their nature, their specific power and efficacy, from spiritual heat and light, which are essential love and wisdom, flowing continually from the Supreme Being. In other words, that from the Supreme Being constantly flows, or emanates, a glorious sphere of light and heat, which, in their essence, are divine love and wisdom, whence originate the power and efficacy of the light and heat of the natural or material sun, thus created a type, an imitator, as it were, of its glorious author, and like the hand of a dial, constantly guided by, and pointing out his movements, and reflecting back, by perfect correspondence, the image of its great original. It is the nature of spirit, he maintains, to diffuse itself. This diffusion causes a sphere of glory around the Supreme Being. The emanating sphere of this glorious spirit, according to his theory, forming and operating in and through the material suns of the various natural systems, produces, and constantly supports in existence, the whole creation of God : thus descending, by degrees, from the Great First Cause, to the lowest extreme of external nature. In this descent, various degrees of spirit find their abode in various forms of matter. Swedenborg, however, repudiates the idea, that because the



material sun is a globular body, and, at the same time, a type of the spiritual sun, therefore that glorious luminary, which is asserted to be the fountain of life, is also a globular body of spiritual fire. He asserts on the contrary, that the spiritual sun is not the Supreme Being Himself, but only that emanating sphere of His divine and essential constituents, love and wisdom; as the material sun's light and heat are not the real body, but only an emanation of it. He further maintains that a man cannot, in the inmost thought of his soul, conceive of a God without a form; that he cannot even fix his thought on any possible thing, without its immediately presenting itself to his intellectual vision, in a form; that no essence can exist without a form, and that it is almost like profanity, to imagine the Deity in a globular or any other form than the most perfect human form.

Following a well known and established law in natural philosophy, that there is constantly emitted by the benign influence of the sun's light and heat, from every created body a "somewhat of itself," which finds a recipient in the atmosphere that encompasses the earth, and there produces its degree of use, he shows that the spiritual sun is ever diffusing its glorious rays, and by its vivifying influence of love and wisdom, or spiritual light and heat, gives life and activity, with the consequent power of exertion, to every created being. But he makes between the two luminaries this all-important distinction, that the spiritual sun is replete with perfect life, because God dwells in its centre; while the natural sun, having only the appearance of life, is in itself mere matter, or perfect death. In all things which are proximately brought into life, and supported in existence by the natural sun, there is only apparent life, but real death; but in all things which are created and upheld by the immediate influence of the spiritual sun, there is a principle of eternal life. The very atmosphere of the spiritual world, flowing from the fountain of life, and being consequently spiritual, is the means of supporting spiritual life in its recipients; as the atmosphere of the natural world is a means of the existence and subsistence of its natural inhabitants. In man, while existing on the natural earths, are united the opposite principles of the two suns, which are life and death, spirit and matter, soul and body. As the original constituent principles of spiritual life are love and wisdom, so the absence of these is spiritual death. As the pervading influence of the

natural sun's light and heat extends even to the centre of the various earths over which he reigns, drawing from every varied body its responsive effort toward the general good ; so does the sphere of the spiritual sun diffuse its benign fervors and cheering light, through infinitude, everywhere pouring its glories into the willing recipient, and exciting in, or calling forth from that recipient, a correspondent emission of its own degree of received life. Whence issues from every intelligent being, as well as from every natural body, a sphere or emanation of its particular principles or degree of life, which is its measure of united goodness and truth, derived from its original and glorious fountain of divine love and wisdom ; or the same celestial principles reduced and perverted, till at length converted to their opposites. Such is a brief development of the doctrine of a spiritual sun and a sphere emanating therefrom. How much truth or philosophy there is in it is left to the judgment of the enlightened reader to determine ; at all events, it can do no harm to investigate it. *If* there be any truth in the pretended science of Animal Magnetism, perhaps we may here discover a principle by which its phenomena may be explained !

There is one more distinguishing principle in Swedenborg's theology, which is so linked, or interwoven with the two last mentioned, that we find ourselves under the necessity of touching on that also, in order to do justice, before we close this paper. This is the doctrine of *Correspondence*. It is an extensive subject, pervades the entire writings of Swedenborg, and may be considered, indeed, the foundation principle of his whole theological system. We can do but little more than to take a rapid survey of its outlines. "The doctrine of correspondences is one, according to which," says our author, "the whole of the Sacred Scripture is written, and without a knowledge of which its true and genuine sense cannot possibly be understood." This doctrine he represents as having been "hidden now for some thousands of years, viz., ever since the time of Job ; at which time, and in the ages before it, the science of correspondences was esteemed the chief of all sciences, being the fountain of wisdom to man, because it was the fountain of knowledge concerning spiritual things relating to heaven and the church ; but by reason of its being perverted to idolatrous purposes, it was so obliterated and destroyed, by the divine providence of the Lord, that no traces of it were left remaining."

The doctrine, as we understand it, is, that the natural world corresponds with the spiritual world, and that all things of the mind correspond with all things of the body. An illustration or two may suffice. He says:—

“ There is a correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs, and thence a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body. This is new, and hitherto unknown, because it has not been known what spiritual is, and what is its difference from natural, and therefore what correspondence is ; there being a correspondence of spiritual with natural things, and thereby conjunction of them. It is said, that it has been hitherto unknown what spiritual is, and what is its correspondence with natural, and consequently what correspondence is ; but still both might have been known. Who does not know that affection and thought are spiritual, and hence that all things of affection and thought are spiritual ? Who does not know that action and speech are natural, and hence all things of action and speech natural ? Who does not know that affection and thought, which are spiritual, cause a man to act and speak ? Who may not hence know what the correspondence is of spiritual with natural things ? Does not thought cause the tongue to speak, and affection with thought cause the body to act ? They are two distinct things. I can think and not speak, and will and not act ; and it is known that the body does not think and will, but that thought falls into speech, and will into action. Does not affection shine forth in the face, and present therein a type of itself ? This every one knows. Is not affection, considered in itself, spiritual, and the changes of face, or the looks, natural ? Who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence, and hence that there is a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body ? And as all things of the mind relate to affection and thought, or, what is the same, to the will and understanding, and all things of the body to the heart and lungs, who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence of the will with the heart, and of the understanding with the lungs ? Such things have not been known, although they might have been known, because man has become so external, that he is unwilling to acknowledge anything but what is natural. This is the delight of his love, and hence of his understanding ; wherefore to elevate his thought above the natural to anything spiritual separate from the natural, is unpleasant to him ; therefore he cannot think otherwise from his natural love and its delight, than that spiritual is more purely natural, and that corre-

spondence is something influent by continuity ; yea, the merely natural man cannot think of anything separate from natural, this to him being nothing.

“The correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs cannot be proved abstractedly, or by rational things alone, but it may by effects ; the case is the same as with the causes of things, which indeed may be seen rationally, but not clearly, except by effects, for the causes are in the effects, and are visible through them ; nor is the mind before convinced concerning causes ; the effects of this correspondence shall be shown in what follows.”

To accompany Swedenborg through the various effects, by which he attempts to prove and enforce his doctrine, however interesting it might be to the reader, would require more room than can be reasonably appropriated to this paper. But as some few striking illustrations of the operations of the principle in general may be selected, we will endeavor to perform this service. The origin of all correspondence, he maintains, is in the Supreme Being, thence it descends and forms the conjunctive power, through the various degrees of altitude, from the Divine Head, to the feet or extreme of creation, the natural earth, said in Scripture, to be “God’s footstool,” which extreme is forever protracting, that is, beings in the natural world are forever increasing in number, in correspondence with the eternal emanation of divine life, from its inexhaustible fountain. Swedenborg himself has somewhere an observation to this effect, that particulars are so numerous and so various, as sometimes to confuse the mind ; and that it is therefore occasionally better to explain a subject by universals only ; leaving the particulars of these universals to those who desire to prosecute their inquiries still farther. We will therefore select for our illustration the correspondence, which Swedenborg affirms to subsist between the Omnipotent Creator and the human being. And to prove that this correspondence subsists, he endeavors to demonstrate *that God is in form a man.*

“Of how great importance,” says he, “it is to have a just idea of God, may appear from this consideration, that the idea of God constitutes the inmost thought of all those who have any religion, for all things of religion and divine worship have respect unto God ; and inasmuch as God is universally and particularly in all things of religion and worship, therefore unless it be a just idea of God, no communication can be given with

the Heavens: hence it is, that in the spiritual world every nation hath its place according to its idea of God as a man, for in this, and in no other is the idea of the Lord. That the state of every man's life after death is according to the idea of God which he hath confirmed in himself, appears manifestly from the reverse of the proposition, viz. that the negation of God constitutes hell. To be, and to exist, (*esse et existere*) in God-man are distinctly one. Where there is an *esse*, there is also an existence, one is not possible without the other; for essence is, by (or in) existence, and not without it. This the rational (part or principle) comprehends when it thinks whether there can be any essence which doth not exist, and whether there can be any existence, but from an essence; and inasmuch as one exists with and not without the other, it follows that they are one, but distinctly one. They are distinctly one as is the case with love and wisdom; for love is essence, and wisdom existence, inasmuch as love doth not exist but in wisdom, nor wisdom but from love; wherefore when love is in wisdom, then it existeth. These two are such an one, that they may be distinguished, indeed, in thought, but not in act; and inasmuch as they may be distinguished in thought but not in act, therefore it is said they are distinctly one. Essence and existence in God-man are also distinctly one as soul and body, soul doth not exist without its body, nor body without its soul. It is the divine soul of God-man, which is understood by the divine essence, and the divine body which is understood by the divine existence. That a soul can exist without a body, and exercise thought and wisdom, is an error proceeding from fallacies; for every soul of man is in a spiritual body (which fully appears) after it has put off its material covering, which it carried about with it in the world. The reason why an essence is not an essence unless it exists, is, because it is not before in a form, and that which is not in a form hath not a quality, and that which hath not a quality, is not anything. That which exists from an essence, maketh one with the essence, by reason that it is from the essence; hence there is an uniting into one, and hence it is that one is the others mutually and reciprocally, also that one is all in all, in the other, as in itself. Hence it may appear, that God is (necessarily in a form and consequently) a man, and thereby He is a God existing, not existing from Himself, but in Himself. He who existeth in Himself is God, from whom all things are."

The reason given by Swedenborg, why God exists in the human form, in preference to every other, is, that the human is, in truth, the most perfect of all forms, uniting in itself the highest possible perfections of all possible forms. Such is the al-



leged correspondence of man with his Maker, who was created in "the image and likeness" of God, in whom we "live, move, and have our being," and "from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift." How well it is sustained the reader can judge.

Our last illustration of the principle of correspondence is drawn, according to Swedenborg, from its existence and operation in the Word of God, or Holy Scriptures. He lays down in his writings what he asserts to be the *rule or law of language*, according to which the Scriptures are written. This rule or law of language he terms the correspondence existing between things spiritual and things natural, by virtue of which things natural, as being the types and images of things spiritual, are used to express them. Thus he asserts that when Jesus Christ called himself a door, a vine, a shepherd, a way, a light, &c., the Divine Speaker employed natural objects to express spiritual and divine things relating to himself, which could never have been the case, unless some eternal agreement or correspondence had subsisted between them. Again, when the same Divine Person employs the natural figures of seed, of wheat, of tares, of leaven, of treasure hid in a field, of a merchant-man, of a feast, of pearls, of a husband-man, of a marriage, of a lost sheep, of a lost piece of silver, of a vineyard, &c., (see the parables throughout,) Swedenborg maintains that He is endeavoring to call the attention of His hearers to those eternal, spiritual, and grand realities of Himself and of His kingdom, from which all natural things derive their existence, and which consequently they are fitted to express. This rule or law of language, he says, applies to all the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments. He asserts that in the Sacred Scriptures there are contained three degrees of divine truth, the celestial, the spiritual, and the natural; that the spiritual is within, and entirely distinct from the natural, as the soul is within, and entirely distinct from the body of man; and within the spiritual is the celestial degree, which is still more perfect, treating entirely of the descent of God into ultimate nature, and His ascent thence to His original glory, corresponding with the three degrees of altitude in creation. Lest, however, the reader should confound this language of correspondence with the language of mere *figure* or *metaphor*, it is observed, "that a mere figure or metaphor is the resemblance which one *natural* object or circumstance is supposed to bear to another *natu-*

*ral* object or circumstance ; whereas a correspondence is the actual relation subsisting between a *natural* object and a *spiritual* subject, or a *natural* form and a *spiritual* essence ; that is, between *outer* and *inner*, *lower* and *higher*, *nature* and *spirit* ; and not between *nature* and *nature*, or *spirit* and *spirit*." The internal or true spiritual sense, then, according to Swedenborg, is most fixed and determinate ; as *uncreatable* by man's volition, as the objects of nature themselves. Its foundation is the *mutual relation* that exists between things *natural* and things *spiritual* ; between that which is *external*, and that which is *internal* ; between the world of *sense*, and the world of *mind* ; between the world of *nature*, and the world of *spirit*. This relation, or *correspondence*, is the origin of all signs ; of all types ; of the possibility of one mind conveying its volition to another mind ; in a word, of all communication between God and his creatures, and of his creatures with each other.

The ground of this correspondence, or analogy, is the great truth, that the visible or natural world derives its being from an invisible or spiritual world ; and both from the Divine Being, or **GREAT FIRST CAUSE**. Every object in nature is, consequently, from a Divine origin ; and consists of an *internal*, or essence, invested with an *external* composed of natural elements ; by means of which it assumes a form, structure, or organism, capable of exhibiting the energy and quality of the internal. Thus giving birth to the several properties, effects, and acts, which are called *uses* and *benefits*, when they are rightly directed ; and *abuses* and *injuries*, when the activity is inordinate or excessive. The reciprocal relation that outward or natural things bear to internal or spiritual things, is their *correspondence*. For as the first contribute, when fitly applied, to the welfare, and when wrongly applied, to the injury of the *natural man*, or earthly nature ; so do the second, to the *spiritual man*, or heavenly nature. To say, therefore, that the natural world, with its objects, senses, and actions, **CORRESPONDS** to the spiritual world, with its will, understanding, and thought, is to affirm that the former is connected with, and represents the latter ; and also that such relationship and representation is not contingent, or merely figurative and emblematical ; but that the connection is as necessary, and inherent, as that of effect to its cause ; form to its essence ; or body to its soul.

The language of *correspondence* is thus, our Author maintains, none other *than the language of God himself*; and by it he always speaks both in his WORD and in his WORKS; that it is, in truth, a DIVINE SCIENCE, with permanent symbols, and of universal application; and which with holy reverence, looking "through nature up to nature's God," binds in chains of love and light nature with spirit, earth with heaven, man with the Supreme.

"The books of the word," says Swedenborg, "are all those which have the *internal sense*; but those books which have not the internal sense, are not the word. The books of the word, in the Old Testament are, the five BOOKS of MOSES, the BOOK of JOSHUA, the BOOK of JUDGES, the two BOOKS of SAMUEL, the two BOOKS of KINGS, the PSALMS of DAVID, the PROPHETS ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, the LAMENTATIONS, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, HOSEA, JOEL, AMOS, OBADIAH, JONAH, MICAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI; and in the New Testament, the four Evangelists, MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, JOHN; and the APOCALYPSE. The rest have not the internal sense."

Such are a few of the peculiar fundamental principles developed in the theological writings of this most remarkable man. We have aimed to be impartial, and have given the doctrines to the best of our understanding of them. There are others equally peculiar and distinguishing, to only one of which we will very briefly allude. He affirms that,

"The planets in our solar system are inhabited by human beings; nay, that millions of planetary bodies, revolving about other suns in the starry heavens, are in like manner the abodes of men, and that he himself has actually been permitted to visit many of them, not in body, but in spirit."

The manner in which he explains this subject is really curious, and well worthy of notice. He states that,

"In consequence of his intercourse with angels and spirits, for many successive years of his life, he discovered that distances in the spiritual world are not like distances here on earth, but are altogether according to the several states of the interiors of the inhabitants. They who are in a similar state are together in one society, and in one place; for all presence is caused by similitude of state, and all distance by dissimilitude of state. Hence to be present with any spirit or angel, whether

he be from this earth, or from any other earth in the universe, it is only requisite to be in a similar state with such spirit or angel as to the interiors of the mind, that is, as to the interior affections and thoughts. And in this way, he says, it is as possible for the spirit of a man still living in the body, whose interiors are open to heaven, to be led by the Lord into a similitude of state, with the spirits and angels from other earths or planets, and even with the inhabitants themselves, as with the spirits, angels, and distant inhabitants of this earth. Now when the interior faculties of a man are so far opened, as to enable him to see and converse with spirits and angels, (which, however, is a rare case in the present day, owing to causes which need not be here stated), then such spirits and angels as are present with him (and every man is surrounded with beings of this description) can see through his eyes the natural objects of this world, and hear through his ears the conversation that passes among men; which they cannot otherwise do. So, again, the man whose interiors are open may, by being brought into a similar state with an inhabitant of some distant earth, in like manner see through the eyes of such inhabitant, if his interiors are open, the natural objects of his world, and hear through his ears the natural sounds there produced."

This doctrine of the possibility of man's seeing and conversing with spirits and angels, Swedenborg confirms by a variety of testimony from the sacred Scriptures, particularly by the cases of Abraham and Sarah, Lot, the inhabitants of Sodom, Joshua, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, Zacharias, Mary, John, and many others, who all saw and conversed with angels as with men. He adds also his own experience, saying,

"Inasmuch as it has been permitted me by the Lord, to be at the same time in the spiritual world and in the natural world, and thence to speak with angels as with men, and thereby to know the states of those, who after death flow into that hitherto unknown world; for I have spoken with all my relations and friends, and likewise with kings and generals, as also with the learned, who have deceased, and this now continually for twenty-seven years; therefore I am able to describe, from lively experience, the states of men after death, both of those who have lived well, and of those who have lived ill."

We will select another passage from his writings, for the information of the reader, which, with the other peculiarities taught by Swedenborg will furnish a just view of the nature of his publications, and the extraordinary character of the writer.

“ With respect to the state and nature of a future life, who does not know, or may not know, that man lives after death ; both because he is born a man, created an image of God, and because the Lord teaches it in his word ? But what life he is to live, has been hitherto unknown. It has been believed, that then he would be a soul, of which they entertained no other idea than as of ether or air, thus that it is breath or spirit, such as man breathes out of his mouth, when he dies, in which, nevertheless, his vitality resides ; but that it is without sight such as is of the eye, without hearing such as is of the ear, and without speech such as is of the mouth ; when yet man after death is equally a man, and such a man, that he does not know but that he is still in the former world. He walks, runs, and sits, as in the former world ; he lies down, sleeps, and wakes up, as in the former world ; he eats and drinks, as in the former world ; in a word, he is a man as to all and every particular. Whence it is manifest, that death is not an extinction, but a continuation of life, and that it is only a transition.

“ That man is equally a man after death, although he does not then appear to the eyes of the material body, may be evident from the angels seen by Abraham, Hagar, Gideon, Daniel, and some of the prophets ; from the angels seen in the Lord’s sepulchre, and afterwards many times by John, concerning whom in the Revelation ; and especially from the Lord himself, who showed that he was a man by the touch and by eating ; and yet he became invisible to their eyes. Who can be so delirious as not to acknowledge, that, although he was invisible, He was still equally a man ? The reason why they saw Him, was, because then the eyes of their spirit were opened ; and when these are opened, the things which are in the spiritual world appear as clearly as those which are in the natural world. The difference between a man in the natural world and a man in the spiritual world is, that the latter is clothed with a substantial body, but the former with a material body, in which inwardly is his substantial body ; and a substantial man sees a substantial man as clearly as a material man sees a material man ; but a substantial man cannot see a material man, nor a material man a substantial man, on account of the difference between material and substantial, which is such as may be described, but not in a few words.

“ From the things seen for so many years I can relate the following : That there are lands in the spiritual world as well as in the natural world, and that there are also plains and valleys, and mountains and hills, and likewise fountains and rivers ; that there are paradises, gardens, groves, and woods ;



that there are cities, and in them palaces and houses ; and also that there are writings and books ; that there are employments and tradings ; and that there are gold, silver, and precious stones, in a word, that there are all things whatsoever, that are in the natural world ; but those in heaven are immensely more perfect. But the difference is, that all things, that are seen in the spiritual world, are created in a moment by the Lord, as houses, paradises, food, and other things ; and that they are created for correspondence with the interiors of the angels and spirits, which are their affections and thoughts thence ; but that all things that are seen in the natural world exist and grow from seed."

From the testimonies lying before us we learn that Swedenborg was deeply versed in every science ; a first-rate mechanician and mathematician ; one of the profoundest of physiologists ; a great military engineer, conducting battles and sieges for Charles the Twelfth ; a great astronomer ; the ablest financier in the Royal Diet of Sweden ; the first metallurgist of his time ; and the writer of vast works, which, even at this day, are of sterling authority on mining and metals : that he was also a poet, and a master of ancient and modern languages ; and a metaphysician, who had gone through all the long mazes of reflective philosophy. In short, that so far as the natural sciences go, it is much more difficult to say what he was *not* than what he *was*.

He was occupied fifty-five years in being and doing the things we have recorded in this paper. Having thus laid an immense basis for his mind, in nature, and a knowledge of the actual, and yet only a basis, he now, like a huge pyramid, rose into the ideal. The whole of his theological works, which have consigned him to a neglect which he appears to have anticipated, were now produced. The spiritual world was the *object*, as well as the subject of his thought ; and this produced what may be called the realism of his psychology. Whether imagination and sentiment, properly so called, had any place in his mind ; whether, instead of imagination, there was reason, producing itself in images ; whether, instead of sentiment, there were affections forming themselves into reasons, it is not our province, as an impartial historian, to determine. But this we will venture to affirm, that no one can read his writings, and justly deny that there is everywhere conspicuous the greatest boldness and the greatest method in his thoughts,

— one startling proposition developing itself after another, and each coming forth by the most fixed rules of ratiocination, with a superficial formality, and an internal freedom everywhere apparent.

Among the testimonies to which we have alluded, we find those of the most scientific men of the age, of prime ministers and counsellors of state, of kings and queens, of the most distinguished philosophers and poets, of the most esteemed divines, not of one country, but of several, all concurring to demonstrate that Swedenborg was a man of unblemished life, of exalted piety and virtue, of distinguished eminence as a philosopher, in nearly every department of science; honored by the kings under whom he lived, as one of the most useful members of the community, revered and loved by a numerous and most respectable circle of acquaintance in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, and England.

From this great body of testimonies it would afford us pleasure to give a specimen, did our limits permit. After what we have written, we leave the reader to the exercise of his own judgment, not doubting that he will give the evidences thus presented such an examination, as will enable him to determine correctly the degree of credibility attached to the life and writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg.

J. H. P.

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**NOTE.** — In the above paper we have endeavored to give an outline of what we consider most essential in the life and writings of Baron Swedenborg, and to present some of the most distinguishing principles contained in his philosophical and theological works. In doing this we have made free use of what we found written on the subject, our object being not so much to write an original treatise, as to collect and combine what would be most important, in order to give the reader a clear and correct idea of the real nature and character of the author and his works. The writers, to whom we are particularly indebted, besides Swedenborg himself, are the authors of the following works: Clowes' Letters to a Member of Parliament; Barrett's Life of Swedenborg; Boston, N. J. Magazine; Hobart's Life of Swedenborg; London Intellectual Repository; London Penny Cyclopædia; Noble's Appeal; London Encyclopædia;

Eulogy on Swedenborg ; An Essay on the Philosophical Principles of the New Jerusalem, &c. The particular works of Swedenborg referred to are, The Arcana Cœlestia ; Divine Love and Wisdom ; Heaven and Hell, and True Christian Religion. Our limits have necessarily prevented our going very fully into any of the subjects introduced, and compelled us to omit many others equally novel and distinguishing. A general outline only has been attempted. We have carefully withheld the expression of our own opinion on the general credibility of Swedenborg, preferring to leave every reader to the exercise of his own understanding. The honest endeavor has been to be impartial and just. If, in any instance, we have failed to apprehend, or to state correctly any principle or doctrine, we assure the reader that it has been wholly involuntary, and not the result of prejudice or want of care. Our belief is, that the above exposition of principles and doctrines is in perfect harmony with the writings of Swedenborg.

## QUATRAINS

IN THE PERSIAN MANNER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF FRIEDRICH RÜCKERT.

O, BE in God's clear world no dark and troubled spright !  
To Christ, thy master mild, do no such foul despite ;  
But show in look, word, mien, that thou belong'st to him,  
Who says, " My yoke is easy, and my burthen light."

So long as life's hope-sparkle glows, 't is good ;  
When death delivers from life's woes, 't is good.  
O praise the Lord, who makes all good and well !  
Whether He life or death bestows, 't is good.

The stars above me mount the heavens with tranquil beam ;  
So round my couch, O Lord, may heavenly warders gleam !  
And if my bolster be, like Jacob's, a hard stone,  
Let Jacob's ladder too be lifted in my dream.

There came from heaven a flying turtle dove,  
And brought a leaf of clover from above.  
She dropp'd it, — and O happy they that find !  
The triple flower is Faith and Hope and Love.

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.  
WITH THE SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY  
OF THE BOARD.

It was only within seven years, that the enlightened State of Massachusetts established a board of men of the highest intelligence and benevolence, to superintend the means of educating the great mass of the children in the Commonwealth. Schools have been established from the first settlement of the country, but they were left to the fostering care of the people of each town and district. And except that the legislature ordered their existence under certain conditions, it seemed to take no farther interest in their welfare. But colleges and academies have been founded, endowed, and watched by the men in power. Trustees to govern, and committees to visit, and boards to examine these institutions, have ever been selected from those who best understood and cared most for their interests: and thus the best education was faithfully and generously provided for the very small minority of our sons. But common education for almost all our daughters, and the great majority of our sons, was supposed to be sufficiently cared for, when a definite number of families were ordered to maintain a school for a certain number of months.

The establishment of the Board of Education in 1837 was a movement of great hope, and noble purpose; and the results of their labors and of those of the Secretary have fulfilled the promise of the benevolent projectors. The law required, that the Secretary "shall, under the direction of the board, collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools and other means of popular education; and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children in this Commonwealth, who depend upon common schools for instruction, may have the best education which those schools can be made to impart." The great burden of the labor fell therefore upon the Secretary. Happily for the schools and for the State, the Board elected Mr. Horace Mann to fill this office; and he has most faithfully and successfully devoted himself to this work until the present time.



We have now before us their six annual reports, upon the state of education and the condition of our public schools, their progress and their wants, their strength and their weakness. These are devoted to all the topics, which belong to the prosperity of common schools; but in each, some one great and leading subject has been set forth more than others. We have not time and space, here and now, to give even an analysis of all of these, though we could do nothing more satisfactory to ourselves, or advantageous to our readers. We have a more limited, but not a lower purpose for the present occasion. Suffice it to say, in passing, that each one of these reports contains a dissertation upon some great subject connected with human improvement and happiness, which none can read without profit. Every parent, before he permits his children to fill their minds with the vile trash, that is ever ready to tempt them, should study Mr. Mann's most valuable observations, in his third report, upon reading, its objects, its advantages, its means of doing good, and its power of doing evil. We are happy to learn, that his suggestions respecting school libraries are so generally adopted and carried into practice.

Mr. Mann's fifth report was mainly devoted to the exhibition of the advantage of education to labor. He there shows from facts and by arguments, that even the lowest occupation, that, which seemingly requires no skill nor intelligence, but mere bone and muscle, is yet most successfully conducted by a well trained mind; and therefore the simplest day laborer, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water, is as certainly profited by education as the great contractor. The difference is only in degree, not in kind.

The advantages of education to happiness and to virtue, to social and domestic comfort, to public order and to private profit, are set forth, throughout these reports, with all the power and eloquence of the secretary. And here, we would urge upon every citizen of Massachusetts to read and reflect well upon all these matters: and we doubt not, that they will agree with Mr. Mann, that before capital or income, before banks, tariffs, or manufactures, our government and our people should look after and cherish our common schools, if they wish to secure honor and prosperity to the State, if they wish to gain wealth and happiness, political and social advantage for themselves and their children.

Our principal business, at the present time, is with the sixth

and last report, which, like its predecessors, is full of interest and instruction ; and those, who had formed high expectations from the former, will not be disappointed in this.

We have, within three hundred and three towns of the State, three thousand one hundred and ninety-eight schools, taught by two thousand and five hundred male and four thousand two hundred and eighty-two female teachers, at an annual cost of 556,426 dollars, for wages, board of instructors, and fuel. These schools were kept for an average term of seven months and eighteen days each, during the last year. One hundred and thirty-three thousand four hundred and forty-eight children attended upon them in the summer : and one hundred and fifty-nine thousand and fifty-six in the winter. These are the entire numbers, but the average attendance was about one fourth less. Yet we are glad to learn, that this irregularity is diminishing.

The subject of vacations is one of deep interest to those, who regard the health of our children and the prosperity of our schools. The brain, whether in the man or in the child, will not bear long and unremitted exertion, without injury. After a period of exertion it wearies and faints. If we then suspend our study, we recover our mental energy. If we persevere in our application, the mind falters, and the health of the whole body suffers. On the other hand, long inactivity of the brain diminishes its power of labor. It therefore,

“ Becomes an important practical question, what is a suitable or desirable length for our schools? While it is obvious, that no one rule will answer for all places, it is equally plain, that the actual difference in the length of the schools is far greater than is theoretically desirable, and greater than can be justified by any differences in the circumstances of the people. Some schools are kept but four or five months in the year, including both the summer and winter terms, so that the long vacation almost obliterates the attainment of the short schools, and the commencement of each succeeding term finds the pupil but little advanced, except in age and stature, beyond the point he occupied at the commencement of the preceding.” — p. 24.

We are “ convinced, that, as a general fact, the vacations of our annual schools are too short.” Some of these are kept from the beginning to the end of the year, without interruption, except now and then a single holiday, at thanksgiving, &c.

The schools of Boston have only six and a half weeks vacation. Of these, two weeks occur in June, and three and a half in August, and from November till June, the boys and girls are doomed to six months unremitting mental toil, which no man, who has a proper regard to the preservation of his health, ever subjects himself to endure. The vacations in our colleges amount to about three months, and in our academies to two months in each year. These give no more relaxation than the brain requires for its soundness and its vigor; and if so much intermission of study be necessary for larger boys and adults, it is more necessary for children. Looking then for the greatest amount of acquisition in school and the preservation of the lives of our children, our annual schools should have at least eight weeks vacation, ten would be better, and no term of study should ever exceed ten or eleven weeks.

Our district schools suffer from the opposite error of too long interruption of study between summer and winter terms. In some, these vacations cover more than the entire spring and autumn. This evil is diminishing; for the average length of the schools, throughout the State, has increased three weeks, since 1837. We hope to see greater improvement in this respect. Every district should have a winter school of sixteen weeks, and a summer school of twenty-five weeks, with vacations of three weeks each in November, April, and August, and of two weeks in June. This arrangement would give as much schooling as we can hope to find in our districts. It would enable the oldest pupils to be in school as long as they can be spared from the business of home, and the smallest as long as the weather is comfortable for them, while those of intermediate age, who would attend both winter and summer, could be there as much as they ought to be confined to the school room. This would allow sufficient time to both teachers and pupils for recreation and exercise, without interrupting the education of those whose opportunity of study is limited to the cold season.

“The average compensation of teachers in this State has been rapidly rising, within the last five years: that of males has reached the sum of \$ 33,80 per month, which is an advance of thirty-three per cent upon that of 1837. The average compensation of females has increased to \$ 12,81 per month, (in both cases inclusive of board,) which is an advance beyond that of 1837, of little more than 12½ per cent.” — p. 31.

This is indeed very gratifying. Not that we rejoice, that education costs more, but we believe that we have schools of better quality corresponding to the increase of expense. Yet this improvement is not universal. The average wages have advanced, yet not all alike. Some have risen much, others have fallen. Teachers' services are like any merchandise in the market. While there is an increasing demand for a better quality, this commands a better price, while the inferior, finding fewer purchasers, and dull sale, falls in price. So now,

"There is an active competition among committees for good teachers, which constantly augments their salaries. There is an equally active competition among poor teachers, and thus the wages of this class are constantly reduced. In the one case, it is a competition among employers, which always enhances prices; in the other, it is a competition among the employed, which always reduces them." — p. 32.

We must dissent from Mr. Man's opinion, that,

"To any young man, who has the natural qualifications of intellect and disposition, for becoming a good teacher, and who will expend as much time and money in obtaining the acquired ones, as candidates for a profession expend in preparatory studies, or even as apprentices expend in learning a handicraft, the noble and sacred profession of a teacher in Massachusetts now offers liberal and permanent remuneration." — p. 32.

It is an essential and we fear an immovable evil in our school system, that the male teacher's employment must be temporary and interrupted. Out of the twenty-five hundred schools taught by males last year, only two hundred and thirty gave them occupation in the summer. The other twenty-two hundred and seventy found them employment only in the winter in teaching, and obliged them to look to some other vocation during the six or ten intermediate months. Nor are the rewards of a teacher sufficient to induce him to make much outlay of time or money in preparation. We had occasion to inquire into the amount of earnings of journeymen shoemakers, blacksmiths, painters, carriage and piano forte makers, &c., and ascertained, that, while the most skilful and industrious laborers in these trades earned a hundred per cent, and others fifty per cent more than the teachers of the winter schools of the town, in which the examination was made, none of these handicraftsmen obtained a less reward than the instructors, and all had permanent employment, winter and summer.

Our schools have been too much entrusted to men, with whom teaching is not a profession but an accident. They have other business or purposes of life, but, from some temporary or incidental cause, they are willing to teach a school. A mechanic, a clerk, an agent, has no work in his vocation, and wants employment for the time of his idleness, — a student wants money to enable him to finish his collegiate or professional education, — the trade of another is necessarily suspended in the winter. All these seek schools to occupy the time, which is not or cannot be otherwise occupied, or to gain means to advance other purposes, which are not to be benefitted, by any talent developed, or by any success obtained in his casual avocation. These have no motive to make preparations beforehand for their work, or to do anything in their school more than to fulfil their contract respectably, and obtain their stipulated reward, which will permit them to bend their heart and energies to their main pursuit.

Considering then, that the journeyman mechanic obtains better wages in his trade than the teacher receives for instructing a school, — that the one has permanent while the other has only temporary employment, and that by means of the skill, which the artisan may develop in his handicraft, he may hope to become a master workman and an employer, whereas no success in teaching can secure annual schools for any considerable portion of our school-masters, it might be supposed that the best talent and faithfulness would be elsewhere engaged, and that the instruction of our children must be left to the uncertain leisure of persons, who have neither taste nor especial fitness for this office.

But improvement in this matter is not hopeless. We have a remedy at our hands, — which many have tried successfully, — and of which we may all avail ourselves; that is, the employment of female teachers.

Nothing can be more satisfactory than Mr. Mann's suggestions upon this subject.

“The employment of female teachers for our schools seems to be increasing from year to year, in an accelerating ratio. It began from a conviction of its reasonableness and expediency; it is extending as the light of experience more and more clearly reveals its advantages.

“All those differences of organization and temperament, which individualize the sexes, point to the female as the guide



and guardian of young children. She holds her communion from nature. In the well developed female character, there is always a preponderance of affection over intellect. However powerful and brilliant her reflective faculties may be, they are considered a deformity in her character, unless overbalanced and tempered by womanly affections. The dispositions of young children of both sexes correspond to this ordination of Providence. Their feelings are developed earlier than their judgment, and they aspire after a nature kindred to their own. They need kindness and not force, and their better instincts are to be fostered by a congenial warmth, rather than their reason to be addressed by a cold and severe logic. They can feel a thing to be right or wrong, before they can understand the rigorous demonstrations of the moralist, and hence appeals should be addressed to their sentiments rather than to their reflective powers. They are to be gently withdrawn, rather than rudely driven from whatever is wrong; to be won towards whatever is right more by a perception of its inherent loveliness and beauty, which they can appreciate, than by its general utility, which they cannot yet comprehend.

“In the correction of children, the stern justice of man thinks more of the abstract enormity of the offence, and he therefore chastises it with a severity proportioned rather to the nature of the transgression, than to the moral weakness of the transgressor. Hence in rooting out an evil, he may extirpate much that is benevolent and generous; or, in subduing one propensity, may rouse into violent activity a brood of others more pernicious than itself. It requires a gentler, a more forbearing nature, and a nicer delicacy of touch, so to remove the evil as not to extirpate the good.” — pp. 28, 29.

“The manners of females are more mild and gentle, and hence more in consonance with the tenderness of childhood. They are endowed by nature with stronger parental impulses, and this makes the society of children delightful, and turns duty into pleasure.” \*

To all this we give our cordial assent, and more. We believe that females are not only the best teachers of primary schools, but they may be advantageously employed to teach the older boys and girls. Some of the towns have for many years employed women to instruct their winter schools, and are satisfied with the experiment. Indeed, with them it is no longer an experiment but a demonstration. And very many

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\* Mr. Mann's 5th Report, p. 45.

of them have given their testimony boldly to this fact. Looking over the Abstracts of the School Returns, we find many statements like the following: —

The Boylston Report for 1840, says, in two of the districts females taught the winter schools, and “we have never known them to be more ably managed, more successfully governed, or more faithfully instructed. The scholars have made all the proficiency that we could have expected under teachers of the other sex. The large scholars have, uniformly in the West School, and generally in the Centre, been more cheerfully submissive to the rules and regulations of the school, than in former winters, when under the male teachers.” — *Abstract*, 1840 – 1, p. 91.

The Petersham committee say,

“Four of our winter schools were taught by females;” “justice compels us to say, that the schools have made as good progress as those taught by males, and the school, which made decidedly the best appearance, was taught by a lady.” — p. 113.

The Upton Report states,

“This [winter] school was under the same successful teacher as in the summer, and made accelerated progress in education, and virtually established the fact, that females are better calculated to nourish and expand the bud of human intellect, than those who boast themselves their lords.” — p. 126.

The Westminster Report states,

“Four of our eleven districts have employed females during the past winter, and three of the four have been among our best taught schools.” — p. 135.

The Belchertown committee report that,

“Five of our schools have been taught by females during the winter, and they have been among our *best* schools.” — *Abstract of School Returns*, 1841 – 2, p. 110.

The Andover Report says,

“In two of our winter schools females were employed as teachers; and these schools would not suffer in comparison with any that were taught by males. — p. 4.

We have had under our own observation winter schools, in which a female was the guide and governess of stout and full-grown young men and women, and taught them all the com-

mon and higher branches, that are usual in our district schools. And we have never known an instance of failure in government, discipline, or instruction because the teacher was a female. On the other hand, we have known of one school, which for a series of years was disorderly and unmanageable under the care of men, suddenly restored to order and so continued under the direction of a woman.

We might quote many more statements like these from the various volumes of school returns, but here are enough for our purpose. This proof is positive. It is no theory, it comes from observation and experience. This evidence comes from all parts of the State. There has been no collusion, no concert of action, no general opinion to be supported. Each town has for itself, under all varieties of circumstances, tried its own experiment, repeated it year after year with the same satisfactory results, and given the same testimony. And while all of these have concurred in the statements given in favor of female instructors for winter schools, not one has spoken of or alluded to any failure in the female, although they have freely confessed the faults and the ill success of their male teachers.

It cannot then be said, that though a female may be a good governess for little children, or however excellent she may be in the primary school, she must fail in the management of the larger boys, and be incompetent for the instruction of the winter schools.

It may be objected, that many of the present female teachers of the summer schools are not qualified to teach all the higher branches, which are studied in winter. This we admit; but the fault is not theirs but ours. The compensation, which we have given these females, has not been sufficient to enable them to expend money and time in qualifying themselves for the better discharge of their responsible duties.

"The price paid to the great majority of female teachers is less than is paid to the better class of female operatives in factories," — p. 34.

A good cook or expert tailoress may earn more in the kitchen or in the shop, than is offered in the school room.\* Whereas

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\* In Louisville, Ky. the assistant female receives one hundred and fifty dollars a year for teaching the children in the public schools, while one hundred dollars a year, board, clothing, and all expenses of sickness are paid for a female slave, who cannot read, for cooking these children's meat.

if our committees would pay females as liberally for teaching, as others pay them for weaving, sewing, or cooking, they would be encouraged to learn their art in advance as these do. Or if we would reward the female teacher as well as we do the male, we should command the best female talent and accomplishment for our schools.

“The disproportion between the wages of male and female teachers is very striking, and seems altogether indefensible on any principle of justice or policy. On an average, throughout the State, the compensation, which was paid to the sexes respectively is as \$ 32,22 to \$ 12, 78, which is a disproportion of more than two and a half to one. But why should a woman receive less than two-fifths as much as a man for services, which in no respect are of inferior value? This disparity is in the highest degree impolitic for the employer, as well as unequal towards the employed. Its inevitable consequence is to degrade the standard of female qualifications for teaching, and this is followed as inevitably by a deterioration in the quality of the instruction given.” — p. 32.

Say what we will about the dignity of employment, or the benevolence of the teacher's vocation, still compensation must be the governing principle, in these, as in other matters, to invite men and women to the work ; and the greatest talent and energy will flow toward those pursuits, which offer the highest reward. For this reason we have not obtained, for the instruction of our schools, the greatest power and accomplishment, which was purchasable in the market.

The occupations of men are many, while those of women are few ; and yet there is about the same number in either sex, who want, or ought to want employment. Hence there is a greater competition among females for opportunities of labor than among men, and the wages of the former are less than those of the latter. Therefore the same reward purchases a higher order of service from women than from men. Now if any employment, for which either sex has equal fitness, should be open to the competition of both, and the same reward proposed to either for performing the work, more talent and skill will be offered from females than from males, because the competition will extend over a much larger proportion of the former than of the latter class.

Believing that the female mind and temperament, in their best conditions, are not merely equal but superior to the male,

for the purposes of developing the mental powers and forming the moral character of youth, it is well to throw open our winter schools to the competition of both sexes. We are aware, that we shall here be told, that many, perhaps most of our female teachers are inferior to their brethren in the same profession. But, we repeat, we have not obtained for this purpose the greatest female talent and knowledge, and we are here comparing the female service, which we purchase for seven dollars a month, with the male service, which we purchase for twenty-four dollars. Let us now place both sexes upon the same ground of reward. Let us offer the same pay-payment for the same labor, wherever it may be found, then we shall obtain more wisdom and learning, more power of accomplishing our purposes in women than we can in men. The education of our children is not a matter to be provided for with higgling parsimony, which is wise only to the extent of a penny, and beyond that foolish. But with liberal economy let us look at both ends of the bargain. Let us offer twenty-four dollars a month for the greatest capacity of government, the best tact in teaching, the greatest power of influencing youth for good, and of exciting them to a love of learning and truth, and we shall obtain the largest return for our money, by purchasing this of females.

But most unrighteously do we graduate the prices of this labor, not by the worth of the service rendered, but by some other and extraneous notions. The towns, which have employed females for their winter schools, and acknowledged their equality or superiority to the others; have yet done them the injustice to pay them less than half the wages, which they paid to their male inferiors, — less than half of what was honestly due them. The town of Warren says, —

“ We have employed five female and six male teachers during the winter, and the experiment has been attended with the most happy result in favor of the females.”

“ Some of the teachers were too young; one being only fifteen years old, and another a trifle older, both males, and having had no experience in teaching, it was hardly to be *expected*, that they would maintain that dignity or command that respect, which are requisite in order to be successful.” — *Abstract*, 1841 – 2, p. 103.

And yet we find that in this very town, the female teachers, including those who taught the winter schools, so much better



than their brethren, were paid only \$7.34 a month, while the masters, including the boys, whose services were good for nothing, were paid \$16.50 per month!

Another and important advantage in the substitution of female for male teachers of the winter schools will grow out of the difference of pursuits in life in the two sexes. We see, that with a man this is a mere incidental business, which he does by the way, while his main purposes are suspended: he has "stepped into the office as a passing resting place, while waiting upon Providence for something better." He has therefore no motive to study, to reflect, to make himself a better teacher day by day: but if he can earn his wages honestly, he has no inducement to do more. Feeling all the time, that the labor of his life, in his profession, or his farm, or in his workshop, will be accomplished none the easier, nor more profitably, from any skill he may acquire in his temporary calling, however conscientious he may be to bring all his present powers to his work, he cannot feel the interest to develop more talent, that he would, if teaching were to be his permanent business.

But the great purpose of woman's life, the supervision and education of a family, is more easily and better accomplished from all the talent acquired in teaching. Whatever power she may develop here will come in use there. She feels in school, that she has entered upon the great highway of her existence, and works with cheerfulness and energy, bringing forth new skill and interest continually. If then she marry, she is more ready than others: if she do not marry, she has the best and most acceptable means of support, and an enviable position in society. And, if the districts adopt the plan of vacations before suggested, she has permanent employment.

If then our committees would employ women both winter and summer, and offer them the same wages, that are now given to men, we should soon see a class of female teachers such as we have not hitherto seen, and have our choice of all the female talent and knowledge, that is obtainable for money.

"In regard to the great majority of teachers, the public voice calls for a higher state of preparation before they enter the school, — both in regard to literary attainments and moral purposes." — p. 41.

This call has not been in vain. Great improvement has been made, and much more is needed. The Normal schools

are working admirably, both directly and indirectly, in this matter. They have sent forth their generations of teachers, far better prepared for their vocation than they otherwise could have been. Some have been completely educated for this purpose, by years of study. Others have gone through only a partial training. But the indirect effects of these Normal schools extend beyond these. They have raised the standard of teachers' qualifications, and convinced the people that better instructors can and ought to be obtained, than they have been contented to employ. Committees now believe that a teacher is not born with a spelling-book in his mouth, but that fitness for this office is as much a matter of cultivation and growth as for any other work. Many of these guardians of the schools were accustomed to wait passively at their homes, until some master should come along, and then employ such as chance should throw in their way. Now we are happy to know that these officials are more active, and look far and near for good teachers, as anxiously as they do for a good laborer for their farms, or good journeyman for their shops.

There are, indeed, many poor and worthless teachers, who still prowl the land seeking the children, whose patrimony they may devour, and not always without success in their endeavors. It is painful to see that some of these carry with them a file of certificates of competence, and of recommendations to further employment, from committees and parents, who have tried them and found them wanting, and therefore would not again entrust their children to their hands. Yet these were mean enough to certify to a falsehood, and attempt to palm off their base coin upon the unsuspecting elsewhere. Perhaps these easy men, who recommend the unworthy so freely, do it for kindness' sake, and in pity to the unfortunate teacher. They may not be conscious of the evil they do, nor of the sin they commit. One man sends forth to the market merchandise, with concealed defects, which he has tried and proved to be worthless, and yet declares that it is sound, and advises people to purchase and pay for it. Another man sends forth a school-master, whom he has tried and proved to be so unfit for his business, that he refuses to re-engage him. Yet he gives him a certificate of his fitness for his office, and commendatory letters. In the former case we call it an act of swindling. We do not

like to apply so hard a name to the latter ; but practically and honestly, we see no difference between them.\*

This evil, and its causes, are fast disappearing. The Normal schools are acting both as preventive and curative. We believe no institution in this land is doing more good for the people, and especially the poor. We have our army and our navy to defend us from the enemy without, and our police to preserve us within. We have our bank commissioners to see that the banks send no spurious money into circulation. How much more do we need institutions like these, to guard us from incompetent and spurious teachers, who would not only devour our substance, but deprive the poor of their sole inheritance ?

The burden of Mr. Mann's report is devoted to the discussion of the proper selection of studies to be pursued in schools. There is a common routine ; reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. These the law requires to be taught, and all attend to them. But these are not the sum of the matters to be learned by the young. They are mainly disciplinary, and preparatory to others, which are to succeed them, and to have a more immediate bearing upon the circumstances and the welfare of life. It is important to determine what other subjects shall be taught in schools. Undoubtedly all will agree as to the great object of education, that children should learn those things, which will contribute most to their usefulness and happiness, and make them the best men and citizens. Still the question is open ; What branches of knowledge will most certainly tend to produce these results ? Upon the right and the wrong determination of this question, in regard to the child, may depend the character of the man, and his weal or woe through life. And yet Mr. Mann says that, "in the twelve hundred reports, which have now been submitted, there is not one, in which the relative importance of the higher branches has been discussed. Their introduction has been left to chance. Teachers, who have not been educated in the whole circle of studies, and never considered in what order they should be arranged, or in what degrees apportioned, almost invariably have some favorite study, some pet branch, in which they themselves excel, and in which the pupils, under

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\* We once saw a letter from one committee to a similar board in another town, asking, "Whether a letter recommendatory, brought by a teacher from the former, was written honestly and from the facts, or merely in kindness to the teacher."

their especial care and influence, will be likely to excel, and which is therefore pursued, to the exclusion of others, however superior in importance." — p. 53.

Sometimes the slightest accident will determine one study to be adopted and another to be rejected. The possession of a book in the family, or the facility of borrowing it of a friend, or even the difference of cost between the text book of one science and another, or a few cents saved, has made one an astronomer and not a chemist. Now and then, the price has forever barred the whole range of science from the child's mind. Some are ambitious of learning things large and distant, to the neglect of those humbler and nearer. Some are thoroughly instructed in matters, which are seldom used and never needed, to the exclusion of the practical subjects of every-day utility. We have met with some in this enlightened city, who were familiar, by book, with the scenery, topography, productions, and conditions of the people in Middlesex, Norfolk, Essex, and Worcestershire in England, while they were as ignorant of these things in the same counties in Massachusetts, as they could be of the people in the moon; and what is worse, they thought these affairs of home not worthy of the attention of well educated ladies.

Mr. Mann ascertained the numbers of pupils in the public schools of Massachusetts, who were studying the higher branches, during the last year.

"The result is as follows :

|                              |        |                  |     |
|------------------------------|--------|------------------|-----|
| History of the United States | 10,177 | Geometry         | 463 |
| General History              | 2,571  | Human Physiology | 416 |
| Algebra                      | 2,333  | Logic            | 330 |
| Book-keeping                 | 1,472  | Surveying        | 249 |
| Latin Language               | 858    | Greek Language   | 183 |
| Rhetoric                     | 601    |                  |     |

"In some of the public schools, other branches, such as botany, chemistry, natural history, astronomy, intellectual philosophy, and the French language are attended to." — p. 55.

In this list, it is manifest that neither the ideas of utility nor the hope of pleasure could generally have governed the selection. Some of the studies have reference to this world, some to another, and some to none at all. All desire to investigate the things, that are and may be about them, and be thereby prepared for the circumstances of life. They study language for communication, arithmetic for calculation, geography for

business, travel, and reading, and chemistry and natural philosophy to aid them in their daily operations. So far all is very well. But those things, which they must use before language, or business, — those which they ever have about them, without which they can neither move nor have any being, — those circumstances amidst which they ever exist, and which must be to them life or death, according to the manner in which they use them, — their own frames, the laws of their existence, the relations of these to other matters, — these things were studied by only four hundred and sixteen, in the State, while more than twice that number were studying Latin, the language of the dead. But human physiology was among the lowest in this catalogue.

Of the great importance of this last named topic we shall take occasion to speak at another time.

E. J.

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#### NOVELS OF FREDERIKA BREMER.\*

EVERY work which seizes upon public favor is worthy of attention. The very fact of its popularity should excite an interest about it in the minds of the wise and good. They should read it, should investigate the cause of its popularity, should enquire into its probable effect on the community, and be prepared to throw the weight of their sentiments into the scales of public opinion. The world is not so bad as to reject the influence of their views, nor so good as to need them not. There is no case in which they are more bound to use their judgments for the benefit of the unwise, the impetuous, the unthinking, the susceptible, than in the scrutiny of the favorite reading of the day. Popular works do affect the feelings of individuals enough to color their lives, and they therefore affect the well being of society; and it is of no small interest to observe, whether the writings of a Bulwer carry all before them,

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\* The Neighbours; a story of Every-day Life: The H—— Family: The President's Daughters; a Narrative of a Governess: The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys: Strife and Peace; or Scenes in Norway. By FREDERIKA BREMER. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1843.



and undermine the popularity of works issuing from high and pure spirits, or whether the genius of a Bulwer stands quelled under the rebuke of Religion and Morality, and seeks universal acceptance by an apparent enlistment in their cause.

The decided favor, with which the productions of Frederika Bremer have been received among us, speaks well for the moral taste of the American community ; and in saying this we have uttered one of the warmest commendations of the author. It is true that there are certain criticisms uttered as to the tendency of certain parts of these fascinating sketches. These criticisms seem to us just, and the very fact, that such are uttered, is a good symptom, and is an evidence that it is the general moral beauty of these sketches, which is giving them their strong hold upon all hearts, and that faults which incur such censure are the more obvious, because they are in such strange, glaring inconsistency with the grand tenor of the works, with what appears to us the healthy character of Miss Bremer's views of life.

It is amusing to remember the expressions of disgust with which many threw down "The Neighbours," on its first appearance. Practised novel-readers found it so unlike their favorite works, those unacquainted with foreign literature were so annoyed by its foreign peculiarities, those little accustomed to translations were so disturbed by what appeared to them oddities of style, and many applied to it so unintelligently the same rules by which they would judge a book written by an English or American lady, that they pronounced a hasty and unfavorable verdict, and were not a little amazed to find it set aside so unceremoniously by the public. It is a recommendation of these tales, that they are not written by an author of one country, laying the scene in another, and attempting to paint it from description or cursory inspection. The circumstance, that they are written by a Swede, leads us to hope that they are correct as the Daguerreotype itself ; that the pictures are the very transcripts of nature, engraved by the sunbeams of truth. So only can they have the high value of conveying to us fact, and giving us that for which all readers should thirst, knowledge.

In the same way we become reconciled to much that offends our attachment to our own conventionalisms, and notions of refinement. We meet here no more with heroines who live upon dewdrops, moonlight, and thin air, like the fair ones with whom we have long been familiar in our English poetry, and

romance. The ladies to whom Miss Bremer introduces us do not even sustain life, from choice, upon the lightest farinaceous edibles and cold water, like many gentle creatures of flesh and blood around us. They not only fare sumptuously, but solidly, every day ; and eating seems to social life in the North not only a thing of necessity, but of much pleasurable importance ; and there is no hiding this attention to creature-comforts. Nobody has learned to be ashamed of eating, nor of what is eaten ; and Miss Bremer is not ashamed to describe all this as it is, whoever may cry, “out upon her want of taste !” or, “out upon the half civilized people !” She tells us, in evident unconsciousness or carelessness, of the impression of many a dish upon the table, and many a custom of the consumers, at which we stand amazed. And what sense is there in our doing so ? Might not a tale be written among us, faithfully sketching our every-day life, and sent into Sweden, there to awaken wonder, and perhaps laughter, among the thoughtless or narrow-minded ? It is not thus that national differences are to be regarded ; they are fit subjects of intelligent curiosity, and the philanthropic philosopher may speculate upon them for good. And we hold that while Miss Bremer paints faithfully the customs of her brave, virtuous, and well instructed people, of whose history and position the world ought to know more than it does, we are not to come forward with a false refinement and illiberal fastidiousness, charging her with a coarse taste. Nor does it show cultivated, large minds, to suffer our contempt to be awakened by modes of living different from our own, even though we pronounce them behind the age. It may be that if the nations of the North retain an undue interest in the table, and, among their relics of primitive simplicity, use viands which we deem unpalatable, they also hold fast some other and better things, which we, to our wo, have lost. It may be that Honesty, public and private, with ancient face and rude speech, yet lingers honored among her “Neighbours,” and in her “Homes.”

We do not feel disposed to conform to the good old practice of Reviewers, and sketch the plots of the five tales before us. Those who have read them need it not, and those who mean to read them will not thank us for such anticipation ; and we suppose almost every one who peruses our page belongs to one or the other of these classes. What story is contained in “The Neighbours,” is conveyed in a series of letters from Franciska,

a newly-married lady, whom most readers, we suspect, feel to be the real heroine of the book. Her husband, too, a personage as totally unlike an ordinary hero of romance, as a substantial silver teapot is unlike a graceful alabaster vase, is its real hero; he and his "little wife," so full of goodness and arch simplicity, take deep hold of all hearts. They are remembered, quoted, alluded to in playful conversations among friends, thought of wishfully in more serious moments, as of absent friends whom we should be glad to see again. Each fond wife thinks Lars Anders very much like her own gude man, and many a "*caro sposo*" has been redubbed "*Bear*" in all lovingness by *one* tongue, while others are whispering, perhaps, that there is indeed something to recall the original brute, though not him to whom Franciska so sweetly applies it. There are three other characters of importance, according to the places assigned them by Miss Bremer. There is Serena, who would be very lovely in real life; but as we seek copies from nature in such fictions as these, we cannot help feeling all the while, "there never was such a creature in real life; she is too shadowy, too angelic for anything but poetry. Tegner should have described her, not Miss Bremer." A little more of human imperfection would have made her more interesting to all but thorough-bred novel readers, who expect, as a matter of course, to pursue one such "faultless monster" through the mazes of a romance. Then there is Bruno, whose character does not seem to us either natural or edifying, and whose marriage with Serena makes us glad she is only a thing of the imagination; not a real woman, whose fate we should follow into such wedlock with aching hearts. Then there is "*ma chère mère*," on whom Miss Bremer seems to have expended much effort; she too appears to us overdrawn and extravagant. There is wonderful power in the scenes of her struggles with her son, and of their parting; and a good lesson in the mutual suffering which follows her grand mistake in the education of this fiery being. So too there is power in some of the developments of Bruno's nature; but that power is apparently exercised in display of itself. There is an evident wish to produce effect in many interviews between mother and son; nor can we keep away the recollection of Byron and some of his heroes. The female companion of Bruno is altogether a painful superfluity.

Of "The H—— Family," we do not care to say much.

With scarcely an exception its readers have pronounced it inferior to "The Neighbours;" and the love of the blind girl, still more, its acknowledged return by a virtuous married man, although the whole be conveyed with the greatest delicacy of expression, have been received with such an universal murmur of disapprobation, as to evince a hopeful quickness and purity of moral sense in our society. It is not enough to say that such attachments have actually taken place. It can do no human being any good to know that fact; they have not happened often enough to justify their being held up to our gaze in warning. The only cases in which it can profit man to look upon representations of evil in any shape, are as admonitions against besetting sins and probable temptations. Miss Bremer's singular gifts as a great moral teacher, who can win man to love goodness by the exercise of her powers in this simple mode, impose it upon her as a duty. Heaven itself has set her apart as a sort of missionary in the world of mind and heart; and henceforth, if conscious of her holy vocation, she will go on with a single purpose, to evoke and call into action the religious sentiment that lies deep in every soul, to purify the tastes of the young, to prepare for the conflict with temptations which *must* come. We hold, that writers labor not in such a province, when they drag from the recesses of human hearts, from the nooks of society, rare specimens of human frailty, and for the sake of a little novelty or spicy strangeness, show what certainly does not "adorn a tale," and is not needed to "point a moral."

We believe that "The President's Daughters" is a greater favorite with the public than "The H. Family," and it surely deserves to be. But after its perusal, we began to hear the complaint which is so common, when people read many books from the same pen, especially if they are read in rapid succession. They spoke of "too strong family likenesses," of "repetitions," of "meeting the same characters with new names and in new positions." And some now find a difficulty in recalling separately and distinctly the various individuals of the fine tales before us, and assigning each portrait to its own frame;—though we have met with no such unlucky personage as the worthy old bachelor, who, when the renown of the still issuing Waverley novels was fresh, used to enquire about once in a month, whether "Di Vernon was in Ivanhoe or Kenilworth."

There is indeed much of the same material found in each of these sketches ; and since they are so modest in profession, calling themselves sketches only, and the material is so good, we do not object to it. We think that Miss Bremer would have flourished well in the almost forgotten era of Richardson, when she could have thrown all her ideas into one voluminous production, the fruit of some years of labor ; and have made one set of characters keep fast hold upon our heart-strings, through the beautiful follies of childhood, through courtship, through married life or a charming celibacy, the joys and sorrows of the parent, and a holy old age. She might have written that which Retch alone could have fitly illustrated. We see the flighty readers of our day, who like to “ get through ” a book in twenty-four hours, holding up their deprecating hands at this suggestion ; but there is something in Miss Bremer’s peculiar capacities as a writer, which makes us feel that she could do this if any one could, in an age of steam vessels and rail-roads, of abridgments and pictorial histories, of physical, intellectual, and moral bustle.

Adelaide, the “ bright particular star ” among the President’s daughters, is a beautiful and not unnatural creation of the author’s fancy. We would have this character studied, yes, studied by the many lovely creatures whom God has sent into this world with that peculiar and fearful responsibility, of which they are so often sadly unconscious. We would have those who are always sure to know that Beauty has been given them, — beauty ! which is power and therefore brings responsibility — we would have them here contemplate in Adelaide as we first see her, what is the true position of the Beauty, and in her growth and development of character, that which the most tempted may become. It is a felicity to look upon a lovely human countenance ; but how often do sad thoughts steal upon this felicity, and that, in no misanthropic spirit ! Would we could know that each graceful head, on which we love to gaze, will be bowed, ere it seek the pillow, in humble and fervent devotion ! that its last waking thought of itself or of admiration will be in the meek and anxious consciousness that Beauty is a trying, a solemn gift. Then would it be no calamity, as it often is, unquestionably ; but ever a fountain of blessing, as was God’s purpose in creating it. We think Miss Bremer has been singularly skilful in giving this character a higher existence



than that of ordinary novel heroines, by placing her among such temptations as meet fascinating girls often in real life, and amid them developing in her a practical goodness, and exquisite sweetness and principle.

There are many Edlas, too, in the world ; and this is the reason, perhaps, why we had a feeling that we must meet her again in the ensuing sketch. We had become too much interested in her character and fate to part with her willingly.

We would give one or two passages from her journal, after her better existence has begun, full of the fervor of a new life of aspiration.

“ Were I only good, were I only truly good, then would all be easier to me, and I should be happier. Why is Adelaide so happy ? Not merely because she is so beautiful, so lovely ; but especially because she is so good. She has peace in her own heart, peace with the world around her ; she knows not what it is to murmur, to complain, to be unkind. Were I only good ! my God ! make me good.” — “ Resignation ! oh, who can fully embrace thy full and strengthening life ? Resignation ! that is, the perfect submission of one’s self, and devotion to the will of God. Pure resignation elevates and illuminates life. Thou pure angel ! whose wings I already feel, fanning the air near my cross, teach me to pray, ‘ my God, thy will be done.’ ”

As in every family where there is a being somewhat like Adelaide, we not unfrequently find an Edla too, we think this whole character will awaken sympathy, and lift some tried spirits above circumstances.

“ The Home ! ” what an eloquent title ! how it stirs every good and true heart ! how much did we expect, when the cold North East winds brought us from the pen of Frederika Bremer a work bearing this name on its title page ! It came over the bleak Atlantic, and its glowing pages have not been chilled on the voyage ; it is full of love, warmth, peace, beauty. It meets the expectation and fulfils the hope. The gentle name of Mary Howitt floats with it fitly, and we welcome the author and the translator as kindred spirits, coming to us with power to bless and uplift our souls above the cares and dust of life. We recognise all the characteristics of Miss Bremer’s mind and heart in this volume, much longer than the others, and better than either, we think, though many would except their first love, “ The Neighbours.” The force

of first impressions, and the sprightliness of the style have given to "The Neighbours" a charm which "The Home" must want; but we think that had it appeared first, it would have still remained without a rival. And if we judge it by the grand test, which is likely to *do most good*, its claim seems indisputable. It is full of practical wisdom, of naturally drawn characters, of touching incidents, of deep yet simple truths, of genuine, lovely religion.

All Miss Bremer's tales, in a quiet, unobtrusive manner, show us the actual operation of religion in life, and make the most careless feel both its reality and beauty. She does not delay her narrative that her characters may moralize or preach; there is not a line which the thought-bater can call mere cant. But she makes religion do the same work in her pages which it does wherever found; it strengthens the tempted, gives peace of mind under worldly trial, develops the higher nature, brings back the penitent, and blesses all; and this so naturally and exquisitely, that we forget the enchantress and her wand, look on the phantom scene as a reality, and feel its lessons sink deep into our souls. It does us more good than some graver books aiming at the same object, just as to live, day after day, in an interesting family, who are sincerely pious and benevolent, helps the soul's appreciation of goodness more than listening for years to eloquent sermons, without such illustrations.

The last tale is a mere sketch, but it is worthy of Miss Bremer. There is, indeed, one of those hacknied recognitions in it with which novel readers are pretty familiar; but the descriptions of life and scenery, and the beautifully drawn character of Susanna redeem all. We feel at times that the author is indeed countrywoman of him who poured forth the wild, stirring stanzas of Frithiof's Saga.

To us the picturesque scenery and dark romantic legends of the North have long appealed against the neglect with which the blooming world of civilization has treated them; and we are thankful, literally thankful, that the cloud of ignorance or prejudice, which has shut us out from so much knowledge and enjoyment, is likely to pass away under this Northern Light, this silver Aurora of female genius. We hope to see the day when the volumes of Swedish literature shall be found on our book-shelves with those of France and Germany; and when our tourists shall not only worship the God of Nature in the vale of Chamouni, or on the summit of the Righi, but seeking

the Switzerland of the North, shall stand awed amid the glaciers of the Dovre, or scour, with reindeer and sledge, over the solenim wastes of Lapland snows, drinking in health and strength from those pure Arctic breezes. We thank her whose moral and intellectual power has given us glimpses of that, which must tempt onwards all who have soul and opportunity; and as she, in her modesty, probably dreamed little of us dwellers in a distant land, we thank those who have extended the magic circle of her influence, till we, too, were spell-bound.

The most striking attributes of Miss Bremer's character, as a writer, are those grand ones, genius, and moral excellence. We see her genius as she brings scenes and human beings vividly before us, and throws herself into different characters with that instinctive adaptation of act and speech which is the power of genius alone. She, the single woman, gives us the joys, the anxieties, the hopes and fears, the almost unutterable sorrows of a parent's heart, with a thrilling fidelity. We can scarcely believe that she has not herself given her plighted hand at the altar, and watched by the cradle, and trained the young spirit with fear and trembling, and gloried in the opening promise of "her summer child," uttered heart-felt warnings against secret dangers, imprudent marriage, youthful rashness; and then sat down in joy by the matured fruit of her toil, or in humble resignation beside its premature grave.

Where these elements of genius and moral excellence are so beautifully combined, the author is a blessing. Criticism may indeed find something to say; there is no perfection in commonplace, certainly, and we have no more right to expect it in works of genuine talent. We are the more disposed to approach these works in a fault-seeking spirit, because we foresee that their extraordinary merit will produce a host of imitators, as likely to seize that which had better not be copied, as that which they cannot copy, for their lives. Imitators have a strangely small portion of good taste and discrimination.

Yet after criticism has done her utmost, works of genius still hold their places in the hearts of men, unless there be some element of moral evil within, which, to the credit of human nature be it spoken, is usually an element of decay. We do not think there is any such element in Miss Bremer's writings. It would be inconsistent with what we have said above of her two main characteristics as an author. Yet many of her warmest admirers cry out against certain strange blemishes in some of

her tales ; and these blemishes are of so serious a nature as to deserve examination. In "The Neighbours," a young man, whom the author evidently intends that we shall like, becomes attached to a married woman. His love is rejected ; but there it is ; this love is one of the incidents of the work. In "The H—— Family," a blind girl falls in love with her Uncle ! This incident is painful enough to virtuous minds, though the girl is represented as one whose undisciplined feelings have brought upon her all woe, even to insanity. But how can we apologize for the introduction of another love ? The Uncle is held up to us throughout the tale as an object of respect, the husband of an excellent wife, the good father of a family. Yet in one scene which we should call not merely highly wrought, but extravagant, he acknowledges that he has loved this niece, — acknowledges it to *her* ! And then we have her ecstasy of joy. One familiar with the deeper wickedness of the world might say, "but there was no sin ; he proved his virtue by ruling this love ; once only was it ever breathed from his lips ; he mastered it." For what good purpose can such a passion have been introduced at all ? It is incredible that such a man can have had such a horrid temptation to resist. We know not how a Parisian circle may receive it, depraved as their taste has been by certain modern authors, whose popularity is a burning shame. Such critics may wonder not so much at the attachment as at the victory ; but we know that this sketch has been read to more than one American party, and this part of it received with a thrill of something sterner than disapprobation. It is vain to say that it is good to set forth the struggles and conquests of principle, though it be true as a general rule. Such struggles as this never occur where true principle reigns : it is one blessing of high, fixed principle, that it saves us from such struggles. Certain forms of sin and temptation dwell far away from it, with impassable regions between ; they cannot come nigh it. There is a tremendous amount of evil in the world, whose dangers may be profitably unfolded in works of fiction, but it should be done with great caution ; and the innocent should be warned against that alone which will probably assail them. We wish that Miss Bremer had spared her readers this unnecessary shock to every better feeling ; though we have a deep conviction that it was in her but an error of taste.

In "The Home," a work whose general tone is exquisitely

lofty and pure, we are again confounded by the introduction of a conflict between goodness and sin, where we should have expected that the very atmosphere of the former would have kept the latter at an unapproachable distance. And it is the same form of sin, too, for the third time: it is love entertained unlawfully, for a being consecrated by marriage, and by one in whom the author evidently wishes to interest us. We wondered at first how Elise could endure that Jacobi should remain under the same roof, after he had insulted her by seeking her heart; for that is what man never seeks without some hope of obtaining, and the faintest hope in this case was insult. But her noble speech of repulse, and her noble motive for permitting him to stay, plead in her defence. Still it seems to us, that the whole affair between Elise and Jacobi, with the suspicions of Louise afterwards, is improbable, too disagreeable for introduction, and of injurious tendency. As in the case of Judge H., it is not calculated to excite sufficient horror of a spiritual fall, an infidelity of the heart alone. It does not sufficiently impress upon us the solemn truth, that Christian obligation and God's judgment penetrate to the very innermost hiding-places of thought and feeling. Could we believe that such trials often entered the sanctuaries of virtuous homes, and tested the principles of good wives and mothers, we should still think Miss Bremer's management of this particular illustration injudicious. With regard to the character of Jacobi, we are perplexed not a little by the various aspects in which he appears from the beginning to the end of the book, and we can hardly think it sustained throughout with distinctness or consistency. Perhaps the author may have known a real Jacobi. We once heard a gentleman remark, that whenever he encountered any quite improbable anecdote from Miss Edgeworth's pen, his exclamation was usually cut short by an asterisk of reference, and a note below — "This is a fact."

And now comes up the question, how has such a writer as Miss Bremer, distinguished for knowledge of human nature and a high appreciation of moral excellence — an appreciation of which the pure-minded alone are capable — how has she fallen into such mistakes? Are they faults of taste early formed on some bad model? Or is it that, since the French have had so much influence in Sweden, French immorality has stolen into the holy places of the land, the virtuous homes, and Miss Bremer is bound to paint truly what she mournfully beholds, and



warn loudly against insidious dangers? If so, God forbid that hers should be the fate of Cassandra! Or is it that she has been led astray by her desire to startle, to strike out something new, to produce strong emotion in her readers?

We cannot answer these questions. But it is this desire which has injured the efforts of many an able writer, and we have some evidence of its influence on Miss Bremer in nearly all her tales. There are extravagant and false conceptions of character in each; and marvellous, improbable adventures in each. Could she but throw away all this, and confine herself to the sphere in which she is so admirable, using her powers only to convey faithful pictures of life and human nature, as they move and change around her, pouring out the cheerful benevolence, the deep spiritual wisdom, the hopeful piety of her nature over her witching pages, we should follow her without a murmur, with reverence, with much gain to our souls, all round and through the mountains and the valleys, the cities and plains of honest Sweden, and glorious old Norway. She could lead us silent and rapt to the eternal ice of the Pole; and even there, in the stillness and seeming death of creation, make us thrill with love to God and man, with eagerness for more of knowledge and goodness, with consciousness of our better nature and sure destiny.

We like a practice which makes reading, like music, not only a solitary, but a social pleasure. The truest way, we think, to enjoy this remarkable writer, is to hear her productions read aloud. It would have other advantages beside the usual ones, economy of time, and enjoyment of sympathy, which have introduced it into many happy family circles, whom it renders still more domestic, united, and happy. Miss Bremer's narrative is usually interesting enough to hurry along a careless reader, and if he do not actually skip, he will lose the power of much which constitutes the true charm and merit of the whole. As stories, we do not think so highly of this series; we should place their claim to consideration on a much more lofty ground. In spite of the blemishes which we have mentioned so freely above, — the author has merit and popularity enough to bear freedom, — we consider them entitled to high estimation among philanthropists, because the spirit they breathe, the noble sentiments scattered throughout them, are likely to do good, to give wholesome views of life and duty, to awaken the thinking powers, and stir the nobler impulses of the soul.

We have just opened "The Home," at random; our eyes lighted at once on this golden truth, simply expressed. "How much goodness there is in the world! though at a superficial glance one is disposed to doubt it. What is bad is noised abroad, is echoed from side to side, and newspapers and social circles find so much to say about it, while what is good goes, at best, like sunshine, quietly through the world." Alas for poor human nature! the same everywhere, on either side of the Atlantic! What a fairy change would pass over all society, could the passage we have quoted but produce its right effect. Could we but look at, believe in, seek out, enjoy, all the good there is in the world, and treat the evil we cannot prevent as if it existed not; could we but drive out of creation the false judgment or depraved taste, which sends it about on the pages of newspapers or the tongues of gossips!

The episode of Evelina's history is a full and good lesson, teaching the spirit of this quotation. "He who has no employment to which he gives himself with true earnestness, which he does not love as much as himself, has not discovered the true ground on which Christianity brings forth fruit."

The attachments of Sara and Eva are sadly true to nature, as many a sorrowing parent and repentant wife can testify; and both we think are managed in a way to bring out the intended moral with great force. In connection with the latter incident there is a passage of singular truth and beauty, which evinces much of Miss Bremer's accurate knowledge of human nature.

"It not unfrequently happens that people, whether it arises from physical or moral causes, become wonderfully unlike themselves. Irritability, violence, indiscretion, and unkindness, suddenly reveal themselves in a hitherto gentle and amiable character, and as if by a magic-stroke, a beautiful form has been transformed into a witch. It requires a great deal, under such circumstances, to keep friends warm and unchanged. A great demand of goodness, a great demand of clearness of vision, is made from any one, when, under these circumstances, he is required to remain true to the same love, to persevere in the same faith, to wait patiently for the time when the magic shall lose its power, when the changed one shall come back again; and yet he, all the time, be able only to present himself by quiet prayers, mild looks, and affectionate care! I say *great purity of vision*, because the true friend never loses sight of the heavenly

image of his friend ; but sees it through every veil of casualty, even when it is concealed from all, nay even from the faulty one's self ! He has faith in it ; he loves it ; he lives for it, and says, ' Wait ! have patience ! it will go over, and then he (or she) comes back again ! ' And whoever has such a friend, comes back indeed ! " — *The Home*, p. 91.

The letter from Elise to Cecilia, after the death of Henrik, is touching and beautiful, and the short one with which the work ends, is a fitting conclusion. It leaves us with the strains of a sweet plaintive harmony vibrating in our souls ; tears gently fill our eyes ; the various inmates of " *The Home* " rise and pass solemnly again before us, with their joys and sorrows, their virtues nursed in trial, and peaceful rewards, which some have found in heaven and some on earth. We think of other homes, nearer and dearer ; other forms with which our hearts are more closely linked ; other temptations, trials, duties, with which we ourselves have to do ; and we feel ourselves more ready for it all. We are filled with an earnest prayer that we may live out some of the good we have drunk in during these few hours. Blessed be the author who so dismisses the fellow creatures over whom God has given her a brief sway ! If any take up her pages for the unworthy purpose of seeking mere amusement, may they be led to acknowledge that Genius wears a more glorious radiance, when it rejoices in the unearthly sunshine of Religion.

L. J. H.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Manhood; or Scenes from the Past; a Series of Poems.* By WILLIAM PLUMER, Jr. Boston: Tappan and Dennet. 1843.

THIS is the second portion of a series of poems, in which it was the design of the writer, to trace the progress of life from infancy to old age. Youth was the subject of the first; the present is devoted to manhood; and in both, the general plan is described to be, that each poem should express the sentiment or the feeling, appropriate to the occasion or state of mind to which it relates.

As this plan has been carried out with sufficient strictness, the work has the merit, in our view not a trivial one, of expressing natural and just sentiments in an unaffected manner. A different fashion has prevailed so long, in many quarters, that we were not without apprehensions, that poetry would never again vouchsafe a revelation of the real sentiments and feelings of its authors. Prosperous gentlemen, who fare sumptuously every day, have been prone to indulge in such weary descant upon the emptiness and vanity of earth; lofty spirits, who but just now left their boon companions at their cups, have poured forth such heart-broken wailings upon the chilling solitude, in which they wander through the world; young men have been so much in the habit of tuning their harps to the key of despair, that anything like simplicity of thoughts and expression began to be as inadmissible, as it would be in a modern singer to suffer his audience to hear a single syllable of the verses of his song. Mr. Plumer has no sympathy with this poor affectation; his strain of thought is always manly, and almost always just. Perhaps it will afford more gratification, and find quicker sympathy among his elder readers than the young. The prismatic colors, which opening life casts upon scenes and circumstances, are very different from those of maturer years; nor is it to be expected that the same description of poetry should find equal favor with all classes of readers, whose tastes undergo a change, in their progress through life, like that which time produces on the physical frame. No young man probably ever reads with very strong interest the later poetry of Wordsworth, because it expresses feelings he has never entertained, and sentiments which appear to him unnatural and tame: but it would be difficult for any one who turns to it after the shadows are

extending eastward, not to feel that, however it may be to others, to him its calm philosophy is natural and true. Even in the writings of this very poet, the change produced by advancing life is very striking. In his youth he adopted a theory with respect to poetical expression, and followed it to the very verge of absurdity, if not beyond; but he subsequently, perhaps unconsciously, abandoned the extravagances of his system, retaining only its better part. It seems to be of the very nature of literary theory, like reform, to run into occasional excess. The angry torrent subsides at last, and leaves fertility in the place of turbulence and ruin. The poetical theorists of the close of the last century, exasperated by the unvarying melody of Hayley and the poets of his class, as honest people of more than common sensitiveness are sometimes rendered furious by the monotonous music of the cricket by the fireside, vowed vengeance against the race; and, in order to make an example of a shining mark, proceeded to offer up Pope as the sacrifice for the offences of all his followers. Pope, however, survives, and they are now content to leave his ashes in peace; while in the mean time, they have certainly done much to relieve poetical expression of its defects, and to awaken attention to a higher and more animated tone of poetry. For our own part, even at the risk of offending the more delicate taste of others, we must confess, that the poetry, which is marked by affectation and want of manliness, is rather worse than no poetry at all; and we are disposed to attach a high value to that of Mr. Plumer, because it is wholly untinged by either. Doubtless poetry should please; but it should give pleasure to manly, not perverted taste. Better that it should altogether forego this end, than that it should become the handmaid of low desires or inculcate aught but purity of sentiment. Its habitation is on high: if it comes down to earth, it should descend like an angel, "as he moves sometimes through the air upon his ministries here below;" not to share our imperfections, but to raise us to its own high sphere.

Mr. Plumer appears to be fond of the form of the sonnet, and employs it with facility and success. We offer the following as examples.

#### PRACTICE.

Action, 't is action, that our powers must try,  
Not study, thought, seclusion: these alone  
But arm us for the fight, yet ne'er make known  
Our skill or prowess, while inert they lie;  
Motion is life, and we must do or die.



Our thoughts are fruitless, till in action shown,  
Till power displayed, on adverse power o'erthrown,  
Give strength to purpose, that may fear defy.  
Power hast thou gained, or knowledge? Put to use  
Thy talent then ; to hoard it is abuse,  
Nay, worse, is sin : hand, tongue, or pen,  
Whate'er thy weapon, void of fear or doubt,  
Mix boldly, gladly, with thy fellow men,  
And work, with earnest heart, thy purpose out.

## FREEDOM.

Freedom is self-control. He is not free  
Who looks abroad for guidance ; or who finds  
In party, creed, or sect, in king's decree,  
Or mob's acclaim, the rule of right that binds  
His thoughts and feelings. Freedom dwells in minds  
To virtue disciplined ; where sense of right,  
Our own, and not another's, is our guide ;  
Where self-respect, and scorn of wrong unite,  
And truth and justice in our hearts preside.  
To freedom thus inbred, if law accord  
Freedom of action, we are free indeed :  
But wrong, is tyranny, — by one decreed  
Or many, — wrong, not less to be abhorred,  
Though thousands gain, if one unjustly bleed.

The following poem, entitled, " Anniversary of the Wedding,"  
is in a different strain.

We will not count, — so fast they run, —  
The years, my love ! since first we met ;  
Since life was new, and our bright sun  
Was in its hour of dawning yet.

What though that sun is westering now,  
With deepening shadows backward cast ;  
Its cheerful light may yet allow  
Bright hours of pleasure ere 't is past.

Time has but ripened into grace  
Each nobler charm of heart and mind ;  
Nor reft thee yet, in form or face,  
Of aught that soul to soul could bind.

Along these quiet walks with me  
Thy light steps still as airy bound,  
As when in hours of youthful glee,  
They leaped, in mirth, to music's sound.

Thy lively laugh as gaily rings,  
As in those hours of opening youth;  
As warm thy prompt affection springs,  
As in our prime of joy and truth.

Those eyes of love are still as bright,  
As when at first on me they shone;  
Yet softened now with milder light,  
And deeper tints to youth unknown.

If graver thought upon our brow  
Is fixing here his aspect sage,  
Yet cheerful fancies wreath, e'en now,  
With smiles of joy the cares of age.

Then let them haste, the years! away:  
Our growing loves they cannot part;  
Youth did not lead our thoughts astray,  
Age will not change the constant heart.

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*A Collection of Hymns for the Christian Church and Home.*  
James Munroe & Co. Boston.

THIS collection by the Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem is an excellent one in many respects. Were we to dwell on subordinate qualities we would say, that the book is of convenient size, — it is easy to purchase, and easy to carry — it bears lightly on the purse, and lightly on the hand. The number of hymns is not swelled up as if worth consisted in bulk and burden.

The matter of the book is excellent also, and this is the one thing needful. There is consistency of sentiment without sameness, and variety without confusion. The divisions are simple, and the arrangement of subjects lucid. The collection is a valuable contribution to the lyrical devotion of the public and the domestic altar.

We hear much about the scarcity of good hymns. Doubtless they are scarce, but with a genuine taste, we suspect, we should find them more abundant than we imagine. By extending the circle of our choice, and laying aside some of that superstition which holds our veneration to the mass of pious verses, without poetry, which swells our prescriptive psalmody, we should discover much from the noblest minds, that might be consecrated to the service of God. The true nature of the hymn seems to us to be greatly misunderstood by professional writers and collectors. The hymn is not theology; it is not logic; it is not metrical dogma, and it is not metrical argument. Neither is it

ethical ; it is no more a statement of morals, than it is a statement of doctrine. It is simply a *song* ; a divine song, to be sure, but still a *song*. A hymn is subject to the laws which regulate this form of composition, and it must fulfil their conditions. The *essence* of a hymn is poetry ; the *form* of it is lyrical ; the *spirit* of it is devotional ; let a composition, then, be poetical, lyrical, and devotional, with brief expression, and an adaptation to worship, and you have a complete hymn. The hymn is the melody of holy emotion, which breathes, because it must, in music. The hymn is faith made vocal in sweet sounds ; it is the poetry of prayer. The hymn is not, as many seem to think it, a sermon, but a song. A short sermon in rhyme may be cogent in thought, and clear in language ; but it is not a hymn. A hymn is not explanatory, but suggestive ; not analytic, but inspiring. The logical is fatal to the lyrical ; and there is no piety which can sing in syllogisms.

Dr. Flint with the spirit of a poet has been alive to this distinction ; and the lyric beauty which marks his selection is the consequence. Hymns are for religious feeling, and not for speculative intellect. The *truth* of a hymn, therefore, is not metaphysical but emotional. We know, for instance, that this present world contains exceeding worth and exceeding goodness ; but states of mind there are, in which the ideal of a holier beauty seems to flash rebuke on all that it can claim. These states of mind take at times expression in our hymns, and in reference to such states of mind the expression is true. So, we must from analogy believe that heaven has labor as well as earth ; but contrast of idea being the source of mental relief, the fatigue of the present seeks refreshment in the repose of the future. Meeting a traveller weary after a long journey within a short distance of his home, we would not seek to cheer him by the work which awaited him, but by the rest which was to intervene. Thus it is, that heaven is associated in Scripture and devotion with tranquillizing imagery, because in Scripture and devotion, heaven is mostly used to give consolation to our *tired* hearts.

We think that a tender and trustful experience, a grave but grateful temper, a deep spiritual pathos, but solemn Christian hope, form the prevailing character of the book under notice. We observe in several hymns from Bryant this pensive tone, mingling the low sounds of a meek piety with "the soft, sad music of humanity." Distinguished by the peculiarities of each author's genius, we could specify many hymns in the compilation of similar character, from Norton, Moore, Heber, C. Wesley, and Milman. A more Jubilant and exultant strain

pervades two fine old hymns (198, 311) from the Breviary ; and a glorious one (334) from Heber. A most magnificent hymn is that (188) marked anonymous, and commencing, " A voice upon the midnight air ;" also, that (240) from the fervid and energetic Quarles. Dr. Flint has inserted some exquisite productions of his own ; and one especially, (365) an Evening Hymn, we read with much delight ; like the close of a summer's day, it soothes down uneasy desire ; it bids the troubled heart be still ; — murmuring blessed thoughts, it steals with holy silence on the soul, and prepares it for darkness and for sleep with visions of beauty and dreams of peace.

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*Poetry for Home and School.* Selected by the author of the " Theory of Teaching," and " Edward's First Lessons in Grammar." Boston : G. Simpkins. 1843. 12mo. pp. 360.

THE judgment and good taste shown in this compilation, are as remarkable as the talent so manifest in the author's previous original publications. It will be found, we think, to answer entirely the end proposed. A selection could hardly be made that should address itself more winningly to the heart, the fancy, and the religious sentiments of the young reader.

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*Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D., Professor, &c. N. York : Robert Carter.

THOSE who wish to own the works of Dr. Chalmers will find here a cheap reprint of the Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, yet with a good clear type and on fair paper. It is to be completed in five monthly parts, at twenty-five cents each. It is in octavo with double columns.

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*The Simple Cocker of Aggawam in America.* By Rev. NATHANIEL WARD. Edited by David Pulsifer. Boston : J. Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 96.

REPRINTED in excellent taste from the edition of 1713, but with the additions and alterations contained in later ones.

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